

**Getting Acquainted: How Knowing About Colleague's Personal Lives Impacts Workplace
Interactions, for Better and Worse**

by

Ashley E. Hardin

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Jane E. Dutton, Co-Chair
Assistant Professor Leigh Plunkett Tost, Co-Chair, University of Southern California
Assistant Professor Seth Carnahan
Associate Professor Stephen M. Garcia
Associate Professor Maxim Sytch

Ashley E. Hardin

aehardin@umich.edu

ORCID iD: [0000-0001-6466-3952](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6466-3952)

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This dissertation is dedicated to my dad,
whose life taught me the importance of relationships,
and whose loss taught me the importance of relationships in all domains of life.

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ABSTRACT

In my dissertation, I introduce the concept of personal knowledge, discuss how it is formed, explore how it is used, and examine potential boundary conditions of its effects. In Chapter 1, I motivate the need for this investigation by highlighting an unresolved workplace tension: the simultaneous deep need for human connection and fear of letting others know one's self. In Chapter 2, I draw on theories of relational schema, person perception, and interpersonal dynamics to develop an understanding of how the quantity of personal knowledge acquired impacts the way the known colleague is perceived and treated. I argue that through blurring the work-life boundary, colleagues gain personal knowledge about one another, which changes the way they interact in both positive and negative ways. In Chapter 3, through three field studies across diverse samples of university staff, cross-industry dyads, and consulting teams, I demonstrate that having greater levels of personal knowledge leads to a more individuated, humanized perception of the known colleague, which results in increased responsiveness and decreased social undermining. Further, I show that this effect holds over and above alternative explanations including liking, trusting, respecting, relationship length, and perceived similarity. I also reveal that the positive effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness is not mitigated by perceptions of value incongruence or work-to-life interference. Finally, in Chapter 4, I discuss the theoretical implications of my dissertation for the relationships at work and work-life literatures.

CHAPTER 1

Introducing a Need for Personal Knowledge

The human need for connection is as strong as the need for food and water (Lieberman, 2013). However, our society is struck with an increase in loneliness and a loss of deep connection (Cacioppo & Patrick, 2009). Connection can occur in any domain of life: romantic, family, friend, organizations (e.g., volunteer), and work (Reis & Wheeler, 1991). As participation in voluntary organizations decreases (Putnam, 1995), the workplace may become a more important domain to find this necessary connection with others. But connecting at work can be complicated.

In order to achieve a high quality connection (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003), one must feel known (Rogers, 1951; Sandelands, 2002), a feeling born out of vulnerability (Miller & Stiver, 1997). However, with coworkers, there are fears of allowing these connections to form, a fear of colleagues knowing one's self. In comments deemed representative by the New York Times (Grant, 2015), modern workers note:

*As a former Amazon amabot friend observed ... **he did not socialize** with other co-workers at Amazon because **he was not comfortable doing so with people who could ... back stab or tread on one another seeking a promotion.***

*Workers today ... are not sure whom they can trust and so choose not to get beyond the basic niceties and short conversations with co-workers. **They keep to themselves and withhold information, just to be safe.***

These fears coincide with advice from the popular press for individuals to keep their personal lives at home, take down the family photographs, and keep quiet about the weekend happenings (Fisher, 2008; Shapiro, 2005). But, does this fear of allowing the personal to seep into the professional have unintended consequences? In my dissertation, I attempt to directly address this question. What really happens when colleagues begin to know the more personal aspects of our lives? Should we be afraid? Or is this fear blocking a very real avenue that can increase colleague responsiveness and ultimately fulfill the all-important need for human connection?

I take on these questions by introducing the concept of personal knowledge—one colleague's justified beliefs about the non-work life of another colleague (for a more comprehensive definition, including an extended nomological net and measure development, see Appendix A). Specifically, in my introductory theoretical account, I examine the effects of the amount of personal knowledge one individual has about a particular colleague. I do this in two ways. First, I explore the theoretical positive and negative effects of personal knowledge on interpersonal treatment in the workplace. Then, I embark on an empirical investigation testing a portion of this model. I find that personal knowledge, due to increasing individuation and humanization of the known colleague, results in increased responsiveness towards and decreased social undermining of that known colleague.

In Chapter 2, drawing on theories of relational schema, person perception, and interpersonal dynamics, I build a theoretical model to explain how and when personal knowledge will influence interpersonal interactions for the better or worse. I argue that personal knowledge will impact the knowledge acquirer's (1) motivations and (2) abilities when interacting with the known colleague via individuation processes. I theorize that in concert these two effects will determine how personal knowledge impacts the way the knowledge acquirer will treat the known

colleague. First, I posit that due to individuation processes, an increase in the amount of personal knowledge will result in increased humanization of that colleague, unless there is perceived underlying value inconsistency or life-to-work interference. The resulting humanization of the known colleague will enhance responsiveness, while decreasing social undermining behavior. Additionally, I argue that an increase in the amount of personal knowledge will result in increased empathic accuracy, also due to the more individuated perception of that colleague. This increased empathic accuracy can be put to use in supporting either responsive or undermining behavior, depending on how humanized the known colleague becomes in the eye of the knowledge acquirer. This model deepens our understanding of nonconscious processing that impacts dyadic workplace relationships, honors a more complete array of interpersonal treatment—from corrosive to generative, and demonstrates the importance of previously underutilized mechanisms: individuation and humanization.

In Chapter 3, I empirically test a portion of this theoretical account. Specifically, I examine how the amount of personal knowledge one individual has about a particular colleague will result in increased responsiveness towards that colleague. Through three field studies across diverse samples of university staff, cross-industry dyads, and consulting teams, I demonstrate the robustness of this effect. I show that how the other is perceived, as individuated and humanized, explains the increase in responsiveness towards that colleague over and above alternative explanations including liking, trusting, respecting, relationship length, and perceived similarity. I also reveal that the positive effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness is not mitigated by perceptions of value incongruence or work-to-life interference. Complementing these studies, Appendix B details initial experimental support for these relationships. In these experiments, I manipulate the level of personal knowledge as well as value incongruence in order to investigate

the underlying causality of the proposed relationships. In addition to the theoretical contributions of Chapter 2, this chapter contributes practically to our understanding of when and why “the personal” entering “the professional” domain impacts coworkers’ interactions. Workers can use this information to set precedence for learning about colleagues, particularly when there may be high levels of initial dehumanization present.

In Chapter 4, I conclude with thoughts on how this dissertation can shape the way scholars theorize and operationalize interpersonal relationships at work. I begin with a discussion of the contributions made for each of the main constructs I employ. For example, I discuss how this work broadens the application of individuation by examining this process across a variety of workplace relationships, not solely in an intergroup context. Additionally, this work adds to the small but growing conversation of humanization processes in organizations. Specifically, this dissertation uncovers a means to increase humanization of colleagues, a way to reverse the detrimental effects of dehumanization, which can include the display of bias, conflict, and aggression. I then discuss the implications for the full-proposed theoretical model for our understanding of workplace dyads. Specifically, I highlight the utility of examining nonconscious processes—individuation and humanization—pushing organizational scholars to explore and understand the less deliberate, less conscious aspects of interpersonal treatment within the work setting. Finally, I discuss the practical implications for this work. I discuss how organizations may facilitate the humanization of colleagues by decreasing negative perceptions of allowing aspects of the personal self into the work domain. Workplace dyads have been called the fabric of life and the building blocks of organizations (Liden, Anand, & Vidyarthi, 2016). By learning about the personal lives of those around us, we can strengthen the foundation of organizations, promoting responsive behavior and mitigating social undermining.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Advancement of Personal Knowledge of Colleagues

In today's world of work, we more frequently come in contact with new colleagues (Ashford, George, & Blatt, 2007; Levesque, Wilson, & Wholey, 2001) and are hesitant to share information about our personal lives with these colleagues (Grant, 2015), even as technological advances make it easier to learn about their personal lives (Dutta, 2010). What does this increased access to personal information do to collegial relationships? Is our hesitation to allow colleagues to learn personal information about us necessary, and, if so, when and why? In this chapter, by integrating theories of relational schemas, person perception, and interpersonal dynamics, I claim that how a person incorporates information about another colleague's personal life, or *personal knowledge*, into one's perception of that colleague—as part of a distinct social group or as a unique entity, for example, or as a human with depth and warmth or subhuman without values or emotions—will have meaningful consequences for how one treats that colleague, either improving or damaging interactions. Exploring this phenomenon will help shed light on when and why the hesitation to share information about one's personal life may be valid and when it may be unnecessary or even prevent improvement in the underlying relational dynamics.

This investigation is both timeless and timely. It is timeless because colleagues are perennially motivated to form stable perceptions of one another (Berger, 1988; Planalp & Rivers, 1996) and have long learned about one another's personal lives in a variety of ways: from

colleagues themselves (Collins & Miller, 1994), via workspace personalization (Byron & Laurence, 2015), and through gossip (Christophe & Rimé, 1997). This investigation is timely in that, in addition to the increased use of work teams and the decline of long-term employment leading to increased contact with new colleagues (Ashford et al., 2007; Levesque et al., 2001), technological advances, including social media platforms, are increasing the rate at which we learn information about colleagues, even those who themselves do not have online profiles (Dutta, 2010). Social media platforms connect individuals with an average of 16 coworkers, and have decreased the average degrees of separation from the classic six (to Kevin Bacon) to four degrees within a network (Branding, 2012; Edunov, Diuk, Filiz, Bhagat, & Burke, 2016). Colleagues have always learned about one another's personal lives, but understanding how this knowledge alters workplace behavior may have become more consequential, given increased teaming and access to colleagues' personal information.

The growing ease with which we can learn about one another's lives outside of work has made the boundary between the personal and professional domain more permeable and given us less control over what personal information leaks into the workplace. Dumas and Sanchez-Burks (2015) noted that the complex nature of work, specifically the increasing number of informal relationships among colleagues, also blurs this boundary (Perlow & Kelly, 2014; Rothbard & Ollier-Malaterre, 2016; Seron & Ferris, 1995). Both academics and the public have debated the costs and benefits of this permeability between the personal and the professional. The academic debate focuses mainly on the costs and benefits to oneself, as well as some interpersonal effects (for a review, see Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). For example, work-life boundary permeability may contribute to role conflict both at work and at home, negatively impacting performance (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964). Yet other scholars find this

boundary permeability improves interpersonal relationships by leading to higher-quality connections and increased opportunity for supportive interactions (S. C. Clark, 2000; Trefalt, 2013). However, the public commentary in response to popular press articles calls into question both the potential interpersonal costs and benefits of this phenomenon, with some wary that colleagues may use personal information against them (e.g., blackmailing) and others touting the benefits of having colleagues who know them on a more personal level (Grant, 2015).

This public debate exposes an important and unanswered academic question: How and why does what we learn about a colleague's personal life influence how we treat that colleague at work, for better or worse? The answer is of real consequence for organizational scholars interested in determining the inner workings of interpersonal treatment within organizations. As eloquently stated by Ragins and Dutton (2007):

What makes life worth living? For most people, the answer is relationships: friends, family, and loved ones. Too often, work relationships are not included in this list. Yet people spend most of their time at work, and work relationships are central not only for how work gets done, but also for the quality of our lives. Like other relationships, work relationships reflect the full spectrum of quality. At their best, they can be a generative source of enrichment, vitality, and learning that helps individuals, groups, and organizations grow, thrive, and flourish. At their worst, they can be a toxic and corrosive source of pain, depletion, and dysfunction. (p. 3)

As this quote suggests, workplace relationships, and the behaviors that compose them (i.e., interpersonal treatment), can be both generative and corrosive. Within the existing interpersonal literature, several constructs have been used to describe both types of interpersonal treatment—those that are more supportive and those that are more undermining—though the two

are not always mutually exclusive (Bolino & Grant, 2016; De Dreu & Nauta, 2009). For a full depiction of these types of interpersonal treatment, including definitions and organizational consequences, see Table 2.1. Broadly, supportive interpersonal treatment includes behaviors that attend to the needs of the other. These behaviors include compassionate responding (Dutton, Workman, & Hardin, 2014; Kanov et al., 2004), helping/interpersonal organizational citizenship behavior (P. M. Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bachrach, 2000), mentoring (Allen, 2003), social support (Grant & Parker, 2009), and prosocial behaviors that are directed toward others, not the organization (Bolino & Grant, 2016). Relationship psychologists have recently put forth a unifying construct to describe this set of behaviors: responsiveness. Responsiveness is the process through which a person attends to and responds supportively to another's needs, wishes, concerns, and goals (M. S. Clark & Lemay, 2010; Reis & Clark, 2013; Reis, Clark, & Holmes, 2004). In the workplace, responsiveness has been linked to increased well-being and job commitment, and decreased absenteeism (Beehr, 1995; D. L. Ferris, Lian, Brown, & Morrison, 2015; Reis & Clark, 2013).

By contrast, undermining interpersonal treatment includes doing harm to the other, often, but not always, for the benefit of oneself. Such behaviors include abusive supervision (Tepper, 2000), backstabbing, blackmailing (G. R. Ferris, Russ, & Fandt, 1989), incivility (Chen et al., 2013; Cortina, 2008), interpersonal deviance (Berry, Ones, & Sackett, 2007), ostracism (O'Reilly, Robinson, Berdahl, & Banki, 2014), sexual harassment (Raver & Gelfand, 2005), withholding (Neuman & Baron, 1997), and a subset of political behavior—including coalition building (Chapman, 1975; Falbe & Yukl, 1992) and self-promotion (Barsness, Diekmann, & Seidel, 2005; Farrell & Petersen, 1982)—when these behaviors come at the cost of a colleague. Organizational scholars have already put forth a potentially unifying construct to describe this set

Table 2.1: *Supporting and undermining interpersonal treatment*

Supportive		
	Interpersonal Behaviors	Outcomes
General Definition	Attending to the needs of the other	
Existing Umbrella Construct	Responsiveness: The processes through which a person attends to and responds supportively to the other's needs, wishes, concerns, and goals (M. S. Clark & Lema, 2010; Reis & Clark, 2013; Reis et al., 2004)	Increased well-being and job commitment and decreased absenteeism (Beehr, 1995; D. L. Ferris et al., 2015; Reis & Clark, 2013)
Underlying Constructs	Compassionate Responding: An interpersonal process involving the noticing, feeling, sensemaking, and acting that alleviates the suffering of another person (Dutton et al., 2014; Kanov et al., 2004)	Increased ability to recover from grief (Bento, 1994; Doka, 1989); increased positive emotions and reduced anxiety (Lilius et al., 2008); increased organizational commitment (Grant, Dutton, & Rosso, 2008; Lilius et al., 2008); stronger felt connection between coworkers (Frost, Dutton, Worline, & Wilson, 2000; Powley, 2009); increased feelings of pride about the organization for third-party witnesses (Dutton, Lilius, & Kanov, 2007) (for a review, see Dutton et al., 2014)
	Helping/OCBI: A process through which individuals assist one another with work-related problems (encompassing the following constructs: helping others, George & Brief, 1992; George & Jones, 1997; interpersonal helping, Graham, 1989; altruism, peacekeeping, and cheerleading, Organ, 1988; Organ, 1990; interpersonal facilitation, Van Scotter & Motowidlo, 1996; OCBI, L. J. Williams & Anderson, 1991) as well as preventing the creation of problems for others (encompassing the constructs of courtesy, Organ, 1988, 1990) (P. M. Podsakoff et al., 2000)	Increased productivity, increased coordination, decreased turnover, increased customer satisfaction, and increased profitability at the organization level (Dekas, Bauer, Welle, Kurkoski, & Sullivan, 2013; Koys, 2001; Mackenzie & Podsakoff, 1994)

Table 2.1: Supporting and undermining interpersonal treatment (cont)

Supportive		
	Interpersonal Behaviors	Outcomes
Underlying Constructs	<p>Mentoring: The process of contributing to another's learning and development through career advice and emotional support (Allen, 2003), often by organizational members with advanced experience and knowledge who are committed to providing support to junior organizational members to increase their career advancement (Kram & Isabella, 1985), which can be either formal or informal (Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000)</p> <p>Social Support: The process through which one provides support for colleagues to help them meet their objectives and learn from their experiences (Grant & Parker, 2009; Karasek Jr., 1979; Karasek Jr. & Theorell, 1990), which can take either emotional or instrumental forms (House, 1981)</p> <p>Subset of Prosocial Behavior: Acts that promote or protect the welfare of individuals or groups (<i>not including the organization</i>) (Bolino & Grant, 2016; Brief & Motowidlo, 1986) which, according to Bolino and Grant (2016), encompasses other supportive behaviors, including: affiliative OCB (Bashshur & Oc, 2015), mentoring (Allen, 2003), and compassion (Dutton, Worline, Frost, & Lilius, 2006)</p>	<p>Increased career satisfaction (Fagenson, 1989), increased career commitment (Colarelli & Bishop, 1990), increased positive job attitudes (Dreher & Ash, 1990; Koberg, Boss, Chappell, & Ringer, 1994; Mobley, Jaret, Marsh, & Lim, 1994; Scandura, 1997)</p> <p>Decreases deleterious effects of job demands (Bliese & Britt, 2001; Karasek Jr. & Theorell, 1990; Van Yperen & Hagedoorn, 2003), decreased disengagement and emotional exhaustion (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007; Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001); increased affective commitment, enhanced performance, increased citizenship behavior, decreased withdrawal (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchinson, & Sowa, 1986)</p> <p>Increased productivity, efficiency, and customer satisfaction, and decreased costs and employee turnover at the unit level (Bolino & Grant, 2016; N. P. Podsakoff, Whiting, Podsakoff, & Blume, 2009) *Some potential, undesirable consequences to third parties or to the provider (Bolino & Grant, 2016)</p>

Table 2.1: Supporting and undermining interpersonal treatment (cont)

Undermining		
	Interpersonal Behaviors	Outcomes
General Definition	Doing harm to the other, often for the benefit of oneself	
Existing Umbrella Construct	Social Undermining: A process “which includes behaviors directed toward a target that indicate or display (1) negative affect (anger, dislike), (2) negative evaluation of the target in terms of his or her attributes, actions, and efforts (criticism), and/or (3) ‘actions that hinder the attainment of instrumental goals’ (Vinokur, Price, & Caplan, 1996, p. 167)”; behavior intended to hinder, over time, the ability to establish and maintain positive interpersonal relationships, work-related success, and favorable reputation (Duffy et al., 2002)	Decreased self-efficacy, decreased organizational commitment, increased counterproductive behaviors (e.g., stealing), increased somatic complaints (e.g., headaches) (Duffy, Ganster, & Pagon, 2002)
Underlying Constructs	Abusive Supervision: The “sustained display of hostile verbal and nonverbal behavior, excluding physical contact” of supervisors toward subordinates (Tepper, 2000, p. 178)	Increased absenteeism, employee turnover, and lowered effectiveness (for a recent meta-analysis, see Schyns & Schilling, 2013; Tepper, Duffy, Henle, & Lambert, 2006)
	Backstabbing: Harmful and unfair things that are said or done to hurt the reputation of someone else (G. R. Ferris et al., 1989; Merriam-Webster)	<i>Interpersonal consequences usually studied as part of a larger construct; thus, see the subset of political behavior and interpersonal deviance</i>
	Blackmailing: An act involving threats to achieve gains or cause losses to another unless a demand is met (G. R. Ferris et al., 1989; Merriam-Webster)	<i>Interpersonal consequences usually studied as part of a larger construct; thus, see the subset of political behavior and interpersonal deviance</i>

Table 2.1: Supporting and undermining interpersonal treatment (cont)

Undermining		
	Interpersonal Behaviors	Outcomes
Underlying Constructs	<p>Incivility: Behaviors that communicate disrespect, condescension, or degradation, such as making demeaning remarks that also violate social norms and injure the targeted employee (Chen et al., 2013; Cortina, 2008; Cortina et al., 2001); employees' lack of regard for one another (Pearson & Porath, 2005)</p>	<p>Decreased job satisfaction, increased job withdrawal, and increased psychological distress (Cortina, Magley, Williams, & Langhout, 2001); decreased productivity, performance, and organizational loyalty (Pearson & Porath, 2005)</p>
	<p>Interpersonal Deviance: Encompasses deviant behaviors targeted toward individuals (e.g., violence, gossip, theft from coworkers); can encompass political deviance and personal aggression (Berry et al., 2007)</p>	<p>Increased psychological distress, diminished well-being, and work satisfaction (Cortina et al., 2001); increased general stress (Cortina & Magley, 2009); increased interpersonal deviance by third-party witnesses (Ferguson & Barry, 2011)</p>
	<p>Ostracism: The absence of wanted behavior; an individual "neglecting to take actions that engage a coworker when it would be customary to do so," this includes ignoring someone's greeting, not inviting someone to a work meeting, and going silent when that coworker speaks up (O'Reilly et al., 2014, p. 775; Robinson, O'Reilly, & Wang, 2013)</p>	<p>Decreased sense of belonging, self-esteem, workplace commitment, and increased psychological withdrawal (O'Reilly et al., 2014)</p>
	<p>Sexual Harassment: "(1) gender harassment: insulting verbal and nonverbal behaviors conveying insulting, hostile, or degrading attitudes toward women; (2) unwanted sexual attention: verbal and nonverbal behaviors that are offensive, unwanted and unreciprocated, and (3) sexual coercion: behaviors using bribes or threats, and/or making job-related benefits contingent upon sexual cooperation" (Fitzgerald, Gelfand, & Drasgow, 1995; Raver & Gelfand, 2005, p. 387) as a way to exert one's power over another (e.g., Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987)</p>	<p>Decreased job satisfaction, increased psychological distress, anxiety, and depression (Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997); increased career interruption, increased turnover, and absenteeism (USMSPB, 1994); decreased team cohesion and decreased team financial performance (Raver & Gelfand, 2005)</p>

Table 2.1: Supporting and undermining interpersonal treatment (cont)

Undermining		
	Interpersonal Behaviors	Outcomes
Underlying Constructs	Withholding: “Withholding of needed information or failing to defend someone, a perpetrator may couch this behavior as inadvertent, thus attempting to conceal its true nature” (Neuman & Baron, 1997) (Duffy et al., 2002, p. 333)	<i>Interpersonal consequences usually studied as part of a larger construct; thus, see social undermining</i>
	Subset of Coalition Building: One person enlists the aid or endorsement of others to influence a particular person to do what the coalition builder wants; when exploitative of others to gain individual advantage (Chapman, 1975; Falbe & Yukl, 1992)	<i>Interpersonal consequences usually studied as part of a larger construct; thus, see subset of political behavior</i>
	Subset of Self-Promotion: Attempting to create false impressions in order to achieve undeserved outcomes, when at the cost of others (i.e., taking credit for another’s contributions) (Barsness et al., 2005; Farrell & Petersen, 1982)	<i>Interpersonal consequences usually studied as part of a larger construct; thus, see subset of political behavior</i>
	Subset of Political Behavior: The process through which a person attends to this/her own needs, wishes, concerns, and goals at the expense of colleagues (G. R. Ferris et al., 1989)	Decreased trust (M. Williams & Dutton, 1999); Increased strain, turnover intentions, decreased job satisfaction, affective commitment, task performance, and OCBI (for meta-analysis, see Chang, Rosen, & Levy, 2009)

of behaviors: social undermining, defined as the process through which one individual hinders the ability of a colleague to establish and maintain positive interpersonal relationships, attain work-related success, or cultivate a favorable reputation (Duffy et al., 2002). These behaviors often involve displays of negative affect, negative evaluations (e.g., criticism), or actions that hinder the attainment of goals (Vinokur et al., 1996). Social undermining has been linked to decreased well-being and team effectiveness, and increased job stress and turnover intentions (Chang et al., 2009). Moreover, those who have been subjected to this type of treatment often go on to undermine others (K. Lee, Kim, Bhawe, & Duffy, 2016). Though any particular interpersonal behavior may be classified as supportive or undermining, one individual's treatment of another person can include a mix of these types of behaviors. Given the range of consequences resulting from these behaviors, how individuals treat one another at work, whether in a supportive or undermining way, or some combination of the two, is of the utmost importance for both individuals and organizations more broadly.

To understand how information about a colleague's personal life influences both supportive and undermining interpersonal treatment, I broadly apply Baldwin's relational schema (1992), the main theoretical framework that relationship psychologists employ to understand why one person treats another in a particular way. This theory posits that one's self-schema, other-schema, and relational schema determine how a person interacts with another acknowledging that interpersonal cognition and interaction are not primarily about independent, isolated individuals, rather about the interdependent functioning of the two (Baldwin, 1992, 2005). According to this theoretical lens, what one learns about a colleague directly influences how one perceives that colleague and also contributes to how one will treat that colleague. Along these lines, scholars have begun to explore the impact of narrow aspects of having knowledge

about a work colleague's personal life gained in a particular way. For example, when individuals self-disclose intimate information about themselves to someone, that person likes the self-discloser more due to increased trust and perceptions of warmth (Collins & Miller, 1994), mechanisms that often lead to supportive interpersonal treatment. However, self-disclosure also has been theorized to result in greater perceived differences between people when the content is thought to be status-distancing (Phillips, Rothbard, & Dumas, 2009), which would result in less supportive, or even undermining, interpersonal treatment at work. For a review of existing work in this area, see Table 2.2.

Though this work has illuminated particular consequences of acquiring specific information about colleagues, it has done so in a fragmented manner, examining one source and type of information at a time. We lack a systematic understanding of how individuals use the summation of personal knowledge gained over time in forming perceptions of the other. An understanding of this other-schema is critical because individuals are constantly acquiring knowledge about one another, with each bit of information contributing to an overall perception of the other. According to social psychologists, our perceptions of others are based upon a comprehensive construction that incorporates the particularities one has learned about the other's life and values (Kelly, 1995). Thus, forming perceptions of others—constructing other-schema—is more than the acquisition of bits of information, but our sense of the whole person based on the summation of information acquired (Duck, 1994).

Table 2.2: Review of existing literature tying personal knowledge information sources to interpersonal mechanisms and behaviors

Information	Citation	Information Type	Proposed Mechanism(s)	Supportive	Undermining
Self-Disclosure	Collins and Miller (1994) *	Intimate	Increased liking	+	
	S. C. Clark (2002)	Family Matters		+	
	Clair, Beatty, and MacLean	Invisible Stigmatized Identities		+	+
	Phillips et al. (2009) **	Status-Distance Increasing	Decreased quality of relationship		+
		Status-Distance Decreasing	Increased quality of relationship	+	
	Trefalt (2013)	Personal issues/difficulty	Increased trust, liking	+	
			Decreased perception of		+
Social Media	Bohnert and Ross (2010)	Alcohol Drinking	Decreased perception of		+
	Forest and Wood (2012)	Family Orientation	Increased perception of	+	
		Negative events	Decreased liking		+
		Positive events	Increased liking	+	
	Ollier-Malaterre, Rothbard, and Berg (2013) **	Positive/Negative;	Decreased respect and liking		+
		Flattering Info; non-controversial	Increased respect and liking	+	
		<i>Negative regarding "slacker"</i>	<i>Enforce team norms</i>		
Secondary-Disclosure	Burt and Knez (1995)	<i>Past Behavior</i> ***	<i>Increased/ Decreased Trust</i>	+	+
	Kurland and Pelled (2000) **	Unfavorable News			+
		Favorable News		+	
	Hardin, Workman, Worline,	Suffering of another	Increased empathic concern	+	
Symbols at Work	Desai and Kouchaki (2017)	Religious Symbols (<i>strong sense</i>)		+	
	Byron and Laurence (2015)	Photos, diplomas, and tchotchkes	Established common ground	+	
Intergroup Contact	Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) *	General familiarity, assumed self-disclosure	Highlighted differences		+
			Decreased prejudice		--

*Denotes meta analysis **Denotes theoretical paper ***Denotes mainly professional rather than personal information

To understand how the other-schema, and in turn interpersonal treatment, may be influenced by personal knowledge, I employ key mechanisms used by person perception theorists. As social beings, to predict and explain colleagues' behavior, we are inherently motivated to form stable perceptions of them based on what we have learned about them (Planalp & Rivers, 1996). Our initial perceptions of others rely on categorization—assigning someone to a particular social group (e.g., men, Asians, bankers). However, over time and under particular conditions, these perceptions can become individuated, such that we view people as unique entities characterized by an idiosyncratic collection of attributes. I argue that the quantity of personal knowledge is likely to contribute to forming an individuated perception based on (1) the amount of attribute information available and (2) the inconsistencies that those attributes may convey (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Additionally, this effect is likely to be strengthened by the workplace context, due to interdependencies that increase the relevance of the other and thus increase the amount of effortful processing employed when interpreting the attribute information conveyed through personal knowledge (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990).

Intergroup contact scholars have heralded this resulting individuation as a way to reduce bias (Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Wilder, 1978); however, this chapter explores how individuation may or may not result in positive interpersonal outcomes. Individuation is one element of how one perceives others; another important element includes their perceived level of humanness. Humanization—or, conversely, dehumanization—is the granting or denying, of an individual's uniquely human attributes (e.g., civility, refinement, sensibility, logic, maturity) and/or innate human nature (e.g., emotional reactivity, warmth, openness, individuality, depth) (Haslam, 2006). Whether individuation results in humanization or dehumanization is consequential for the ultimate outcome of interest: interpersonal treatment. While some have asserted that

individuation and humanization are inherently linked (Goodwin, Fiske, Rosen, & Rosenthal, 2002; Neuberg & Fiske, 1987; Stevens & Fiske, 2000), nascent literature suggests individuated perceptions may, under certain circumstances, instead lead to a denial, rather than a granting, of human attributes. Drawing on the theoretical basis of humanization processes, I focus on two factors that may shift an individuated other-perception toward viewing the other as dehumanized rather than humanized: perceived value incongruence and perceived life-to-work interference.

In addition to altering the motivation toward the other through (de)humanization processes, individuation also increases a key interpersonal ability: empathic accuracy. Empathic accuracy, or the ability to read other's thoughts and feelings, is one of the most important abilities underlying human relationships, providing a bridge between the self and the other (Levenson & Ruef, 1992; Smither, 1977; Thomas & Fletcher, 2003). This ability can contribute to both supportive and undermining treatment. Past work has explored how insights gained through empathic accuracy can be used to promote the interests of the other or to fulfill one's own interests (Winczewski, Bowen, & Collins, 2016). For instance, empathic accuracy has been linked to increased responsiveness to the other's needs (Kilpatrick, Bissonnette, & Rusbult, 2002; Verhofstadt, Buysse, Ickes, Davis, & Devoldre, 2008). At the same time, empathic accuracy has also been linked to increased self-serving behaviors (Gilin, Maddux, Carpenter, & Galinsky, 2013). Thus, this ability enables one to more effectively support or undermine a colleague, depending on if that colleague is humanized or dehumanized.

By leveraging person perception theory, encompassing individuation and humanization, in exploring how one's other-schema is shaped by personal knowledge, I am able to articulate how personal knowledge ultimately impacts the treatment of a known colleague. Constructing an overarching theoretical model in this manner makes several contributions to the existing

literature. Broadly, it prioritizes the understanding of nonconscious processes occurring in the workplace (Pratt & Crosina, 2016). By incorporating the psychological processes of person perception into the framework, this model deepens our understanding of the automatic processing that impacts dyadic workplace relationships. Specifically, this model contributes to the relationships at work and work-life literatures in five ways. First, it expands the application of key interpersonal mechanisms beyond their typical use, stretching our understanding of their utility and pushing the boundaries of our understanding. Specifically, the model integrates individuation, typically used in the diversity literature, to highlight potential limitations of its positive effects on interpersonal dynamics. Second, this model emphasizes and incorporates a more complete array of relational dynamics. In so doing, the model begins to answer the call to better understand the complexities of relationships at work, namely when they may be generative or corrosive (Ragins & Dutton, 2007). Third, this unifying framework will enable scholars to look across currently segmented processes in our literature that determine the inputs of personal knowledge: self-disclosure, social media, symbols at work, and secondary disclosure. Fourth, the model contributes to the work-life literature—and specifically to a growing conversation about the permeability of the work-life boundary (Rothbard & Ollier-Malaterre, 2016)—by building a framework for how and why this permeability is consequential for interpersonal dynamics. Finally, this model reveals how life-to-work interference may have interpersonal consequences beyond the previously studied impact to the self (Demerouti, Bakker, & Voydanoff, 2010; Ellen Ernst Kossek & Ozeki, 1998).

In this chapter, I will define personal knowledge by situating it in the existing literature, build a model for how this knowledge impacts interpersonal treatment, and discuss theoretical and practical contributions of this work.

DEFINING PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE

In defining personal knowledge about work colleagues (referred henceforth as *personal knowledge*), I draw on psychological and organizational definitions of knowledge, management scholars' conceptions of what is personal, and Baldwin's theory of relational schema. In brief, personal knowledge is a subset of the other-schema consisting of continuously updated justified beliefs of one individual about the non-work lives of colleagues. Below, I provide examples of how personal knowledge may be acquired and what attributes it encompasses.

Broadly, knowledge includes insight, interpretation, and information (Schulz, 2001) that is justified, true, and believed (Plato, 369BC). In line with management scholars, I deemphasize the necessity of truth as a defining quality of knowledge, focusing instead on knowledge as justified beliefs (Nonaka, 1994). I conceptualize knowledge as not merely static, but as a process updated through flows of messages containing new information (Dretske, 1981; Machlup, 1983), since the world constantly develops and evolves (Piaget & Wells, 1972).

The study of knowledge has not been neglected by management scholars, with many examining the impact of sharing task-based knowledge among colleagues (Wang & Noe, 2010). Yet another type of knowledge has been largely left out of the conversation: personal knowledge. I argue that individuals in organizations have knowledge that reaches beyond that which is directly related to task. Personal knowledge, consistent with previous usage of the term personal (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015), encompasses knowledge about non-work roles (e.g., family and non-family), social identities (e.g., racial identity, religious affiliation, sexual orientation), and other aspects of personal life (e.g., experiences and values). Thus, personal knowledge about colleagues consists of an individual's continuously updated, justified beliefs about the non-work lives of colleagues.

Personal knowledge can be conceptualized as a critical component of other-schema that is particularly important in work settings. To better understand the effects of personal knowledge on interpersonal treatment at work, I adopt Baldwin's (1992) theory of relational schema, which details how interpersonal treatment is determined by one's self-, other-, and relational schema. Schemas are knowledge structures, organized representations of past experience, that function as theories guiding behavior (Bartlett, 1932). Individuals strive for a stable understanding of themselves and others, but update schemas constantly through bookkeeping (continuous, gradual adjustments) and conversion (sudden, drastic changes) (Planalp & Rivers, 1996). Self-schemas and other-schemas consist of facts, memories, and descriptors about the self or other (Baldwin & Dandeneau, 2005), whereas relational schemas include beliefs and expectations about interactions in a particular relationship (Baldwin, 1992).

Other-schema, in particular, are knowledge structures that are "permanent, organized stores of information that arise from an individual's interpretations of interactions with their environment" (Surra, 1996, p. 398) consisting of specific facts, memories, and generic descriptors about the interaction partner (Baldwin & Dandeneau, 2005). Duck (1994) emphasizes that the core aspect of other-schema is one's ability to have an comprehensive construction of the other, with special importance placed on the particularities of the life and values learned about the other (Kelly, 1995), rather than about the acquisition of a piece of information, because that piece of information is just one input into the other-schema. Given the importance of the particularities of the other's life and values, I focus on a portion of the other-schema, personal knowledge. I focus on one's life outside of work for two reasons. First, information from a non-work domain (the personal, rather than the professional) may be particularly influential in how one's other-schema is constructed. Because one's life outside of the workplace is unrelated to the

professional domain, it may have a more substantial influence on the perception of the other, since this information is likely inconsistent with other observations made in the professional domain (for a review, see Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). Second, changes in the environment, such as the development of social media platforms, are increasing the amount of personal knowledge about colleagues that is accessible in the workplace.

At work, people can acquire personal knowledge about their colleagues through several information sources: colleagues' self-disclosures, social media, symbols displayed at work, and secondary disclosures. Self-disclosures, or revelations of personal information about oneself to another person (Collins & Miller, 1994), can contain a wide variety of personal information, including financial strain, health problems, hobbies, religion, and sexual orientation (Jourard & Lasakow, 1958). Due to recent technological advances, colleagues also may learn about one another through social media programs, including Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter, and Instagram. Through these platforms, colleagues may have access to a wide variety of personal information, including achievements, alcohol usage, family values, hobbies, political affiliation, sexual orientation, and travel experiences (Bohnert & Ross, 2010; Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2013). Employees also reveal information about their personal lives nonverbally, through symbols displayed at work, with an estimated 80 percent of employees personalizing their workspace by displaying photos, diplomas, and other trinkets (Wells & Thelen, 2002). This customization can reveal personal information to colleagues, including family structure, hobbies, collegiate allegiance, and religious or political affiliations (Byron & Laurence, 2015; Elsbach, 2003). Finally, individuals learn about their colleagues' lives outside of work from other colleagues, through secondary disclosure. Secondary disclosure transpires when one colleague communicates information about the personal life of another colleague (the known colleague) to

yet another colleague (the knowledge acquirer). Such information could include anything learned via the information sources discussed above, thus pertain to any aspect of the personal life those channels convey. This type of social sharing is highly prevalent, occurring in up to two-thirds of all conversations (Dunbar, 2004; Emler, 1994; Grosser, Lopez-Kidwell, & Labianca, 2010). Both self- and secondary-disclosures can occur inside or outside of the work context, increasing opportunities for information sharing, as many colleagues have overlapping professional and personal roles, such as having children at the same school or participating in the same volunteer efforts (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015).

Acquiring personal knowledge about another person at work is a dynamic process. The other schema is not merely static, but updated through flows of attribute information acquired from these various sources (Dretske, 1981; Machlup, 1983), similar to the process of updating other types of knowledge structures through flows of new messages (Daft & Weick, 1984). Though each information source may not provide wholly accurate information, each source provides information about attributes regarding a colleague's personal life. Taken together, it is apparent that colleagues acquire personal knowledge about one another through multiple information sources. As an example, imagine a colleague named Tom, an Asian man who works in the financial branch of an organization. Tom has self-disclosed that he has two grown daughters, and is married to a Jewish man. Via photos posted on social media, you learn that Tom has a lake house a few hours away and often spends weekends there with his family. From the photographs on his desk, you learn that Tom also has a granddaughter and intuit that his family is near and dear to his heart, based on the number and centrality of the smiling photographs. You also observe from stickers on Tom's laptop that he is an avid soccer fan and has some very socially conservative political views, including supporting the Second

Amendment and rallying for pro-life causes. Finally, others in the department disclose that Tom has a father in an assisted living home across the country, whom he visits monthly, and that this arrangement has caused a lot of stress for Tom over the last year. You may be able to recreate similar vignettes for some of your colleagues, drawing from multiple information sources.

This all-inclusive depiction of how individuals acquire personal knowledge of colleagues reinforces the necessity of developing a systematic understanding of how individuals use the summation of personal knowledge, not just one piece of information, in perceiving the other. I begin by exploring such personal knowledge in an overarching, rather than segmented (source-by-source), manner, to facilitate an understanding of how these varying information sources simultaneously influence colleagues' perceptions of one another. For a more extensive definition, including a nomological net, see Appendix A. In the next section, I explore how personal knowledge shapes the perception of the other and ultimately impacts how the knowledge acquirer treats the known colleague.

IMPACT OF PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE ON INTERPERSONAL TREATMENT

Building on existing theoretical threads in the person perception and relational schema literature, I argue that personal knowledge will impact the knowledge acquirer's (1) motivations and (2) abilities when interacting with the known colleague via individuation processes. In concert, these two effects will determine how personal knowledge impacts the way the knowledge acquirer will treat the known colleague. One's ultimate treatment of the known colleague will be dependent on the nature of the knowledge acquired. Knowledge conveying an underlying value consistency between the knowledge acquirer and the known colleague is likely to enhance responsiveness toward the known colleague, whereas a perceived value inconsistency or perceived collegial life-to-work interference is likely to increase social undermining on the

part of the knowledge acquirer. In this section, I use the literature to build eight propositions of how personal knowledge impacts these processes and outcomes. I begin with an overview of how individuals perceive others, building their other-schema, and then explore how particular qualities of the other-schema are likely to influence interactions between the knowledge acquirer and the known colleague.

Perceptions of Work Colleagues

Individuals strive for stable knowledge of those they interact with in order to predict and explain their behavior (Berger, 1988; Planalp & Rivers, 1996). However, given that individuals and the world around them are constantly changing and developing, this stability can be difficult to achieve (Planalp & Rivers, 1996). Person perception theorists have explored how individuals cope with these constant changes and reduce the necessary cognitive processes used to attend to them (Crocker, Fiske, & Taylor, 1984; Rothbart, 1981). This schema evolution often occurs via bookkeeping, a continuous and gradual adjustment using new knowledge regarding the perception of the other (Crocker et al., 1984; Rothbart, 1981). This phenomenon is most frequently explored through categorization and individuation processes.

Interpersonally, one categorizes another person upon initial contact. Over the course of that relationship, one may continue to categorize or begin to individuate the other (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Categorization refers to assigning someone to a particular social group (e.g., men, Asians, bankers) and is usually coupled with stereotyping, or associating groups with certain traits and behaviors (Kunda & Thagard, 1996). Categorization is the first cognitive process used when perceiving a new person, for several reasons: categories help individuals understand and organize new information (Cantor & Mischel, 1979), categorization allows individuals to use past experience to understand new experiences (Bartlett, 1932) beyond the

information given (Asch, 1946; Bruner, 1957), and categorization allows individuals to respond immediately when coming in contact with a new person (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990).

On the other end of the person perception continuum, individuation reflects the tendency to view another not as a member of a distinct social group, but as a unique entity. In this manner, people are characterized on the basis of their idiosyncratic collections of attributes (Brewer, 1988; S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Mason & Macrae, 2004). These attributes can include behavior, profession, age, sex, ethnicity, interpersonal relations, personality traits, physical appearance, abilities, goals, family background, or any other information that one considers relevant (Kunda & Thagard, 1996, p. 284). Consistent with theories of the dilution effect, as the perception of an individual moves from the categorization end of the person perception continuum towards individuation, categories do not disappear, but we rely on them less, and attribute information becomes more prominent in our perceptions of the other (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Nisbett, Zukier, & Lemley, 1981). Understanding how and when perception of another becomes individuated is consequential, as individuated perceptions have been linked to reduced prejudice and bias (Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Wilder, 1978), and may also impact key mechanisms in interpersonal relationships in the workplace. Three factors contribute to perceiving another as individuated: 1) the amount of attribute information, 2) the inconsistency of attribute information, and 3) the motivation to put effort into the process of encoding these attributes as individuated (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Jamieson & Zanna, 1988). I first explore how personal knowledge influences the amount and inconsistency of attributes and then discuss how interdependence of the two individuals will influence the motivation to engage in effortful processing of these attributes. Though these propositions may seem obvious, they are an essential step in understanding the subsequent

effects of personal knowledge.

Studies have demonstrated that the more attributes there are to interpret, the less likely people are to rely on categorization because of the difficulty of finding a category or subcategory consistent with all of the attributes (Anderson, 1974; S. T. Fiske & Pavelchak, 1986; Wyer & Carlston, 1979). Given that individuals initially categorize others, they compare additional attribute information to the traits and behaviors associated with initial categorization. They perceive inconsistency when these additional attributes do not seem to jive with initial categories cued, and individuals begin to develop an individuated perception of the other, relying less on previous categorization (Wyer & Carlston, 1979). Personal knowledge is likely to contribute to individuation, as it provides more detail to populate the other-schema that one colleague has for another at work. Personal knowledge is a source of information conveying many person attributes, including non-work roles (e.g., family and non-family), social identities (e.g., racial identity, religious affiliation, sexual orientation), and other aspects of personal life (e.g., experiences and values) conveyed to the acquirer through a variety of channels. In general, the more attribute information provided, the more likely there is to be inconsistent information (Anderson, 1974; S. T. Fiske & Pavelchak, 1986; Wyer & Carlston, 1979).

At work, personal knowledge is particularly likely to be inconsistent with initial categories assigned or attributes observed in the workplace. Personal knowledge, which is inherently about life outside of the workplace, may provide information about attributes that seem separate from the colleague while at work, hence conveying inconsistencies with previous categorization. For example, when one initially encounters a colleague, one may categorize that colleague based on organizational role (e.g., banker), race (e.g., Asian), and gender (e.g., male), but find out through acquired personal knowledge that the colleague is an avid soccer fan, is

married to a Jewish man, and owns a home which he shares with his spouse. This knowledge, even if not in direct conflict with the initial categories, may seem inconsistent with it. Existing streams of work-life research acknowledge that there are two different domains in which people operate: the personal and the professional. This division, which widened in the post-industrial age, further supports the idea that that personal knowledge may be inconsistent with perceptions of an individual's professional domain (for a review, see Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015).

Scholars have examined integration of these domains and segmentation of them (keeping them separate) as ways that individuals manage the work-life boundary (Ellen Ernst Kossek, Lautsch, & Eaton, 2006; Ellen Ernst Kossek, Noe, & DeMarr, 1999) and often promote segmentation, which creates further disconnect between the personal and professional (Uhlmann, Heaphy, Ashford, Zhu, & Sanchez-Burks, 2013). This divide is likely to contribute to a perceived inconsistency between attributes gained through personal knowledge and initial categorizations made in the professional domain.

In sum, when a person acquires personal knowledge about a colleague, this personal knowledge conveys more attributes to categorize, including those that are likely inconsistent with initial workplace categorizations. Thus:

Proposition 1: Increased levels of personal knowledge about a given colleague will be associated with a more individuated perception of that colleague.

Personal knowledge, like any attribute learned about another, could lead to continued categorization or increase individuation within the other-schema. Having access to attribute information is insufficient to compel an individual to undergo the effortful processing necessary for individuation of a colleague to occur; one must also find the other to be personally relevant (Brewer, 1988; S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Kunda & Thagard, 1996). Effortful processing

includes heightened attention to attributes and individuated integration of these attributes (Swencionis & Fiske, 2014). When motivation is strong enough, perceivers undergo this effortful processing, using piecemeal integration of all attribute information to form an individuated impression (S. T. Fiske, Lin, & Neuberg, 1999; S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Swencionis & Fiske, 2014).

Though one may consider several workplace phenomena that could compel an individual to form an individuated perception—including proximity, frequency of contact, or similarity—past work has demonstrated that a key relational characteristic compels individuation: interdependence. Studies have demonstrated this phenomenon across multiple contexts with several types of interdependence: supervisor-subordinate, cooperative peers, and competitors. When another person has control over an individual, that individual is more likely to form an individuated impression to understand the intentions of the person in control (Erber & Fiske, 1984; Neuberg & Fiske, 1987). Similarly, those in positions of power, who recognize their dependence on subordinates to achieve their goals, are more motivated to individuate in order to know how to elicit performance and growth (Overbeck & Park, 2001). Additionally, in cooperative settings, peers have been found to aim for a thorough understanding of the others' attributes through individuation (Erber & Fiske, 1984; Neuberg & Fiske, 1987). Finally, even when the interdependence is of a competitive nature, experiments have found that people will attend more to individuating information when competing with others as compared to those in an independent, noncompetitive condition (Ruscher & Fiske, 1990). When the motivation due to interdependence exists, participants in an experiment, reading the same information, were more likely to individuate than categorize, thus demonstrating that motivation does not simply increase the search for attribute information, but also the attention paid and effort used in forming the

overall impression of the other person (Neuberg & Fiske, 1987).

In sum, interdependence is likely to increase the motivation to engage in the effortful processing of attribute information conveyed through personal knowledge in order to individuate a work colleague. Thus, I propose the following:

Proposition 2: A person's interdependence with a given colleague is likely to interact with his/her level of personal knowledge about that given colleague, such that the effect of personal knowledge on an individuated perception will be greater when the level of interdependence is high rather than low.

In the subsequent two sections, I will explore the impact of individuation on both motivations toward and abilities in interacting with known colleague, both of which may improve or corrode the quality of the relationship.

Effects of Individuation on Motivation

Intergroup contact scholars have heralded individuation as a way to reduce bias (Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Wilder, 1978). This section explores how individuation may, but does not always, result in positive interpersonal outcomes. Individuation is one element of how one perceives another; nevertheless, there is another important element in how others are viewed that is consequential for interpersonal treatment, as it changes the motivations toward the other (Epley, Schroeder, & Waytz, 2013): their perceived level of humanness.

Humanization or, conversely, dehumanization, is the granting, or denying, of an individual's uniquely human attributes (e.g., civility, refinement, sensibility, logic, maturity) and/or innate human nature (e.g., emotional reactivity, warmth, openness, individuality, depth) (Haslam, 2006). Dehumanization is marked by a rebuff of these human qualities that results in viewing people without feelings, hopes, or concerns, likening them to either animals or machines

(Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996; Haritos-Fatouros, 1988; Keen, 1986; Kelman, 1973). Dehumanization is associated with objectification, a process in which a colleague is used for personal gain (Bartky, 1990; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Nussbaum, 1999). Because dehumanization hinges on the denial of individuality and depth, it is often associated with categorization and resulting stereotypes and biases (Swencionis & Fiske, 2014). Conversely, humanization has been proposed to go beyond mitigating the negative effects of dehumanization to changing the way one interacts with a humanized other as a person worthy of empathic care and concern (Epley et al., 2013; Gray, Gray, & Wegner, 2007).

Some theorists have gone so far as to say that the process of individuation compels one to identify that person as more fully human than categorized individuals (Swencionis & Fiske, 2014, p. 276), a proposed relationship that has been supported in a recent experimental study (Prati, Crisp, Meleady, & Rubini, 2016). This humanization stems from knowing specific beliefs and motives of the other (individuated), rather than viewing them in the abstract (categorized) (Trope & Liberman, 2003). Haslam and Bain (2007) demonstrated that even a minimal amount of personal knowledge (e.g., initials, age, gender) results in relatively higher attributions of human nature traits. Additionally, individuation does not have to be accurate to result in humanization; the illusion of accuracy is sufficient (Goodwin et al., 2002; Neuberg & Fiske, 1987; Stevens & Fiske, 2000).

Whereas some have asserted that individuation and humanization are inherently linked, a nascent literature suggests individuated perceptions may, under certain conditions, instead lead to a denial of human attributes. Based on the theoretical basis of humanization, I focus on two factors that may shift an individuated other-perception towards viewing the other as dehumanized rather than humanized: perceived value incongruence and perceived life-to-work

interference. Not only are these perceptions central to the humanization process, but they are also likely to be influenced by the type of personal knowledge that is acquired, making them both theoretically and practically important to the central question.

The extent to which an individuated perception translates into humanization is likely dependent on the perceived value incongruence between the knowledge acquirer and the known colleague. One core element of humanity is moral sensibility, which hinges on the underlying values of a person (Haslam, 2006). Essentially, individuals view their particular value system as a differentiating factor between humans and non-humans (e.g., animals or machines); those with the same value system are granted human uniqueness (Haslam, 2006). Others can be dehumanized if their values are seen as incongruent with one's own values (Schwartz & Struch, 1989). Because shared values are viewed as core to humanity, those without shared values can be denied uniquely human attributes (Schwartz & Struch, 1989). This value incongruence occurs when someone perceives another's value hierarchy—including beliefs such as prosociality and hedonism, and a belief in God—to be different from one's own (Rokeach, 1973). Given that personal information sources, and the resulting individuation, can convey underlying values of the known colleague (Byron & Laurence, 2015), it is possible that a colleague having personal knowledge and an individuated view of the other determines that the known colleague has incongruent values. Returning to the earlier example of Tom, who is politically conservative, value incongruence may arise for colleagues who are strong pro-choice and gun restriction policy advocates. If these values are high on their value hierarchy, these colleagues may perceive Tom as lacking humanity due to his diametrically opposed beliefs on these key issues. In this case, dehumanization may go beyond that of omission to dehumanization by commission, or the process of actively suppressing or denying the consideration of another's mind (Waytz &

Schroeder, 2014). When this occurs, I argue, high levels of personal knowledge, and in turn individuation, may further contribute to dehumanization of the known colleague rather than resulting in humanization:

Proposition 3: Individuation is likely to interact with perceived value incongruence, such that the positive effect of an individuated perception on humanization will be attenuated when perceived value incongruence is increasing.

The effect of an individuated perception on humanization may also be dependent on perceptions of collegial life-to-work interference, or the extent to which one's personal life conflicts with work responsibilities (Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991). Though this construct is typically examined in relation to one's own life and job satisfaction (Ellen Ernst Kossek & Ozeki, 1998), I argue that it also has interpersonal consequences based on how the knowledge acquirer believes the known colleague's life will conflict with his/her work responsibilities. Imagine that Tom has to frequently miss work to attend to his father across the country, or that he frequently steps out of meetings to take calls from his children, relying on other colleagues to finish presenting the team's work. Each time he is absent, others may learn more about the circumstances of his personal life from Tom himself or from others. As the sense of personal knowledge increases and a more individuated perception develops, one may expect Tom to be humanized; however, since the new knowledge about Tom may increase perceptions of life-to-work interference, the opposite may occur.

Recent work by Cameron and colleagues (2016) has shown that individuals dehumanize others to avoid affective costs, such as emotional exhaustion. Across two experiments, individuals dehumanized others when they anticipated that engaging with the other would be exhausting (Cameron et al., 2016). In the workplace, if individuals learn information about a

colleague that increases perceptions of collegial life-to-work interference, they may anticipate this colleague will be more draining to interact with and require much more attention. Cameron and colleagues (2016) theorized that when people anticipate this type of interaction due to information they have learned about someone, they psychologically distance themselves through dehumanization to protect themselves from feeling empathy or feeling compelled to help this individual, behavior anticipated to be emotionally or financially taxing. If this is the case, personal knowledge may not humanize the colleague, but rather cause others to distance themselves from him or her through dehumanization. Thus, I posit:

Proposition 4: Individuation is likely to interact with perceived collegial life-to-work interference, such that the positive effect of an individuated perception on humanization will be attenuated when perceived interference is increasing.

Humanization is consequential for interpersonal interactions because people who are humanized are “seen as moral agents worthy of empathic care and concern, deserving treatment that respects their capacity to suffer, to reason, and to have conscious experience” (Gray et al., 2007). By contrast, the dehumanized “are objects that can be used as tools” (Epley et al., 2013, p. 128). Below, in turn, I more deeply explore each of these potential outcomes. Whereas humanization may provide the necessary motivation for an individual to be responsive toward a known colleague, dehumanization may lead the individual to interact with a known colleague in a socially undermining fashion, a difference that makes the nature of the underlying personal knowledge critical.

I predict that humanization will increase the likelihood that an individual will engage in responsiveness toward a known colleague. Responsiveness refers to the processes through which a person attends to and responds supportively to the other’s needs, wishes, concerns, and goals,

thereby promoting the other's welfare (M. S. Clark & Lemay, 2010; Reis & Clark, 2013; Reis et al., 2004). Responsiveness has been proposed as a central organizing principle underlying other interpersonal processes (e.g., social support, empathic understanding, intimacy, communal sharing) in the relational sciences (Reis, 2007). Individuation due to personal knowledge will provide the desire to behave responsively (Winczewski et al., 2016) if the personal knowledge is not viewed as value incongruent or likely to interfere with work.

I argue that humanization of the known colleague will provide the desire to behave responsively, as indicated by previous work. Gray and colleagues (2007) demonstrated that when participants were shown a humanized subject (e.g., a five-year-old girl) rather than a dehumanized subject (e.g., a chimpanzee), they had a greater desire to make that subject happy and save her from destruction, and had an overall sense of responsibility towards her. In the extreme, anthropomorphism, or the humanization of objects, has been linked to decreased instrumental concerns and increased care (Chandler & Schwarz, 2010). Humanization, by increasing the sense of responsibility toward another and resulting in empathic care (Gray et al., 2007), provides the necessary motivation described by Winczewski and colleagues (2016) for responsive behavior to occur. According to this argument, humanization leads one to view oneself as being in a relationship with another, triggering the use of a relational schema that includes responsibility toward meeting the needs of the other.

Proposition 5: One's level of humanization of a known colleague will be positively associated with responsiveness toward the known colleague.

Conversely, dehumanization, which can result from perceived value incongruence or perceived collegial life-to-work interference, may provide the necessary motivation to treat a known colleague in an undermining fashion, particularly using self-serving social undermining

behaviors such as backstabbing and blackmailing (Chang et al., 2009); incivility, which creates feelings of self-enhancement (Cortina et al., 2001); and sexual harassment, which fulfills the desire to exert one's own power (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987). Dehumanization is accompanied by a psychological distancing that allows the known colleague to treat the dehumanized colleague not as a person with whom one has a relationship laden with responsibilities and expectations, but an object that can be used in pursuit of one's goals (Epley et al., 2013). By dehumanizing another, one is denying that person autonomy and agency, which allows one to view that person as a tool rather than someone with needs and desires (Haslam, 2006). Thus, dehumanization may result in social undermining that is self-serving in nature, using the other as an instrument in order to meet one's own objectives. Essentially this argument states that dehumanization leads one to see the other as an object to be used for one's own means, not as a human who one has a relationship laden with responsibilities and expectations.

Proposition 6: One's level of humanization of a known colleague will be negatively associated with social undermining of that colleague.

Effects of Individuation on Ability

Along with altering the motivations in relating with a known colleague, individuation will also lead to higher levels of empathic accuracy. Empathic accuracy, the ability to read other's thoughts and feelings, is one of the most important abilities underlying human relationships, providing a bridge between the self and the other (Levenson & Ruef, 1992; Smither, 1977; Thomas & Fletcher, 2003). This ability can contribute to both responsiveness and social undermining. Past work has explored how insights gained through empathic accuracy can be used to promote the interests of the other or to fulfill one's own interests (Winczewski et al., 2016). For instance, empathic accuracy has been linked to increased responsiveness to the

other's needs (Kilpatrick et al., 2002; Verhofstadt et al., 2008), yet it also has been linked to increased self-serving behaviors (Gilin et al., 2013). Drawing on existing work on individuation and humanization, I argue that the ability to be empathically accurate can support either supportive or undermining behavior toward the known colleague.

Individuation of others has been shown to lead to increased empathic accuracy. Past studies have found that the more information one person accumulates about another, the more empathically accurate that person is due to individuation (Stinson & Ickes, 1992; Thomas & Fletcher, 2003). Specifically, Stinson and Ickes (1992) found that increased empathic accuracy between friends was not due to increased interaction, more similar personalities, or individual disposition, but instead was due to increased knowledge of one another's lives. They theorized that one must know a person's external situation and past experiences—and not merely rely on supposition, analogy, or projection—to be empathically accurate (Barrett-Lennard, 1981; Goldstein & Michaels, 1985; Rogers, 1975; Stinson & Ickes, 1992). And when participants in an experiment were asked to individuate others, there was an increased activation in brain regions involved in empathy and perspective-taking, processes related to empathic accuracy (Ames, Jenkins, Banaji, & Mitchell, 2008; Harris & Fiske, 2006; Kubota & Senholzi, 2011). Because individuation, specifically that driven by knowledge of others, has been shown to increase empathic accuracy, I propose:

Proposition 7: A more individuated perception of the other will be associated with greater empathic accuracy toward that other.

Empathic accuracy is a critical component underlying responsive behavior because it allows one to gain insight about another's inner state, which is necessary to interact in a way that would meet the other's needs, wishes, and goals (Reis & Patrick, 1996). In two studies of

marriage, scholars found that increased empathic accuracy was associated with responsiveness during laboratory conflict (Kilpatrick et al., 2002; Verhofstadt et al., 2008). This relationship is driven by several factors. First, given that individuals can be hesitant to seek support from others, empathic accuracy allows others to anticipate these needs without being sought out (Barbee, Rowatt, & Cunningham, 1998). Additionally, empathic accuracy allows one to assess the needs of the other, as well as the other's personal resources for meeting challenges, resulting in a better assessment of what type of support may be the most effective (Pierce, Lakey, Sarason, Sarason, & Joseph, 1997; Verhofstadt et al., 2008). However, in a study of romantic couples in conflict, Wincznewski and colleagues (2016) found that empathic accuracy was not significantly correlated to responsiveness in the absence of the desire to behave responsively.

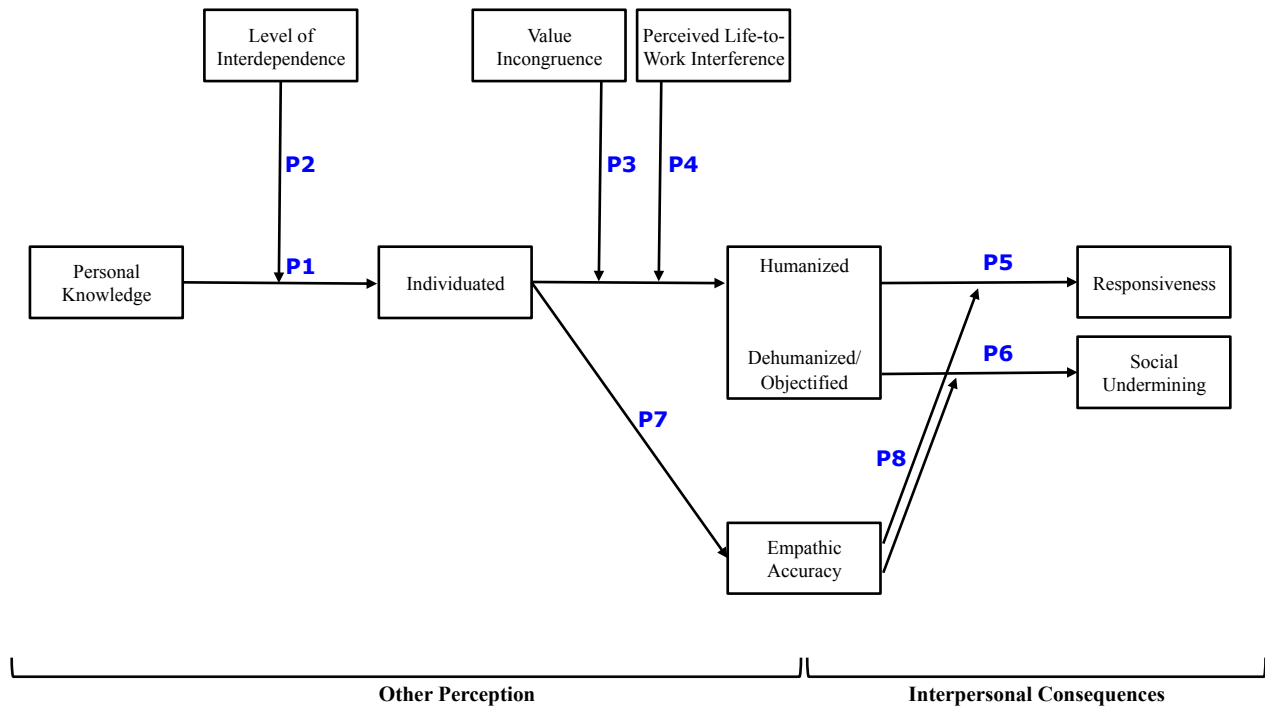
Similarly, past work has explored how empathic accuracy can also contribute to social undermining behaviors. Gilin and colleagues (2013) demonstrated that individuals who had higher levels of empathic accuracy were better able to engage in coalition-building, a type of self-serving undermining behavior, because they were able to recognize subtle emotional reactions in relational contexts to exploit others for personal advantage. Further, Ickes (2003) discussed how empathic accuracy can be used to "push the other's buttons" to advance one's own interests. Just as the relationship between humanization and responsiveness is strengthened by empathic accuracy, empathic accuracy is likely to improve one's ability to engage in social undermining of a dehumanized colleague. Thus, I posit:

Proposition 8: A person's empathic accuracy is likely to interact with humanization, such that (a) at high levels of humanization, the effect of humanization on responsiveness will be greater when the level of empathic accuracy is high, relative to low; and (b) at low levels of humanization, the effect of humanization on social undermining will be greater

when the level of empathic accuracy is high, relative to low.

Overall, personal knowledge, in conjunction with interdependence, will influence the knowledge acquirer's other-schema for the known colleague, leading them to be individuated or categorized. These qualities of the other-schema will have implications for both motivation (humanization) and ability (empathic accuracy) in the relationship with the known colleague. While more personal knowledge and individuation may humanize the known colleague, if the personal knowledge demonstrates value incongruence or highlights potential life-to-work interference, it may have the opposite effect. When known colleagues are humanized, the knowledge acquirer's increased empathic accuracy is likely to enhance responsiveness toward the known colleagues; when they are dehumanized, increased empathic accuracy is likely to enhance the knowledge acquirer's social undermining. For a summary of these eight propositions, see Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: *The effect of personal knowledge on interpersonal treatment*



DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter began by emphasizing a need to better understand how one's perception of and treatment of a work colleague is influenced by personal knowledge acquired. This necessity stems from the growing ease of learning about colleagues' personal lives and the paramount importance of interpersonal behavior in the workplace. Broadly, this framework begins to explore interpersonal interpretive work—how individuals update their perceptions over time, adapting to the changing conditions of others' lives. Specifically, this theoretical framework integrates previous work on relational schema, person perception, and interpersonal dynamics to take a more fine-grained approach to understanding how information about the personal lives of colleagues impacts interpersonal treatment in both positive and negative ways. In this section I will discuss how this model differs from existing theory and contributes to current understanding of how individuals interrelate in work settings.

This particular theoretical model is different from existing work that explains interpersonal dynamics, including work that prioritizes the actor, the circumstances, or instrumental motives, or that focuses on the process unfolding in a diverse setting. A large portion of work that unpacks why individuals treat a colleague in a particular manner emphasizes the traditional person-situation perspective—leaving out perceptions of the other—examining the impact of individual differences (e.g., psychological flexibility, Atkins & Parker, 2012; and prosocial motivation, Grant et al., 2007) and particular circumstances (e.g., emotional culture, Barsade & O'Neill, 2014; and organizational feeling rules, Hochschild, 1983). Additionally, theorists have extolled the importance of relational characteristics: closeness (C. Clark, 1987), trust (Burt & Knez, 1995), and respect (Gittell, Seidner, & Wimbush, 2010). Work emphasizing relational characteristics complements this model, as perceptions the other, as individuated or

humanized, are likely to impact these characteristics.

Writing in qualities of the other, social exchange theorists underscore that instrumental motives that may drive interactions with particular others. Models emphasizing social exchange calculate the reputation of the other in generalized reciprocity systems (Baker & Bulkley, 2014) or the ability of the other to return favors in a direct reciprocity system to fulfill rational self-interest (Meglino & Korsgaard, 2004). While elements of the model presented in this chapter may support a social exchange perspective, such as the improved ability to exchange due to heightened empathic accuracy or the instrumental motives that may be triggered by dehumanization, overall, this model takes a different approach examining how one constructs the other, not in relation to oneself or his/her potential to contribute to oneself. In this model, under circumstances of humanization, the relational partner is an entity worthy of care, regardless of the situation or his/her ability to give back to oneself.

This model of understanding interpersonal dynamics in organizations shares similarities with theories of diversity, yet there are critical differences. One of the main frameworks employed to understand diversity in organizations involves in- and out- group classifications (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This model eschews fine-grained classification of what constitutes an in-group, instead emphasizing the ultimate in-group: being considered a human being. Additionally, work on diversity in organizations often examines perceived similarities or tendencies of homophily in forming the in-group. This model does incorporate one specific similarity: value systems. However, instead of emphasizing the extent to which the other is seen as similar, this model focuses on the effects of extreme dissimilarity, driven by value incongruence. Subsequent studies should explore the extent to which values must be sufficiently incongruent to cause dehumanization, thereby unpacking the effects of extreme dissimilarity.

By stressing the qualities of the known colleague in my model, this chapter makes several contributions to the existing literature on organizational behavior, relationships at work, and work-life. First, it addresses a recent call for organizational behavior scholars to prioritize understanding of nonconscious processes occurring in the workplace. Though contemporary psychologists recognize the importance of nonconscious processing, many organizational behaviorists still build theories on the assumption that behaviors are both conscious and deliberate (Pratt & Crosina, 2016). By incorporating the psychological processes of person perception and other-schema into this framework, the model deepens our understanding of how automatic processing impacts dyadic workplace relationships, rather than jumping to more conscious consequences of these person perception judgments. Tapping into this fundamental phenomenon will help scholars explore related effects of personal knowledge; for example, this model can be applied to help scholars understand additional organizational phenomena that may be impacted by individuation and humanization processes, including improved transactive team memory and decreased display of biases.

Second, this framework contributes to the relationships at work literature. It expands the application of key interpersonal mechanisms beyond their typical use, stretching our understanding of their utility. I integrate individuation, typically used in the diversity literature to explore how intergroup contact may improve relationships among a diverse workforce (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990), and discuss the limitations of its positive effects on interpersonal dynamics. Namely, I posit that individuation alone is not a panacea for improving relationships, as highlighting value incongruence or life-to-work interference may have the opposite effect of what has been previously theorized and espoused. By emphasizing the role of individuation in this process, this model also opens doors to exploring related phenomenon. For example,

personal knowledge may promote charitable giving because individuals are more likely to give to a concrete individual than to an abstract group (Kogut & Ritov, 2005; Small, Loewenstein, & Slovic, 2007). This theoretical model may also interact with related theories. For instance, in exploring ties to Tesser's self-evaluation maintenance theory (1988), one may investigate how, by contributing to individuation, personal knowledge could heighten competitive behaviors. Furthermore, by incorporating humanization into this model, I bring this process into the organizational behavior literature in a novel way. Typically, scholars explore dehumanization processes, or how individuals come to deny human qualities to others (Haslam, 2006). In contrast, I explore the ways in which individuals may begin to reverse this process through humanization (also see Swencionis & Fiske, 2014). Work in psychology has looked at a related phenomenon—the humanization of experts after they make clumsy blunders, such as spilling coffee on themselves (Aronson, Willerman, & Floyd, 1966). Whereas this work examines humanization as making “superhuman” others seem more relatable, the current model looks at how colleagues are elevated from sub-humanness. Future work could examine the effects of personal knowledge on those seen as superhuman rather than subhuman. Both individuation and humanization are fundamental to interpersonal relationships, have broad explanatory power, and are linked to many aspects of interpersonal treatment; as such, they should be fruitful mechanisms for scholars interested in interpersonal treatment within organizations.

Furthermore, this framework begins to answer the call to better understand the complexities of relationships at work. In their book on positive work relationships, Ragins and Dutton (2007) called for putting relationships in the forefront of theories and building bridges across theoretical silos; Liden et al. (2016) echo this call, emphasizing the importance of exploring workplace dyads. In answering these appeals, I have attempted to incorporate and

honor a more complete array of relational dynamics unfolding in organizations. By exploring how personal knowledge can result in supportive or undermining treatment, this model both embraces the wide range of interpersonal treatment and simultaneously begins to unpack how a similar starting point, such as acquiring personal knowledge of a colleague, can result in either, depending on other situational factors. This work thus contributes to our continued quest to understand how and why individuals at work interact in a particular manner, writing back in the importance of the perception of the other. Future work should further explore the impact that the acquisition of personal knowledge can have on organizational outcomes, such as performance, through its influence on responsive and undermining behavior.

This unifying framework also will enable scholars to look across currently segmented processes in the literature, namely the inputs of personal knowledge: self-disclosure, social media, symbols at work, and secondary disclosure. Due to the changing nature of work relationships—the increasing use of remote workers and contractors, and increasingly flexible hours—bridging across these segmented processes is more necessary than ever before. As such, personal knowledge offers a useful construct for examining how this evolution of coworker dynamics may impact relationships at work. For example, in the context of remote work, individuals may rely more heavily on social media or secondary disclosure, rather than self-disclosure or symbols at work, to acquire personal knowledge of colleagues. In these instances, focusing on just one information source, such as self-disclosure, may lead them to miss critical channels through which personal knowledge about colleagues is acquired. By instead focusing on personal knowledge, scholars can continue to explore how other-schema impact vital organizational processes.

Third, this work contributes to the work-life literature. This perspective, one voice in a

growing conversation, continues to encourage scholars to explore the permeability of the work-life boundary (Rothbard & Ollier-Malaterre, 2016), specifically by acknowledging that the focal actor is not in sole control of what personal information about him or her leaks into the workplace. The majority of work that examines the work-life boundary examines the border as it is managed by the employee him/her self—how he/she integrates, separates, and ultimately strikes a balance between the work and family domain (S. C. Clark, 2000). Trefalt (2013) began to acknowledge the relationality of this process, highlighting that individuals employ different boundary-management strategies in different relationships. However, it is necessary to acknowledge that one is not in sole control of one's work-life boundary (e.g., due to gossip and social media posts). My work contributes by building a framework for how and why this permeability is consequential for interpersonal dynamics. It also highlights ways to increase the likelihood that personal knowledge results in improved, rather than corroded, interpersonal dynamics. Accordingly, individuals could seek to highlight personal information about themselves that is value congruent with colleagues and does not convey high levels of life-to-work interference.

Furthermore, this framework investigates how life-to-work interference may have interpersonal consequences in addition to the previously studied impact to the self (Demerouti et al., 2010; Ellen Ernst Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). This model suggests that life-to-work conflict may negatively impact interpersonal treatment by contributing to dehumanization processes on the part of the knowledge acquirer, expanding the perspective of how life-to-work interference may impact workplace dynamics. Subsequent empirical studies can examine the boundary conditions of this proposed effect. For example, at what level does perceived interference begin to produce an effect or does the nature of the interference (e.g., how responsible is the known colleague for

his/her circumstances) change the level of perceived interference necessary to affect the extent to which the known colleague is dehumanized?

Conclusion

Driven by the complexities in and the growing ease of learning about colleagues' personal lives coupled with the increased exposure to new colleagues, this chapter argues that the amount and nature of personal knowledge acquired about a colleague, regardless of the information source, will change how the colleague is viewed and treated. This initial theoretical framework encourages and inspires deeper inquiry more generally into interpersonal interpretive work and specifically into how knowledge about colleagues' personal lives influences interpersonal dynamics, which is of the utmost importance given the centrality of work relationships in individuals' lives (Dutton & Ragins, 2007; Gini, 1998). This work not only contributes to our theoretical understanding but also taps into a very real everyday struggle that many working adults face: whether to share information about their personal life at work, and, if so, what to share and what to conceal, amid difficulty of managing the boundary between the personal and professional.

CHAPTER 3

The More You Know: How Personal Knowledge Improves Workplace Relationships

Over the course of a lifetime, the average person spends more than 100,000 hours at work (Handy, 1995). Because a large portion of that time is spent with others, how colleagues' interactions unfold, whether positively through responsiveness or negatively through social undermining, has important consequences for both individuals and the bottom-line (Ragins & Dutton, 2007). Responsiveness between colleagues has been linked to increased well-being and job commitment, and decreased absenteeism (Beehr, 1995; D. L. Ferris et al., 2015; Reis & Clark, 2013). Whereas, undermining behavior has been linked to decreased well-being and team effectiveness, and increased job stress and turnover intentions (Chang et al., 2009). Because of these notable consequences, scholars have investigated what contributes to these behaviors in organizations by exploring 1) which types of people are more likely to behave this way (Atkins & Parker, 2012), 2) which situations increase these types of behaviors (Salin, 2003), and 3) which relational conditions, including high levels of trust and liking, can promote a positive set of interactions (Colbert, Bono, & Purvanova, 2016). However, it is possible that, in this endeavor, we may be overlooking a foundational aspect that impacts how individuals interrelate at work—first being able to see one another as human.

Humanization is the extent to which another individual is granted (or denied) uniquely human attributes (e.g., civility, refinement, sensibility, logic, maturity) and innate human nature (e.g., emotional reactivity, warmth, openness, individuality, depth). It can be represented by a

continuum with the denial of these attributes and characteristics at one end (dehumanization) and the full granting of these traits at the other (humanization) (Haslam, 2006). Much of the work to date has focused on the denial of these attributes, examining the consequences of dehumanization. In the most benign circumstances, dehumanization results in a disregard for the other as a social partner, a type of null relationship, with reduced empathy (A. P. Fiske, 1991, p. 19). In the most extreme cases, dehumanization is the cognitive process that undergirds mass intergroup bias, conflict, violence, and aggression (Kelman, 1976).

Although social scientists have long extolled the importance of perceptions of humanity in determining behavior, the theoretical and empirical understanding of this process is still nascent in psychology (Bain, Vaes, & Leyens, 2014). Recent work has begun to suggest that dehumanization not only takes place in obvious situations, like during intense intergroup conflict, but also manifests in subtle and implicit ways during interpersonal interactions (Bain et al., 2014). Some venture to theorize that dehumanization may be a default state when encountering others, only overcome with effort (Waytz et al., 2014). Accordingly, the extent to which another is denied or granted human attributes may be a primary mechanism to explain interpersonal treatment, yet it remains less explored than other relational mechanisms.

The current work environment may be further encouraging this dehumanization. Since the industrial revolution, we have slowly been stripping humanity out of the workplace, striving for machinelike efficiency (Montagu & Matson, 1983; Weber, 1947), advised to repress emotions through surface acting (Hochschild, 1983), been told not to cry at work (Elsbach & Bechky), and asked to leave photographs of family at home (Uhlmann et al., 2013). Indeed, Loughnan and Haslam (2007) found business people in particular are rated as less human than other individuals, such as artists. Without overcoming this base level of dehumanization, colleagues would be

unable to view their coworker as more than an animal or machine, making cultivating trust, liking, or perceptions of similarity—typical explanatory mechanisms of interpersonal behavior in organizations—more challenging. Without overcoming this base level of dehumanization, it is unlikely that colleagues would treat each other as more than a tool to be used in meeting their own needs (Epley et al., 2013).

Fortuitously, there are theoretical grounds to believe that there is a way to reverse this trend; a previously discouraged activity may actually promote the humanization of colleagues and in turn, improve interpersonal relationships in the workplace. What is this taboo activity? Allowing and encouraging colleagues to know more about one another's personal lives. In this chapter, I introduce the concept of personal knowledge—one colleague's justified beliefs about the non-work life of another colleague, which can be acquired through colleagues' self-disclosures, social media, symbols displayed at work, and secondary disclosures—as an important pathway to the humanization of colleagues (for a more complete definition including an extended nomological net, see Appendix A). When another is humanized, there is an increased sense of responsibility towards and care for that other (Gray et al., 2007). Thus, an increase in the ability to see colleagues as human could lead to more responsiveness, while simultaneously reducing undermining behavior in organizations.

Building on existing theoretical threads in the person perception literature, I explore how learning about a colleague's personal life will directly impact interpersonal treatment by changing the way the knowledge acquirer views the known colleague. Specifically, I argue that personal knowledge will cause the knowledge acquirer to perceive the known colleague as more individuated than categorized due to an increase in the amount of attributes to interpret. This more individuated perception is likely to increase humanization of the known colleague by

highlighting that colleague's uniqueness and depth, key aspects of granting another their humanity. By increasing individuation and humanization, personal knowledge will result in an increase in responsiveness and a decrease in social undermining. However, I explore how this positive relationship could be mitigated or even reversed if the personal knowledge conveys an underlying value inconsistency or life-to-work interference.

This chapter is not the first to investigate how learning information about colleagues influences interpersonal treatment, but it differs in key ways that make this chapter critical in deepening our understanding of how and why colleagues interact in a particular way. Existing studies focus on the quality of the information that is given, rather than the quantity. Studies of self-disclosure have found that when the an individual learns information that is intimate in nature or about hardships in particular, there is an increase in trust and liking (Collins & Miller, 1994; Trefalt, 2013). These studies examine a particular moment of disclosure and how that new bit of information transforms the relationship. In this chapter, I instead look at how the total quantity of information gathered over time shapes the way that colleague is viewed. Though this difference does not negate the importance of previous work, my perspective takes into account the reality that workers are constantly learning information that adds to their perceptions, instead of focusing on one aspect. This focus on quantity over quality allows me to theorize about a different mechanism, humanization, which, as discussed above, may be a more foundational pathway when exploring interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, existing work in this space has focused more heavily on the negative side of this continuum, understanding both the antecedents and consequences of dehumanization; this chapter begins to shape our understanding of how to push back against the process of dehumanization by exploring means of humanization.

I test these ideas across a series of studies. Study 1 tests the main set of hypotheses using a field survey of staff members at a large Midwestern University. I find support for my proposed main effects, that personal knowledge of colleagues increases individuation and humanized perceptions, leading to increased responsiveness. Additionally, I find that these results persist when accounting for trust, friendship, and relationship length. Study 2 tests the full model using multi-source data across a wide range of industries. In addition to testing each hypothesis using multi-source data, Study 2 continues to demonstrate the strength of my proposed mechanisms that explain interpersonal responsiveness, over and above previously used mechanisms, including trust and liking. Additionally, I find that this effect may be more robust than initially hypothesized; perceptions of value incongruence and perceived life-to-work interference have a direct, rather than moderating, effect on dehumanization and responsiveness, with personal knowledge maintaining a positive direct effect. Finally, Study 3 is a time-lagged, multi-source field survey of teams of consultants at a top-tier, global, strategy consulting firm, and the results of that study provide additional support for the strength of the proposed model.

In addressing a distinct gap in the literature, this chapter contributes to our understanding of relationships at work in several ways. First, this investigation demonstrates the importance of humanization in determining interpersonal treatment at work. Existing literature emphasizes characteristics of the actor (e.g., Atkins & Parker, 2012), the situation (e.g., Salin, 2003), and the relationship (e.g., Colbert et al., 2016); however, to date our literature has overlooked key aspects of how the other is perceived—as individuated and humanized. Second, it expands the application of key interpersonal mechanisms beyond their typical use. For example, instead of solely employing individuation as a mechanism in the intergroup context, this research demonstrates that this nonconscious process impacts relationships more broadly, affecting

interactions between those that are both different as well as similar. Third, by examining the quantity of knowledge, rather than quality, this work opens the door for future studies to integrate across previous silos of research by simultaneously examining the work on self-disclosure, social media postings, secondary disclosure, and displays of symbols at work as ways to increase the quantity of knowledge, regardless of the qualities of each information exchange. Practically, this work contributes to our understanding of when and why the personal entering the professional domain impacts coworker interactions. Workers can use this information to set precedence for learning about colleagues, particularly when there may be high levels of dehumanization present.

HOW PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE AFFECTS INTERPERSONAL TREATMENT

Building on existing theoretical threads in the person perception and relational schema literature, I argue that personal knowledge will increase individuation and humanization of the known colleague, resulting in increased responsiveness. However, this positive relationship could be mitigated or even reversed if the personal knowledge conveys an underlying value inconsistency or life-to-work interference, which could result in an increase in social undermining towards the known colleague.

Perceptions of Work Colleagues

Individuals strive for stable knowledge of those they interact with in order to predict and explain their behavior (Berger, 1988; Planalp & Rivers, 1996). However, given that individuals and the world around them are constantly changing and developing, this stability can be difficult to achieve (Planalp & Rivers, 1996). Person perception theorists have explored how individuals cope with these constant changes and reduce the necessary cognitive processes used to attend to them (Crocker et al., 1984; Rothbart, 1981). This schema evolution often occurs via

bookkeeping, a continuous and gradual adjustment using new knowledge regarding the perception of the other (Crocker et al., 1984; Rothbart, 1981). This phenomenon is most frequently explored through categorization and individuation processes.

Interpersonally, one categorizes another person upon initial contact. Over the course of that relationship, one may continue to categorize or begin to individuate the other (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Categorization refers to assigning someone to a particular social group (e.g., men, Asians, bankers) and is usually coupled with stereotyping, or associating groups with certain traits and behaviors (Kunda & Thagard, 1996). Categorization is the first cognitive process used when perceiving a new person, for several reasons: categories help individuals understand and organize new information (Cantor & Mischel, 1979), categorization allows individuals to use past experience to understand new experiences (Bartlett, 1932) beyond the information given (Asch, 1946; Bruner, 1957), and categorization allows individuals to respond immediately when coming in contact with a new person (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990).

On the other end of the person perception continuum, individuation reflects the tendency to view another not as a member of a distinct social group, but as a unique entity. In this manner, people are characterized on the basis of their idiosyncratic collections of attributes (Brewer, 1988; S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Mason & Macrae, 2004). These attributes can include behavior, profession, age, sex, ethnicity, interpersonal relations, personality traits, physical appearance, abilities, goals, family background, or any other information that one considers relevant (Kunda & Thagard, 1996, p. 284). Consistent with theories of the dilution effect, as the perception of an individual moves from the categorization end of the person perception continuum towards individuation, categories do not disappear, but we rely on them less, and attribute information becomes more prominent in our perceptions of

the other (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Nisbett et al., 1981). Understanding how and when perception of another becomes individuated is consequential, as individuated perceptions have been linked to reduced prejudice and bias (Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Wilder, 1978), and may also impact key mechanisms in interpersonal relationships in the workplace. Three factors contribute to perceiving another as individuated: 1) the amount of attribute information, 2) the inconsistency of attribute information, and 3) the motivation to put effort into the process of encoding these attributes as individuated (S. T. Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Jamieson & Zanna, 1988).

Studies have demonstrated that the more attributes there are to interpret, the less likely people are to rely on categorization because of the difficulty of finding a category or subcategory consistent with all of the attributes (Anderson, 1974; S. T. Fiske & Pavelchak, 1986; Wyer & Carlston, 1979). Given that individuals initially categorize others, they compare additional attribute information to the traits and behaviors associated with initial categorization. They perceive inconsistency when these additional attributes do not seem to jive with initial categories cued, and individuals begin to develop an individuated perception of the other, relying less on previous categorization (Wyer & Carlston, 1979). Personal knowledge is likely to contribute to individuation, as it provides more detail to populate the other-schema that one colleague has for another at work. Personal knowledge is a source of information conveying many person attributes, including non-work roles (e.g., family and non-family), social identities (e.g., racial identity, religious affiliation, sexual orientation), and other aspects of personal life (e.g., experiences and values) conveyed to the acquirer through a variety of channels. In general, the more attribute information provided, the more likely there is to be inconsistent information (Anderson, 1974; S. T. Fiske & Pavelchak, 1986; Wyer & Carlston, 1979).

At work, personal knowledge is particularly likely to be inconsistent with initial categories assigned or attributes observed in the workplace. Personal knowledge, which is inherently about life outside of the workplace, may provide information about attributes that seem separate from the colleague while at work, hence conveying inconsistencies with previous categorization. For example, when one initially encounters a colleague, one may categorize that colleague based on organizational role (e.g., banker), race (e.g., Asian), and gender (e.g., male), but find out through acquired personal knowledge that the colleague is an avid soccer fan, is married to a Jewish man, and owns a home which he shares with his spouse. This knowledge, even if not in direct conflict with the initial categories, may seem inconsistent with it. Existing streams of work-life research acknowledge that there are two different domains in which people operate: the personal and the professional. This division, which widened in the post-industrial age, further supports the idea that that personal knowledge may be inconsistent with perceptions of an individual's professional domain (for a review, see Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). Scholars have examined integration of these domains and segmentation of them (keeping them separate) as ways that individuals manage the work-life boundary (Ellen Ernst Kossek et al., 2006; Ellen Ernst Kossek et al., 1999) and often promote segmentation, which creates further disconnect between the personal and professional (Uhlmann et al., 2013). This divide is likely to contribute to a perceived inconsistency between attributes gained through personal knowledge and initial categorizations made in the professional domain. Thus, when a person acquires personal knowledge about a colleague, this personal knowledge conveys more attributes to categorize, including those that are likely inconsistent with initial workplace categorizations.

Additionally, because of the focus of understanding this process in the workplace, there is a contextual factor that is likely to compel individuals to undergo the effortful processing

necessary to undergo the piecemeal integration of attribute information necessary to form an individuated perception: interdependence. Studies have demonstrated this process across multiple contexts with several types of interdependence: supervisor-subordinate, cooperative peers, and competitors. For example, when the motivation due to interdependence existed, participants in an experiment, reading the same information, were more likely to individuate than categorize, thus demonstrating that motivation does not simply increase the search for attribute information, but also the attention paid and effort used in forming the overall impression of the other person (Neuberg & Fiske, 1987). In sum, the interdependence introduced by the workplace context is likely to provide the motivation to engage in the effortful processing of attribute information conveyed through personal knowledge in order to individuate a work colleague. Thus, I propose the following:

Hypothesis 1: Increased levels of personal knowledge about a given colleague will be associated with a more individuated perception of that colleague.

Individuation is one element of how one perceives another; nevertheless, there is another important element in how others are viewed that is consequential for interpersonal treatment, as it changes the motivations toward the other: the perceived level of humanness of the other, often referred to as humanization (Epley et al., 2013).

Humanization or, conversely, dehumanization, is the granting, or denying, of an individual's uniquely human attributes (e.g., civility, refinement, sensibility, logic, maturity) and/or innate human nature (e.g., emotional reactivity, warmth, openness, individuality, depth) (Haslam, 2006). Dehumanization is marked by a rebuff of these human qualities that results in viewing people without feelings, hopes, or concerns, likening them to either animals or machines (Bandura et al., 1996; Haritos - Fatouros, 1988; Keen, 1986; Kelman, 1973). Dehumanization is

associated with objectification, a process in which a colleague is used for personal gain (Bartky, 1990; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Nussbaum, 1999). Because dehumanization hinges on the denial of individuality and depth, it is often associated with categorization and resulting stereotypes and biases (Swencionis & Fiske, 2014). Conversely, humanization has been proposed to go beyond mitigating the negative effects of dehumanization to changing the way one interacts with a humanized other as a person worthy of empathic care and concern (Epley et al., 2013; Gray et al., 2007).

Some theorists claim that the process of individuation compels one to identify that person as more fully human than categorized individuals (Swencionis & Fiske, 2014, p. 276), a proposed relationship that has been supported in an experimental study (Prati et al., 2016). Examining both rival university students and immigrant groups, Prati and colleagues (2016) found that subjects in conditions given descriptions with multiple attributes versus simple categorization assigned higher levels of human traits to the other. This humanization stems from knowing specific beliefs and motives of the other (individuated), rather than viewing them in the abstract (categorized) (Trope & Liberman, 2003). Haslam and Bain (2007) demonstrated that even a minimal amount of personal knowledge (e.g., initials, age, gender) results in relatively higher attributions of human nature traits. Additionally, individuation does not have to be accurate to result in humanization; the illusion of accuracy is sufficient (Goodwin et al., 2002; Neuberg & Fiske, 1987; Stevens & Fiske, 2000).

Hypothesis 2: Personal knowledge, through increased levels of individuation, will be associated with increased levels of humanization.

Impact of Other Perceptions on Interpersonal Treatment

Humanization is consequential for interpersonal interactions because people who are

humanized are “seen as moral agents worthy of empathic care and concern, deserving treatment that respects their capacity to suffer, to reason, and to have conscious experience” (Gray et al., 2007). By contrast, the dehumanized “are objects that can be used as tools” (Epley et al., 2013, p. 128). Whereas humanization may provide the necessary motivation for an individual to be responsive toward a known colleague, a lack of it may lead the individual to interact with a known colleague in a socially undermining fashion.

Humanization will increase the likelihood that an individual will engage in responsiveness toward a known colleague. Responsiveness refers to the processes through which a person attends to and responds supportively to the other’s needs, wishes, concerns, and goals, thereby promoting the other’s welfare (M. S. Clark & Lemay, 2010; Reis & Clark, 2013; Reis et al., 2004). Responsiveness has been proposed as a central organizing principle underlying other interpersonal processes (e.g., social support, empathic understanding, intimacy, communal sharing) in the relational sciences (Reis, 2007). Individuation due to personal knowledge will provide the desire to behave responsively (Winczewski et al., 2016) if the personal knowledge is not viewed as value incongruent or likely to interfere with work.

The prediction that humanization of the known colleague will provide the desire to behave responsively is supported by previous research. Gray and colleagues (2007) demonstrate that when participants were shown a humanized subject (e.g., a five-year-old girl) rather than a dehumanized subject (e.g., a chimpanzee), they had a greater desire to make that subject happy and save her from destruction, and had an overall sense of responsibility towards her. In the extreme, anthropomorphism, or the humanization of objects, has been linked to decreased instrumental concerns and increased care (Chandler & Schwarz, 2010). Humanization, by increasing the sense of responsibility toward another and resulting in empathic care (Gray et al.,

2007), provides the necessary motivation described by Winczewski and colleagues (2016) for responsive behavior to occur. According to this argument, humanization leads one to view oneself as being in a relationship with another, triggering the use of a relational schema that includes responsibility toward meeting the needs of the other.

Hypothesis 3: One's level of humanization of a known colleague will be positively associated with responsiveness toward the known colleague.

Conversely, dehumanization, the denial of human attributes, may provide the cognitive means to treat a known colleague in an undermining fashion, particularly using self-serving social undermining behaviors such as backstabbing and blackmailing (Chang et al., 2009); incivility, which creates feelings of self-enhancement (Cortina et al., 2001); and sexual harassment, which fulfills the desire to exert one's own power (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1987). Dehumanization is accompanied by a psychological distancing that allows the known colleague to treat the dehumanized colleague not as a person with whom one has a relationship laden with responsibilities and expectations, but an object that can be used in pursuit of one's goals (Epley et al., 2013). By dehumanizing another, one is denying that person autonomy and agency, which allows one to view that person as a tool rather than someone with needs and desires (Haslam, 2006). Thus, dehumanization may result in social undermining that is self-serving in nature, using the other as an instrument in order to meet one's own objectives. Essentially this argument states that dehumanization leads one to see the other as an object to be used for one's own means, not as a human who one has a relationship laden with responsibilities and expectations.

Hypothesis 4: One's level of humanization of a known colleague will be negatively associated with social undermining of that colleague.

Limiting Factors on the Effects of Personal Knowledge and Individuation

Though increased personal knowledge may have a positive effect on interpersonal relationships through individuation and humanization, there are potential limits to these positive effects, which are important to explore in fully understanding this process. Whereas some have asserted that individuation and humanization are inherently linked, a nascent literature suggests individuated perceptions may, under certain conditions, lead to a denial of human attributes. Based on the theoretical foundations of humanization research, I focus on two factors that may cause personal knowledge that results in an individuated other-perception to also result in viewing the other as dehumanized rather than humanized: perceived value incongruence and perceived life-to-work interference. Not only are these perceptions central to the humanization process, but they are also likely to be influenced by the type of personal knowledge that is acquired, making them both theoretically and practically important to the central question.

The extent to which personal knowledge and an individuated perception translate into humanization is likely dependent on the perceived value incongruence between the knowledge acquirer and the known colleague. One core element of humanity is moral sensibility, which hinges on the underlying values of a person (Haslam, 2006). Essentially, individuals view their particular value system as a differentiating factor between humans and non-humans (e.g., animals or machines); those with the same value system are granted human uniqueness (Haslam, 2006). Others can be dehumanized if their values are seen as incongruent with one's own values (Schwartz & Struch, 1989). Because shared values are viewed as core to humanity, those without shared values can be denied uniquely human attributes (Schwartz & Struch, 1989). This value incongruence occurs when someone perceives another's value hierarchy—including beliefs such as prosociality and hedonism, and a belief in God—to be different from one's own (Rokeach, 1973). Given that personal information sources, and the resulting individuation, can convey

underlying values of the known colleague (Byron & Laurence, 2015), it is possible that a colleague having personal knowledge and an individuated view of the other determines that the known colleague has incongruent values.

For example, imagine a colleague named Tom, a man who works in the financial branch of an organization. One observes from stickers on Tom's laptop that he is an avid soccer fan and has some very socially conservative political views, including supporting the Second Amendment and rallying for pro-life causes. In regards to Tom, value incongruence may arise for colleagues who are strong pro-choice and gun restriction policy advocates. If these values are high on their value hierarchy, these colleagues may perceive Tom as lacking humanity due to his diametrically opposed beliefs on these key issues. In this case, dehumanization may go beyond that of omission to dehumanization by commission, or the process of actively suppressing or denying the consideration of another's mind (Waytz & Schroeder, 2014). When this occurs, I argue, high levels of personal knowledge, and in turn individuation, may further contribute to dehumanization of the known colleague rather than resulting in humanization:

Hypothesis 5: Individuation is likely to interact with perceived value incongruence, such that the positive effect of individuation on humanization will be attenuated when perceived value incongruence is increasing.

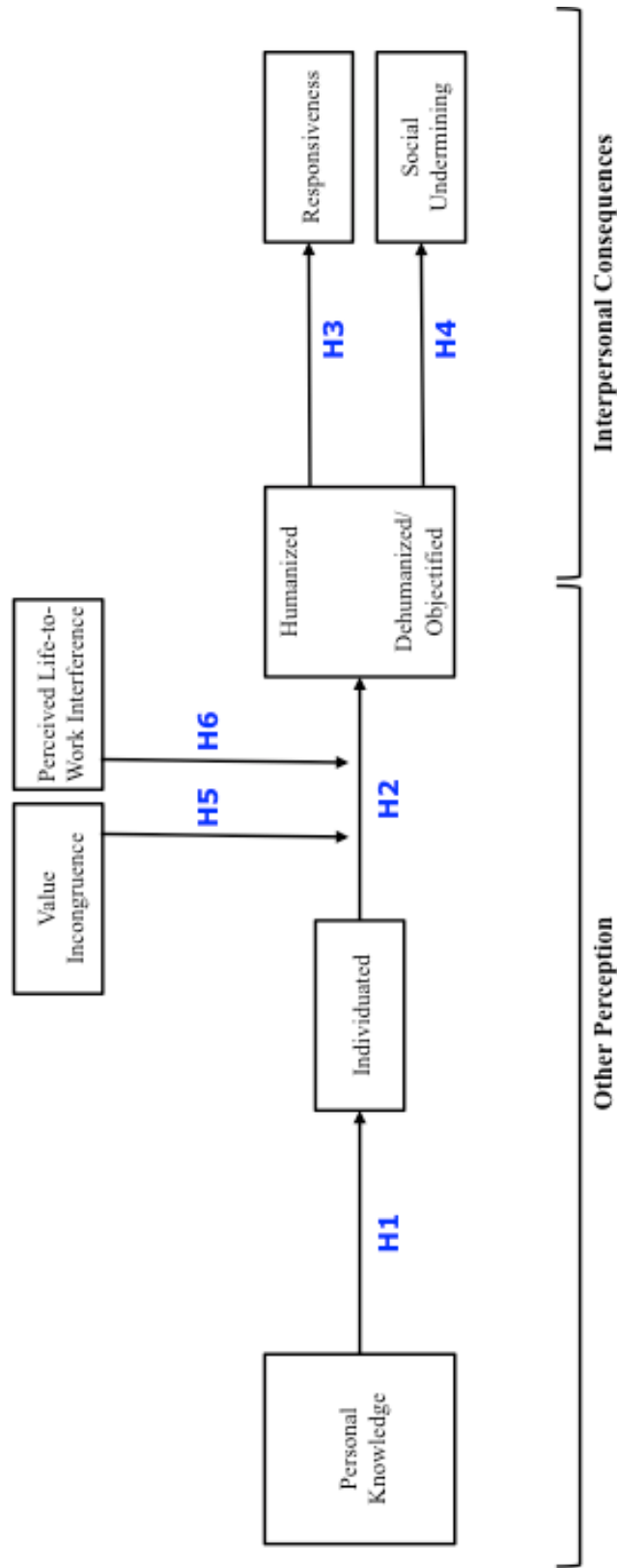
The effect of personal knowledge and an individuated perception on humanization may also be dependent on perceptions of collegial life-to-work interference, or the extent to which one's personal life conflicts with work responsibilities (Gutek et al., 1991). Though this construct is typically examined in relation to one's own life and job satisfaction (Ellen Ernst Kossek & Ozeki, 1998), I argue that it also has interpersonal consequences based on how the knowledge acquirer believes the known colleague's life will conflict with his/her work responsibilities.

Imagine that Tom has to frequently miss work to attend to his father across the country, or that he frequently steps out of meetings to take calls from his children, relying on other colleagues to finish presenting the team's work. Each time he is absent, others may learn more about the circumstances of his personal life from Tom himself or from others. As the sense of personal knowledge increases and a more individuated perception develops, one may expect Tom to be humanized; however, since the new knowledge about Tom may increase perceptions of life-to-work interference, the opposite may occur.

Recent work by Cameron and colleagues (2016) has shown that individuals dehumanize others to avoid affective costs, such as emotional exhaustion. Across two experiments, individuals dehumanized others when they anticipated that engaging with the other would be exhausting (Cameron et al., 2016). In the workplace, if individuals learn information about a colleague that increases perceptions of collegial life-to-work interference, they may anticipate this colleague will be more draining to interact with and require much more attention. Cameron and colleagues (2016) theorized that when people anticipate this type of interaction due to information they have learned about someone, they psychologically distance themselves; they dehumanize to protect themselves from feeling empathy or feeling compelled to help this individual, behavior anticipated to be emotionally or financially taxing. If this is the case, personal knowledge may not humanize the colleague, but rather cause others to distance themselves from him or her through dehumanization. Thus, I posit:

Hypothesis 6: Individuation is likely to interact with perceived collegial life-to-work interference, such that the positive effect of individuation on humanization will be attenuated when perceived interference is increasing.

Figure 3.1: The effect of personal knowledge on interpersonal treatment



In sum, I theorize that personal knowledge will influence the knowledge acquirer's perceptions of the known colleague, leading them to be individuated. These qualities of the other-schema will have implications for the motivations (humanization) in the relationship with the known colleague. While more personal knowledge and individuation may humanize the known colleague, if the personal knowledge demonstrates value incongruence or highlights potential life-to-work interference, it may have the opposite effect. For a summary of these six propositions, see Figure 3.1.

OVERVIEW OF STUDIES

I tested these hypotheses across three field studies. Study 1 begins to test the main set of hypotheses using a field survey of staff members at a large Midwestern University. Study 2 tests the full model, including the moderators, using multi-source data across a wide range of industries. In addition to testing each hypothesis, Study 2 demonstrates the strength of my proposed mechanisms, above the typically leveraged relational characteristics. Finally, I present Study 3, a time-lagged, multi-source field survey of teams of consultants at a top-tier, global, strategy consulting firm, a study that continues to support the strength of the proposed model. In addition to these surveys, I conducted two experimental studies. These studies are included as Appendix B because although the results are directionally promising, difficulty in simulating and manipulating the complexity of real world relationships and perceptions of colleagues in the laboratory-setting limits the contribution of this portion of my dissertation work. For a complete list of all items and scales, see Appendix C.

Study 1

In Study 1, I seek to test the main effects of the proposed model. In addition to testing these four hypotheses, I begin assess whether these relationships have explanatory power above

and beyond other competing relational mechanisms that previous theory may suggest could explain these relationships. The self-disclosure literature offers several alternative explanations for the relationship between personal knowledge, individuated perceptions, humanization, and responsiveness. It is possible that qualities of high quality relationships—including the underlying levels of trust or a sense of friendship (Dutton & Ragsin, 2007)—would increase the level of personal knowledge via increased self-disclosure on the part of the known colleague (e.g., people are more willing to disclose to those whom they trust, respect, or are friends with) while also increasing the desire of the knowledge acquirer to behave more responsively towards the other (Collins & Miller, 1994; Miller & Stiver, 1997; Steel, 1991). Thus, I will measure these constructs, account for them in my analysis, and explore them as competing mechanisms to examine if my proposed effect holds, above and beyond the effects of trust and friendship (respect will be addressed in Study 3).

Method

Through a within subject design, I asked participants to answer questions about two different colleagues. I recruited 100 participants, who are staff members at a large Midwestern University. Participants responded to a number of questions about their two chosen colleagues. Participants first listed two colleagues with whom they interact with regularly and then answered a series of questions about these colleagues. Specifically, the instructions said, “We would like to ask you about individuals whom you encounter at work on a regular basis. For the following two questions, please think of individuals you interact with at least once daily. The remainder of the survey will ask you questions about the two people you identify. Please list **the initials** of two colleagues, who you see at least daily.” Individuals were asked to identify colleagues who they interact with on at least a daily basis in order to ensure that there is adequate amount of contact.

Measures

Personal Knowledge. Participants were asked the extent to which they know about twelve various aspects of their colleagues' person lives: how much do you feel you know about the following aspects of your colleague's personal life (family information, hobbies/interests, relationships, activities, living arrangements, personal history, travel, values, health, finances, personal challenges, aspirations; 1 = *Nothing at all*, 7 = *A great amount*; $\alpha = .97$, $M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.63$).¹

Individuation. Individuals were asked to respond to two sets of questions to assess levels of individuation. First, individuals were asked: Please list how you would describe this colleague to someone in your work group (open-ended). Two independent coders then rated these responses to determine the individuation of the participant's description. Coders responded to the following items, in regards to each description: this description acknowledges the underlying uniqueness of the potential teammate; this description displays an understanding that this person is one of a kind; this description conveys that the potential teammate may be hard to distinguish from others (R). After data collection, two coders responded to these face valid items in order to assess the level of individuation. During this process, I met with the coders regularly, assessed inter-coder reliability, and addressed any discrepancies in their understanding of the task. After coding each response, their inter-coder reliabilities for each item of the scale, as well as the reliability of the overall scale were sufficient (item 1: $\alpha = .87$; item 2: $\alpha = .81$; item 3: $\alpha = .87$; full-scale: $\alpha = .97$; 1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.69$). In addition to the previous, more indirect way to measure individuation, participants were asked to report on the extent to which they view this potential teammate as unique. Participants responded to the

¹ See Appendix A for measure development study

following four items, based on a scale used by Hutter, Wood, and Turner (2013) and Prati et al. (2016): I think this person is a unique individual; I think this person would be difficult to classify into a group; I think this person is one of a kind; I think this person is hard to pigeon-hole (1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\alpha = .76$, $M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.25$). As expected, the participant self-report measure of individuation and the coders developed measure were highly correlated ($r = .25$, $p < .01$).

Humanization. Consistent with previous approaches to measure humanization (Loughnan et al., 2010; Prati et al., 2016), participants rated to what extent they feel each colleague possesses each of the following characteristics, a balance of traits associated with both animalistic (e.g., civil, refined, mature) and mechanistic (de)humanization (e.g., emotionally responsive, warm, deep) (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much so*; $\alpha = .87$, $M = 4.89$, $SD = 1.30$).

Responsiveness. Participants reported their responsiveness towards each colleague using a modified seven-item scale for perceived partner responsiveness developed by Lemay, Clark, and Feeney (2007). Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements in regards to this coworker: I attend to this person's needs, I provide emotional support when this person is stressed, I help this person out or do favors for him/her, I am good at recognizing this person's needs and feelings, I am always there for this person whenever he/she needs me, I am someone this person can turn to when he/she is feeling sad or worried or stressed about something, meeting his/her needs is a high priority for me (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\alpha = .94$, $M = 4.19$, $SD = 1.51$).

Social Undermining. Participants reported their social undermining towards each colleague using a thirteen-item scale developed by Duffy and colleagues (2002). Individuals were to rate how frequently they engage in each of the following behaviors towards each

colleague in the previous month: hurt his/her feelings, put him/her down when he/she questioned work procedures, undermined his/her effort to be successful on the job, let him/her know you did not like him/her or something about him/her, talked bad about him/her behind his/her back, insulted him/her, belittled him/her or his/her ideas, spread rumors about him/her, made him/her feel incompetent, delayed work to make him/her look bad or slow him/her down, talked down to him/her, gave him/her the silent treatment, and did not defend him/her when people spoke poorly of him/her? (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Once or Twice*, 3 = *About Once a Week*, 4 = *Several Times a Week*, 5 = *Almost Every Day*, 6 = *Everyday*; $\alpha = .89$, $M = 1.20$, $SD = .44$).

Trust. Participants reported their trust in each colleague responding to a four-item scale developed by Colquitt, LePine, Zapata, and Wild (2011): In general, I trust this colleague; it bothers me to think that I am vulnerable to this colleague's actions (R); it bothers me when I have to rely on this colleague during job tasks (R); I am confident that I can depend on this colleague when performing job tasks (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\alpha = .85$, $M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.50$).

Friendship. Participants reported their friendship with each colleague by responding to a one-item scale, which has been found to have predictive proximity to longer scales, developed by Selfhout, Denissen, Branje, and Meeus (2009): Please indicate to what degree you are friends with this coworker (1 = *Far Acquaintance*, 7 = *Best Friend*; $M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.62$).

Relationship Length. Participants reported the length of their relationship with each colleague. Because relationship length could be positively related to the level of personal knowledge of a colleague, as well as contribute to interactions with the colleague, it is important to assess each result controlling for this element of the relationship ($M = 3.48$ years, $SD = 3.34$).

Demographics. Participants reported their basic demographic information (e.g., gender,

ethnicity, position, and age). The sample demographics are: 68% female; 69% Caucasian, 9% African American, 6% Hispanic, and 8% Asian; 1% top management, 10% middle management, 20% supervising employee, 65% low-ranking employee, and an average age of 20.21 years (SD = 11.79).

Results

Table 3.1 contains the descriptive statistics by condition for the Study 1 variables.

A principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted on the 12 items developed to assess personal knowledge of colleagues with orthogonal rotation (varimax). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, $KM = .96$. Bartlett's test of sphericity indicates that correlations between items were sufficiently large for PCA ($p < .01$). An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each component in the data; only one component emerged, suggesting there are no underlying factors in the aspects of personal knowledge colleagues have about one another. Thus, going forward, I will use the composite scale to analyze the effects of the amount of personal knowledge.

Table 3.1
Study 1: Descriptive statistics and correlations

Variables	Mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Personal Knowledge	3.65	1.63								
2. Individuation (Open)	3.68	1.69	.20**							
3. Individuation (Self)	4.29	1.25	.15*	.25**						
4. Humanization	4.89	1.30	.28**	.28**	.27**					
5. Responsiveness	4.19	1.51	.63**	.21**	.23**	.48**				
6. Social Undermining	1.20	0.44	-.01	-.11	-.08	-.29**	-.06			
7. Trust	5.15	1.50	.21**	.26**	.19**	.64**	.41**	-.27**		
8. Friendship	3.47	1.62	.66**	.14	.13	.48**	.66**	-.10	.52**	
9. Relationship Length	3.48	3.34	.15*	-.08	-.01	-.08	.01	.18*	-.08	.08

N = 200

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Two-tailed tests.

I then conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to test the discriminant validity of the main variables in my model: personal knowledge, self-report individuation, humanization, responsiveness, and social undermining. I compared a five-factor model with a three-factor model (collapsing personal knowledge with individuation and responsiveness with social undermining) and a two-factor model (collapsing personal knowledge and individuation with humanization and responsiveness with social undermining). Analyses indicated that the five-factor model, separating all variables, represented the best fit with the data (χ^2 [df] = 2001.91 [809] ($p < .01$), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation [RMSEA] = .09, Normed Fit Index [NFI] = .90, Comparative Fit Index [CFI] = .94 and Standardized Root Mean Square Residual [RMR] = .09). Compared with the three-factor model (χ^2 [df] = 3419.47 [816] ($p < .01$), RMSEA = .17, NFI = .83, CFI = .86 and Standardized RMR = .17), the five-factor model fit the data significantly better (chi-square difference test, χ^2 [df] = 1417.56, [7], $p < .001$). Compared with the two-factor model (χ^2 [df] = 3952.63 [818] ($p < .01$), RMSEA = .19, NFI = .80, CFI = .84 and Standardized RMR = .18), the five-factor model fit the data significantly better (chi-square difference test, χ^2 [df] = 1950.72 [9], $p < .001$). Confirmatory factor analysis thus results supports my decision to separate the various aspects of other perception and interpersonal treatment in my model and analysis.

Next, since this data is nested and could require hierarchical linear modeling (HLM), I examined the interclass correlation coefficients, The interclass correlations of both the independent variable, personal knowledge ($ICC(1) = .04$) and the ultimate dependent variables, responsiveness ($ICC(1) = .03$) and social undermining ($ICC(1) = .03$) are sufficiently close to zero (Heck, Thomas, & Tabata, 2013); thus the remainder of analysis will be conducted using traditional linear regressions.

In order to test Hypothesis 1, the relationship between personal knowledge and individuation, I separately examined individuation using both the self-reported and open-coded measures. In step 1, I regressed self-reported individuation on my control variables: gender (1 = male, 2 = female) and age of the participant, gender of the colleague (1 = male, 2 = female), and length of their relationship. I found a significant effect of participant gender ($b = .45, \beta = .19, p = .01$) and a non-significant effect of participant age ($b = .01, \beta = .10, p = .18$), colleague gender ($b = .03, \beta = .01, p = .86$), and relationship length ($b = -.02, \beta = -.06, p = .43$). In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found that personal knowledge had a significantly positive association with individuation ($b = .12, \beta = .17, p = .01$). I then repeated this procedure using the open-coded individuation measure. In step 1, I regressed open-coded individuation on my control variables: gender and age of the participant, gender of the colleague, and length of their relationship. I found a marginally significant effect of participant gender ($b = .50, \beta = .14, p = .07$) and colleague gender ($b = -.49, \beta = -.14, p = .07$) and a non-significant effect of participant age ($b = .00, \beta = .01, p = .99$) and relationship length ($b = -.03, \beta = -.07, p = .38$). In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found that personal knowledge had a significantly positive association with individuation ($b = .23, \beta = .23, p < .01$). These results support my first hypothesis that personal knowledge is positively associated with an individuated perception.

Next, I tested Hypothesis 2, the relationship between personal knowledge and humanization through individuation. First, I examined the relationship between personal knowledge and humanization. In step 1, I regressed humanization on my control variables: gender and age of the participant, gender of the colleague, and length of their relationship. I found a significant effect of participant gender ($b = .64, \beta = .23, p < .01$) and a non-significant effect of participant age ($b = -.01, \beta = -.08, p = .29$), colleague gender ($b = -.15, \beta = -.05, p =$

.46), and relationship length ($b = -.02, \beta = -.05, p = .51$). In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found personal knowledge had a significantly positive association with humanization ($b = .23, \beta = .29, p < .01$). Next, I examined the relationship between individuation and humanization. In step 1, I regressed humanization on the control variables, results consistent with the above. In step 2, I regressed humanization on self-reported individuation and found individuation had a significantly positive association with humanization ($b = .26, \beta = .23, p < .01$). Subsequently, I reran step 2 using open-coded individuation, I found individuation had a significantly positive association with humanization ($b = .19, \beta = .25, p < .01$). Finally, with the control variables, using Hayes (2012) PROCESS in SPSS, I find an indirect effect of personal knowledge on humanization, through individuation (self-report: CI (95%) = .01, .07; open-coded: CI (95%) = .01, .07). These results support my hypothesis that personal knowledge leads to a more humanized perception, through an individuated perception.

In the next section, I examine the effects of my proposed model on interpersonal treatment. Given that trust and friendship are established variables impacting responsiveness and social undermining, in this section I will also control for friendship and trust in addition to the controls used in the previous set of analyses. First, I examined the effects of humanization on interpersonal treatment. In order to test Hypothesis 3, the relationship between humanization and responsiveness, in step 1, I regressed responsiveness on the control variables and found a significant effect of participant gender ($b = .65, \beta = .20, p < .01$) and friendship ($b = .59, \beta = .63, p < .01$) and a non-significant effect of participant age ($b = -.01, \beta = -.02, p = .78$), colleague gender ($b = .07, \beta = .07, p = .68$), relationship length ($b = -.02, \beta = -.03, p = .56$), and trust ($b = .07, \beta = .07, p = .27$). In step 2, I added humanization and found that humanization had a significantly positive association with responsiveness ($b = .18, \beta = .15, p = .03$). These results

support my hypothesis that humanization is positively associated with responsiveness.

In order to test Hypothesis 4, the relationship between humanization and social undermining, in step 1, I regressed social undermining on the control variables and found a significant effect of relationship length ($b = .02, \beta = .17, p = .02$) and trust ($b = -.08, \beta = -.28, p < .01$), and a non-significant effect of participant gender ($b = .02, \beta = .02, p = .74$), participant age ($b = -.01, \beta = -.05, p = .51$), colleague gender ($b = .01, \beta = .01, p = .97$), and friendship ($b = .01, \beta = .02, p = .72$). In step 2, I added humanization and found that humanization had a significantly negative association with social undermining ($b = -.08, \beta = -.25, p = .01$). These results support my hypothesis that humanization is negatively associated with social undermining.

Finally, I examined the overarching model of personal knowledge influencing interpersonal treatment through individuation and humanization. First, I tested the direct effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness. In step 1, I regressed responsiveness on the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 3. In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found that personal knowledge had a significantly positive association with responsiveness ($b = .34, \beta = .37, p < .01$). Using Hayes (2012) PROCESS in SPSS, I simultaneously tested for the indirect effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness through individuation and humanization while controlling for gender and age of the participant, gender of the colleague, and length of their relationship; the total indirect effect is significant (running model with self-reported measure: CI (95%) = .04, .15; running model with open-coded measure: CI (95%) = .04, .14). Then, I added trust and friendship into the model to assess the indirect effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness through individuation and humanization, as well as the alternative explanations of trust and friendship. When using the open-coded individuation measure, the total effect of the indirect pathways is significant (CI (95%) = .16, .34).

Specifically, the indirect pathway through individuation and humanization in combination (CI (95%) = .01, .02), as well as the pathway through humanization (CI (95%) = .01, .09) are significant. The path through friendship is also significant (CI (95%) = .09, .27); however there is not a significant indirect pathway through trust (CI (95%) = -.01, .02). The results are consistent when using the self-reported individuation measure; the total effect of the indirect pathways is significant (CI (95%) = .17, .37). Specifically, the indirect pathway through individuation and humanization in combination (CI (95%) = .01, .02), as well as the pathway through humanization (CI (95%) = .01, .09) are significant. The path through friendship is also significant (CI (95%) = .09, .28); however there is not a significant indirect pathway through trust (CI (95%) = -.01, .02).

Next, I examined individuation and humanization as a mediator of the relationship between personal knowledge and social undermining. First, I tested the effect of personal knowledge on social undermining. In step 1, I regressed social undermining on the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 4. In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found that personal knowledge had a significantly negative association with social undermining ($b = -.08$, $\beta = -.25$, $p = .01$). Using Hayes (2012) PROCESS in SPSS, I simultaneously tested for the indirect effect of personal knowledge on social undermining through individuation and humanization while controlling for gender and age of the participant, gender of the colleague, and length of their relationship; the total indirect effect is significant (running model with self-reported measure: CI (95%) = -.05, -.01; running model with open-coded measure: CI (95%) = -.05, -.01). Then, I added trust and friendship into the model to assess the indirect effect of personal knowledge on social undermining through individuation and humanization, as well as the alternative explanations of trust and friendship. When using the

open-coded individuation measure, the indirect pathway through individuation and humanization in combination (CI (95%) = -.01, -.006), as well as the pathway through humanization (CI (95%) = -.03, -.01) are significant. The indirect pathway through friendship (CI (95%) = -.04, .08) and trust (CI (95%) = -.01, .01) are not significant. The results are consistent when using the self-reported individuation measure. The indirect pathway through individuation and humanization in combination (CI (95%) = -.01, -.0002), as well as the pathway through humanization (CI (95%) = -.03, -.01) are significant. The indirect pathway through friendship (CI (95%) = -.04, .09) and trust (CI (95%) = -.01, .01) are not significant. Together, these results demonstrate the importance of considering perceptions of others as a key mechanism explaining interpersonal treatment, both positive and negative.

Discussion

This study provides initial support for Hypotheses 1 through 4. These results demonstrate that personal knowledge can increase individuation, humanization, and responsiveness, and decrease social undermining. These results are robust, even when accounting for rival mechanisms, including trust and friendship. This study design has both strengths and limitations. Its strengths lie in its use of established work relationships, its use of within-subject design, and its attempt to account for alternative explanations for the main relationships between personal knowledge, individuation, humanization, and responsiveness. Its limitations are its use of one-source, self-report data. I attempt to mitigate the resulting concern of common method bias through constructive replication in the subsequent study designs.

Study 2

In Study 2, I seek to test the robustness of the proposed model, while addressing limitations of Study 1, as well as testing the potential boundary conditions of these relationships.

Importantly, Study 2 leverages multi-source data, diminishing concerns of common method bias and examines relationships in a variety of industries.

Method

Study 2 uses multi-source data and a snowball sampling methodology (Grant & Mayer, 2009; Mayer, Kuenzi, Greenbaum, Bardes, & Salvador, 2009; Skarlicki & Folger, 1997). Students in an introductory management course were asked to recruit a working adult (focal employee) who was willing to complete a short survey; each focal employee recruited a coworker, who was also willing to complete a short survey. Thus, individuals participated as pairs of coworkers, and all participants were employed full-time. As a course requirement, 570 students were asked to participate in creating this subject pool; 502 students submitted contact information for dyads of working individuals, two colleagues who work together regularly. Colleagues reported an average working relationship of just under five years. Each participant was electronically sent information about the survey, a link to the survey, and a unique identification number for matching respondent data anonymously. Through this online survey, focal employees were asked to report how they were treated by their participating coworker, both their responsiveness and their social undermining; coworkers were asked their personal knowledge about the focal employee, their perceptions of that colleague, as well as their feelings for friendship and trust with the focal employee. Due to concerns of survey length, scales were condensed from those used in Study 1. For each condensed scale, the items were selected based on three criteria after ensuring all initial scales loaded onto one factor in a principle component analysis: 1) high reliability among item subset, $\alpha > .70$, 2) high correlation between the full and condensed scales, $r > .95$, and 3) all Study 1 results hold using both the full and condensed version of the scales. See Appendix C for a list of items. In all, I received 225 pairs of and focal

employee and coworker's data that were complete and usable—passed two attention checks (e.g., if you are reading this statement, please select somewhat agree for this line).

Measures

Personal Knowledge. Coworkers reported their level of personal knowledge of the focal employee using the same measure as Study 1 (1 = *Nothing at all*, 7 = *A great amount*; $\alpha = .96$, $M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.49$).

Individuation. Coworkers reported their level of individuation using a subset of the self-report items used in Study 1: I think this person is a unique individual and I think this person is hard to pigeon-hole. Though two self-report items were completed, the reliability between the items was lower than expected ($\rho^2 = .60$). In Study 1 responses, the first item ($r = .80$) was more highly correlated with the scale than the second item ($r = .78$). Given the low-reliability, only the first item, which had a higher correlation with the original scale, was used in analysis (self-reported: I think this person is a unique individual; 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $M = 5.76$, $SD = 1.02$).

Humanization. Coworkers reported their humanization of the focal employee using the scale used in Study 1 (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much so*; $\alpha = .82$, $M = 5.51$, $SD = 1.02$).

Trust. Coworkers reported their trust of the focal employee using the scale used in Study 1 (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\alpha = .73$, $M = 6.06$, $SD = 0.98$).

Friendship. Coworkers reported their friendship with the focal employee using the scale used in Study 1 (1 = *Far Acquaintance*, 7 = *Best Friend*; $M = 4.53$, $SD = 1.34$).

Responsiveness. Each focal employee reported the responsiveness of his/her coworker using a modified version of the self-report scale used in Study 1 (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 =

² Spearman-Brown statistic is reported for two-item scales as the most appropriate assessment of reliability (Eisinga, Grotenhuis, & Pelzer, 2013).

Strongly Agree; $\alpha = .92$, $M = 5.60$, $SD = 1.10$).

Social Undermining. Each focal employee reported the responsiveness of his/her coworker using a modified version of the self-report scale used in Study 1 (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Once or Twice*, 3 = *About Once a Week*, 4 = *Several Times a Week*, 5 = *Almost Every Day*, 6 = *Everyday*; $\alpha = .93$, $M = 1.15$, $SD = .41$).

Value Incongruence. Coworkers reported their perceived value incongruence with the focal employee using a subset of the self-report items from an established scale developed by Hoffman, Bynum, Piccolo, and Sutton (2011) (The things that I value in life are similar to the things this colleague values; 1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.28$).

Life-to-Work Interference. Coworkers reported their perceived life-to-work interference of the focal employee using a subset of the self-report items from an established scale (Burley, 1989; Gutek et al., 1991) modified to be about the perception of another rather than oneself (His/her personal demands are so great that it takes away from his/her work; Others dislike how often he/she is preoccupied with his/her personal life while at work; 1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\alpha = .77$, $M = 2.24$, $SD = 1.24$).

Relationship Length. Participants reported the length of their relationship with each colleague. Because relationship length could be positively related to the level of personal knowledge of a colleague, as well as contribute to interactions with the colleague, it is important to assess each result controlling for this element of the relationship ($M = 4.86$ years, $SD = 6.57$).

Results

Table 3.2 contains the descriptive statistics for the Study 2 variables.

Table 3.2
Study 2: Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Variables	Mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Personal Knowledge	4.15	1.49									
2. Individuation	5.76	1.02	.40*								
3. Value Incongruence	2.81	1.28	-.38**	-.34**							
4. Life-to-Work Interference	2.24	1.24	-.03	-.15*	.36**						
5. Humanization	5.51	1.02	.28**	.39**	-.41**	-.31**					
6. Responsiveness	5.60	1.10	.29**	.25**	.32**	-.13	.28**				
7. Social Undermining	1.15	0.41	.19**	.04	.20**	.21**	-.23**	-.28**			
8. Trust	6.06	0.98	.06	.33**	-.37**	-.45**	.47**	.25**	-.35**		
9. Friendship	4.53	1.34	.51**	.30**	-.43**	-.13*	.32**	.40**	-.11	.27**	
10. Relationship Length	4.86	6.57	.22**	.02	-.08	-.07	.05	.03	.19**	.12	.14*

N = 225

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Two-tailed tests.

A principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted on the 12 items developed to assess personal knowledge of colleagues with orthogonal rotation (varimax). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, $KM = .95$. Bartlett's test of sphericity indicates that correlations between items were sufficiently large for PCA ($p < .01$). An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each component in the data; only one component emerged, suggesting there are no underlying factors in the aspects of personal knowledge colleagues have about one another. Thus, going forward, I will use the composite scale to analyze the effects of personal knowledge.

I then conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to test the discriminant validity of the main variables in my model: personal knowledge, self-report individuation, value congruence, life-to-work interference, humanization, responsiveness, and social undermining. I compared a seven-factor model with a five-factor model (collapsing personal knowledge with individuation and responsiveness with social undermining) and a four-factor model (collapsing personal knowledge and individuation with humanization and responsiveness with social undermining). Analyses indicated that the seven-factor model, separating all variables, represented the best fit with the data ($\chi^2 [df] = 2450.94 [840]$ ($p < .01$), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation [RMSEA] = .09, Normed Fit Index [NFI] = .88, Comparative Fit Index [CFI] = .92 and Standardized Root Mean Square Residual [RMR] = .07). Compared with the five-factor model ($\chi^2 [df] = 3428.16 [851]$ ($p < .01$), RMSEA = .14, NFI = .83, CFI = .87 and Standardized RMR = .13), the seven-factor model fit the data significantly better (chi-square difference test, $\chi^2 [df] = 977.22, [11], p < .001$). Compared with the four-factor model ($\chi^2 [df] = 3915.87 [855]$ ($p < .01$), RMSEA = .15, NFI = .81, CFI = .85 and Standardized RMR = .15), the seven-factor model fit the data significantly better (chi-square difference test, $\chi^2 [df] = 1464.93$

[15], $p < .001$). Confirmatory factor analysis thus results supports my decision to separate the various aspects of other perception and interpersonal treatment in my model and analysis.

First, I tested Hypothesis 1, the relationship between personal knowledge and individuation. In step 1, I regressed individuation on my control variables: gender (1 = male, 2 = female) and age of the participant, gender of the colleague (1 = male, 2 = female), and length of their relationship. None of the control variables had a significant effect: participant gender ($b = .03, \beta = .01, p = .85$), participant age ($b = -.01, \beta = -.01, p = .96$), colleague gender ($b = .07, \beta = .03, p = .66$), or relationship length ($b = .01, \beta = .05, p = .55$). In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found that personal knowledge had a significantly positive association with individuation ($b = .27, \beta = .40, p < .01$). These results support my first hypothesis that personal knowledge is positively associated with an individuated perception.

Next, I tested Hypothesis 2, the relationship between personal knowledge and humanization through individuation. First, I examined the relationship between personal knowledge and humanization. In step 1, I regressed humanization on my control variables: gender and age of the participant, gender of the colleague, and length of their relationship. None of the control variables had a significant effect: participant gender ($b = .22, \beta = .11, p = .14$), participant age ($b = .01, \beta = .07, p = .38$), colleague gender ($b = .07, \beta = .04, p = .60$), or relationship length ($b = -.01, \beta = -.01, p = .91$). In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found personal knowledge had a significantly positive association with humanization ($b = .19, \beta = .29, p < .01$). Next, I examined the relationship between individuation and humanization. In step 1, I regressed humanization on the control variables, results consistent with the above. In step 2, I regressed humanization on individuation and found individuation had a significantly positive association with humanization ($b = .38, \beta = .39, p < .01$). Finally, with the control variables,

using Hayes (2012) PROCESS in SPSS, I find an indirect effect of personal knowledge on humanization, through individuation (CI (95%) = .05, .15). These results support my hypothesis that personal knowledge leads to a more humanized perception, through an individuated perception.

In the next section, I examine the effects of my proposed model on interpersonal treatment. Given that trust and friendship are established variables impacting responsiveness and social undermining, in this section I will also control for friendship and trust in addition to the controls used in the previous set of analyses. First, I examined the effects of humanization on interpersonal treatment. In order to test Hypothesis 3, the relationship between humanization and responsiveness, in step 1, I regressed responsiveness on the control variables and found a significant effect of trust ($b = .20, \beta = .17, p = .01$) and friendship ($b = .29, \beta = .36, p < .01$) and a non-significant effect of participant gender ($b = .01, \beta = .01, p = .98$), participant age ($b = -.01, \beta = -.06, p = .39$), colleague gender ($b = .09, \beta = .04, p = .54$), and relationship length ($b = .01, \beta = .01, p = .98$). In step 2, I added humanization and found that humanization had a significantly positive association with responsiveness ($b = .26, \beta = .23, p < .01$). These results support my hypothesis that humanization is positively associated with responsiveness.

In order to test Hypothesis 4, the relationship between humanization and social undermining, in step 1, I regressed social undermining on the control variables and found a significant effect of relationship length ($b = .01, \beta = .25, p < .01$) and trust ($b = -.10, \beta = -.44, p < .01$), and a non-significant effect of participant gender ($b = .04, \beta = .08, p = .24$), participant age ($b = -.01, \beta = -.03, p = .68$), colleague gender ($b = -.01, \beta = -.01, p = .95$), and friendship ($b = .01, \beta = .02, p = .79$). In step 2, I added humanization and found that humanization did not have a significant association with social undermining ($b = -.02, \beta = -.06, p = .39$). Without controlling

for trust and friendship, there was a significant association with social undermining ($b = -.05$, $\beta = -.24$, $p < .01$). These results provide mixed support for my hypothesis that humanization is negatively associated with social undermining.

Finally, I examined the overarching model of personal knowledge influencing interpersonal treatment through individuation and humanization. First, I tested the direct effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness. In step 1, I regressed responsiveness on the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 3. In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found that personal knowledge had a marginally significantly positive association with responsiveness ($b = .10$, $\beta = .14$, $p = .07$). Using Hayes (2012) PROCESS in SPSS, I simultaneously tested for the indirect effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness through individuation and humanization while controlling for gender and age of the participant, gender of the colleague, and length of their relationship; the total indirect effect is significant (CI (95%) = .03, .15). Then, I added trust and friendship into the model to assess the indirect effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness through individuation and humanization, as well as the alternative explanations of trust and friendship. The total effect of the indirect pathways is significant (CI (95%) = .08, .26). Specifically, the indirect pathway through individuation and humanization in combination (CI (95%) = .01, .05), as well as the pathway through humanization (CI (95%) = .01, .07) are significant. The path through friendship is also significant (CI (95%) = .03, .18); however there is not a significant indirect pathway through trust (CI (95%) = -.05, .01).

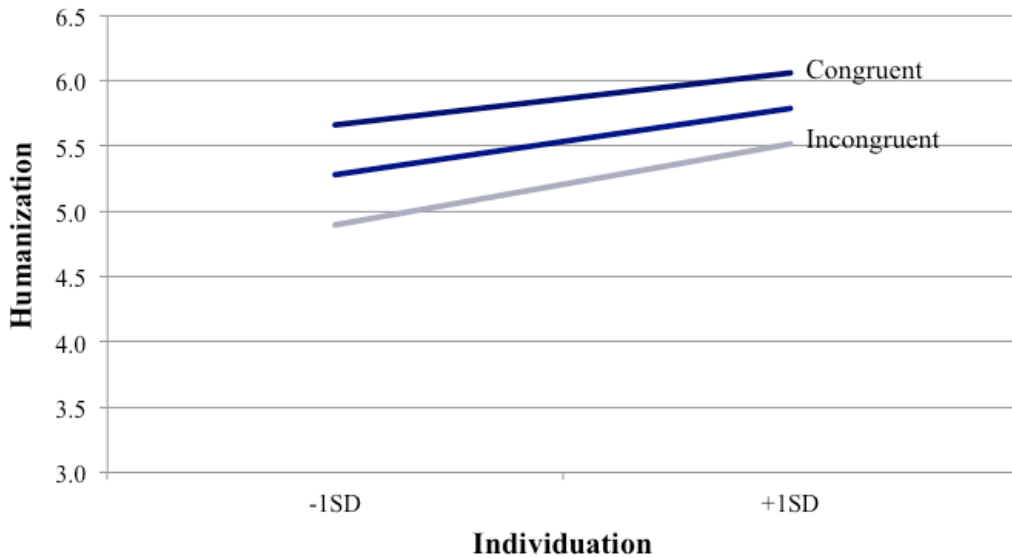
Next, I examined individuation and humanization as a mediator of the relationship between personal knowledge and social undermining. Using Hayes (2012) PROCESS in SPSS, I simultaneously tested for the indirect effect of personal knowledge on social undermining through individuation and humanization while controlling for gender and age of the participant,

gender of the colleague, and length of their relationship; the total indirect effect is negative and significant (CI (95%) = -.03, -.01). Then, I added trust and friendship into the model to assess the indirect effect of personal knowledge on social undermining through individuation and humanization, as well as the alternative explanations of trust and friendship. The indirect pathway through individuation and humanization in combination (CI (95%) = -.009, -.001), as well as the pathway through humanization (CI (95%) = -.02, -.001) are significant. The indirect pathway through friendship is not significant (CI (95%) = -.03, .01). Surprisingly, there is a positive indirect pathway through trust (CI (95%) = .001, .03). Together, these results demonstrate the importance of considering perceptions of others as a key mechanism explaining interpersonal treatment, both positive and negative.

Finally, I began to test the boundaries of the effects of the model. I tested Hypothesis 5, the interaction between individuation and value incongruence on humanization, using linear regression. In step 1, I entered the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 2. In step 2, I entered individuation (centered) and value incongruence (centered). There was a significant main effect of individuation ($b = .27, \beta = .27, p < .01$) and value incongruence, ($b = -.25, \beta = -.31, p < .01$). In step 3, I entered the interaction between individuation and value incongruence. The interaction term was not significant ($b = .08, \beta = .11, p = .89$; see Figure 3.2). In addition, I tested the effect of value incongruence on the broader model by examining the interaction of personal knowledge and value incongruence on responsiveness towards the known colleague. In step 1, I entered the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 3. In step 2, I entered personal knowledge (centered) and value incongruence (centered). There was a significant main effect of personal knowledge ($b = .14, \beta = .18, p = .01$) and value incongruence ($b = -.24, \beta = -.27, p < .01$). In step

3, I entered the interaction between personal knowledge and value incongruence. The interaction term was not significant ($b = -.04, \beta = -.07, p = .31$). While, I find a negative effect of value incongruence on humanization and responsiveness, the positive effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness remains positive and is not reversed by value incongruence.

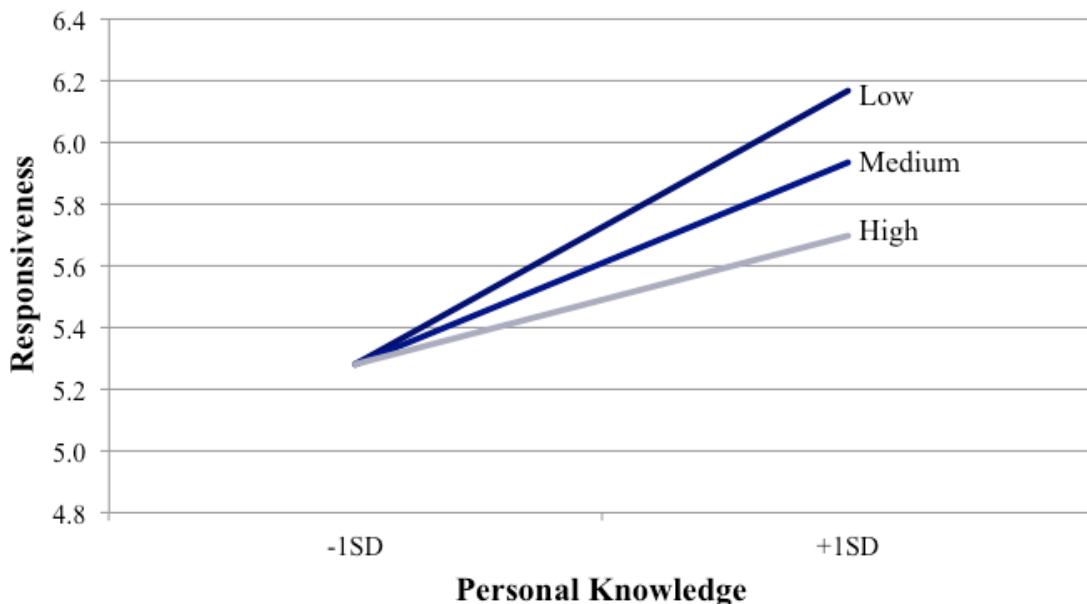
Figure 3.2
Study 2: The effect of individuation and perceived value incongruence on humanization



Then, I tested Hypothesis 6, the interaction between individuation and life-to-work interference on humanization, using linear regression. In step 1, I entered the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 2. In step 2, I entered individuation (centered) and life-to-work interference (centered). There was a significant main effect of individuation ($b = .32, \beta = .33, p < .01$) and life-to-work interference ($b = -.20, \beta = -.25, p < .01$). In step 3, I entered the interaction between individuation and life-to-work interference. The interaction term was not significant ($b = .03, \beta = .04, p = .49$). In addition, I tested the effect of perceived life-to-work interference on the broader model by examining the interaction of personal knowledge and life-to-work interference on responsiveness towards the known colleague. In step 1, I entered the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing

Hypothesis 3. In step 2, I entered personal knowledge (centered) and life-to-work interference (centered). There was a significant main effect of personal knowledge ($b = .21, \beta = .29, p < .01$) and life-to-work interference, ($b = -.13, \beta = -.14, p = .05$). In step 3, I entered the interaction between personal knowledge and life-to-work interference. The interaction term was significant ($b = -.08, \beta = -.16, p = .02$), such that the effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness was attenuated under high levels of life-to-work interference. The simple slopes for low levels (one standard deviation below the mean: $b = .30, t(.06) = 4.84, p < .01$), mean levels ($b = .22, t(.05) = 4.90, p < .01$), and high levels (one standard deviation above the mean: $b = .14, t(.05) = 2.45, p = .02$) of life-to-work interference were significant. The plot suggests that the effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness was stronger among those who reported lower levels of perceived life-to-work interference (see Figure 3.3). Though the effect does not emerge when examining the mediating mechanism of humanization, the hypothesized effect is found when examining the behavioral dependent variable of responsiveness.

Figure 3.3
Study 2: The effect of personal knowledge and perceived life-to-work interference on responsiveness



Discussion

This study replicates the results of Study 1, providing continued support for Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3, and partial support for Hypothesis 4. These results demonstrate that personal knowledge can increase individuation, humanization, and responsiveness while decreasing social undermining. These effects continue to emerge when using multi-source reports, decreasing concerns of common method bias. Furthermore, these results are robust, even when accounting for rival explanations, including the common relational mechanisms of trust and friendship. However, the results are less clear when interpreting the hypothesized interaction effects of Hypotheses 5 and 6; instead the main effect of personal knowledge on interpersonal treatment remains. In regards to Hypothesis 5, there is a direct negative effect of perceived value incongruence on humanization and responsiveness. However, the positive effect of individuation and personal knowledge remains, underscoring the importance of this phenomenon in interpersonal relationships. Additionally, Hypothesis 6 was only partially supported. There was a direct negative effect of perceived life-to-work interference on humanization and responsiveness, yet the interaction only emerged with regards to responsiveness and the positive effect of personal knowledge remained. Future work should explore these effects further. Because personal knowledge itself is likely to shape conceptions of value incongruence and life-to-work interference, future work could aim to investigate how and when perceptions of value incongruence and life-to-work interference morph over time due to changing personal knowledge.

This study design has both strengths and limitations. Its strengths lie in its use of established work relationships and multi-source data, addressing a limitation of Study 1. Furthermore, this study begins to address potential boundary conditions of the proposed

relationship. Additionally, this dataset spans multiple industries, further increasing the generalizability of the findings. The main limitation of the design is the use of cross-sectional data, which diminishes ability to claim causality rather than simple correlation. I attempt to mitigate this concern through constructive replication in the subsequent study design.

Study 3

Study 3 is a multi-wave survey of teams at a global consulting firm. I elected to study teams in the consulting industry for several reasons. First, teams are transient, forming and reforming at a rapid rate. Practically, this allows for multiple data collection opportunities and theoretically, this serves as a context in which acquisition of personal knowledge is constant, beginning anew as individuals are assigned new teammates. Second, teammates are highly interdependent. Past work has demonstrated that responsiveness is critical in highly interdependent settings (Kelley et al., 2003; Reis & Clark, 2013), thus providing a context in which there is ample opportunity to capture occurrence of the dependent variable.

Method

My firm contact, the head of consulting for a Midwest office of this firm, granted access to survey 30 teams with an average size of 4.3 individuals, both internal (firm specific) and external (client facing), which includes 396 unique dyads composed of 119 participants. My contact used a snowball methodology to recruit members of the firm to join the study. Each of these members served as the team point person. Given the considerations unearthed in the interview phase discussed below, I designed the following protocol. Individuals on each team were surveyed twice, one month apart, via Qualtrics. Teams were in different stages of the project, thus time on team was controlled for. Surveys were personalized for each team, with the names of teammates used as a basis for the dyadic questions. Each team point person reported

who the working team included, these are the names that appeared in random order in the survey.

In the first wave of surveys, teammates reported their level of personal knowledge, aspects of their other perceptions (i.e., individuation, and humanization), and factors that are proposed to influence these perceptions (i.e., perceived value incongruence, and perceived life-to-work interference). In the second wave of surveys, teammates reported how others treat them (i.e., responsiveness or social undermining), as well as underlying conditions of the relationship that could serve as alternative explanations (i.e., trust, respect, and similarity). In order to increase response rates, I attempted to be comprehensive in my measures, while keeping the survey as compact as possible, given that each individual had to answer each question multiple times in order to report on each teammate.

In order to develop this design, I used interviews within the consultant team setting, paying attention to themes that may impact the optimal way to collect survey data in this particular context. I began sampling through convenience, leveraging existing relationships with consultants I know professionally or personally. I cultivated these relationships during my time as an undergraduate studying business and during my three years working as a consultant at a large global firm. I then used a snowball sampling technique, asking each interviewee for the names of additional consultants who they felt would be willing to speak with me; so, though some interviewees knew me, many did not. Repetition of similar experiences suggests that I reached theoretical saturation in my data collection efforts (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

This process resulted in a sample of 16 consultants (12 men and 4 women) with an average of just over 3 years in the consulting industry, given the high turnover of the profession, this number is not surprising. Interviewees ranged from interns to principals, spanning each level of the organizational hierarchy. I interviewed 12 consultants individually, conversations lasting

40 minutes on average. I was also able to attend a team dinner, speaking with 6 consultants as a group for approximately 2 hours. Interview questions broadly addressed interpersonal dynamics among teammates, instances of need (opportunities for responsiveness), and team dynamics that may impact data collection efforts. When interviewees would give specific instances of need, I inquired to gain more detail about the specifics of the colleague in need, personal knowledge of this colleague, and how the need was or was not addressed. Here, I focus on how the team structure may impact data collection efforts for this multi-wave field survey.

Themes

Project timing. Projects last for different lengths of time, from just a month to over a year. In order to standardize from team to team, instead of using the project start and finish for wave 1 and 2, I standardized time between the two surveys. Additionally, I controlled for how long teams have been working together.

Team turnover. During a given project, individuals may be replaced or leave the project creating a smaller team. In order to reduce the likelihood of this occurring, the time between the wave 1 and wave 2 surveys was not greater than 1 month.

Working teams. Project teams vary greatly in their size. On large teams, it is possible that individuals do not interact. In order to capture individuals that are actually working together, team point people determined the members of working teams. By using working teams rather than structural teams, I increased the likelihood that individuals interact and was also able to shorten the survey by asking the dyadic questions about fewer colleagues.

Attrition. In most multi-wave surveys, participant attrition is a possibility. In order to decrease the likelihood that individuals complete both surveys, I minimized the number of items, decreasing a barrier of participation.

This approach to data collection was effective in obtaining sufficient response rates. In Wave 1, 88% of participants completed the survey; in Wave 2, 83% of participants completed the survey; this resulted in 282 dyads of observation across the 30 teams.

Measures

Wave 1

Individual

Time on team. Team members reported how long they have been on the project ($M = .72$ years, $SD = .67$).

Gender, age, tenure, education. Team members reported basic demographic information. The sample has the following characteristics: 45% female, 30.07 years ($SD = 6.4$), 63% Caucasian, 12% Asian, 3% African American, 3% Hispanic; 36% have earned a masters degree.

Dyadic

Personal Knowledge. Team members reported their level of personal knowledge of each teammate using the same measure as Studies 1 and 2 (1 = *Nothing at all*, 7 = *A great amount*; $\alpha = .97$, $M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.60$).

Individuation. Team members reported individuation of each teammate using the same open-coded approach from Study 1 and the condensed self-report measure from Study 2. Though two self-report items were completed, the reliability between the items was lower than expected based on Studies 1 and 2 ($\rho = .40$). One participant noted in their open-ended comments, "The "pigeon-holed" question didn't make sense to me." Given the low-reliability, and the sentiment of confusion around this particular item, only the first item was used in analysis for the self-reported individuation (self-reported: I think this person is a unique individual; 1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $M = 5.53$, $SD = 1.15$; open-coded: 1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 =

Strongly Agree; item 1: $\alpha = .97$; item 2: $\alpha = .96$; item 3: $\alpha = .96$; full-scale: $\alpha = .99$, $M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.82$).

Humanization. Team members reported humanization of each teammate using the same measures as Studies 1 and 2 (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much so*; $\alpha = .76$, $M = 5.12$, $SD = .94$).

Value (In)congruence. Team members reported value incongruence with teammate using the same measures as Study 2 (1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $M = 3.21$, $SD = 1.13$).

Perceived Collegial Life-to-Work Interference. Team members reported perceived collegial life-to-work interference of each teammate using the same measures as Study 2 (1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\rho = .89$, $M = 2.42$, $SD = 1.28$).

Wave 2

Dyadic

Responsiveness. Each teammate reported the responsiveness of his/her coworker using a modified version of the self-report scale used in Study 2 (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\alpha = .95$, $M = 4.93$, $SD = 1.28$).

Social Undermining. Each focal employee reported the social undermining of his/her coworker using a modified version of the self-report scale used in Study 2 (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Once or Twice*, 3 = *About Once a Week*, 4 = *Several Times a Week*, 5 = *Almost Every Day*, 6 = *Everyday*; $\alpha = .88$, $M = 1.05$, $SD = .19$). Just 64 unique dyads contained any items rated above a 1 (*Never*), and only 4 dyads contained an item rated greater than 3 (*About Once a Week*), with all of these instances being reported by 44 individuals across 17 teams. Because of this, the variance of the scale is low, particularly when nested by differences in unique respondent and team. Due to this, I do not report hypotheses related to social undermining.

Alternative Mechanisms and Explanations. Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, I examined potential competing mechanisms (e.g., trust and respect) and alternative explanations (e.g., similarity). Participants reported their trust in each teammate responding to a four-item scale developed by Colquitt et al. (2011): In general, I trust this colleague; it bothers me to think that I am vulnerable to this colleague's actions (R); it bothers me when I have to rely on this colleague during job tasks (R); I am confident that I can depend on this colleague when performing job tasks (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\alpha = .89$, $M = 5.71$, $SD = 1.14$). Participants reported their respect for each teammate by responding to a two-item scale developed used in previous work (Chatman, 1991; Jehn & Mannix, 2001): How much do you respect this colleague; how much do you respect the ideas of this colleague (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *A lot*; $\rho = .92$, $M = 5.68$, $SD = 1.31$). Finally, participants reported their perceived similarity with each teammate by responding to a two-item scale, developed by Abele and Stasser (2008): this person is similar to me, this person and I have much in common (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\rho = .82$, $M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.26$). Because similarity could be positively related to the level of personal knowledge of a colleague, as well as contribute to interactions with the colleague, it is important to assess each result controlling for this element of the relationship.

Results

Table 3.3 contains the descriptive statistics for the Study 3 variables. All hypothesis testing for this study is completed using mixed multi-level modeling unless otherwise noted. The model is specified such that the random effects of the team (level 3), the identity of knowledge acquirer (level 2), and the identity of known colleague (level 2) are taken into account. All analysis is completed at level 1 of the model, each unique dyad observation.

Table 3.3
Study 3: Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Variables	Mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Personal Knowledge	2.94	1.60											
2. Individuation (Open)	3.86	1.82	.36**										
3. Individuation (Self)	5.53	1.15	.35**	.34**									
4. Value Incongruence	3.21	1.13	-.43**	-.26**	-.50**								
5. Life-to-Work Interference	2.42	1.28	-.11*	-.33**	-.33**	.29**							
6. Humanization	5.12	0.94	.25**	.30**	.51**	-.50**	-.30**						
7. Responsiveness	4.93	1.28	.41**	.27**	.36**	-.35**	-.10	.29**					
8. Social Undermining	0.88	0.19	.18**	-.06	-.07	.01	.07	-.09	-.29**				
9. Trust	5.71	1.14	.23**	.36**	.43**	-.49**	-.51**	.56**	.19**	-.05			
10. Respect	5.68	1.31	.28**	.31**	.52**	-.57**	-.38**	.60**	.25**	-.04	.75**		
11. Similarity	4.31	1.26	.28**	.16**	.31**	-.64**	-.24**	.40**	.15*	.04	.49**	.55**	
12. Work Relationship Length (years)	0.72	0.67	.22**	.08	.08	-.14*	.02	-.01	.06	.04	.09	.05	.12*

N = 282

* p < .05

** p < .01

Two-tailed tests.

A principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted on the 12 items developed to assess personal knowledge of colleagues with orthogonal rotation (varimax). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, $KM = .95$. Bartlett's test of sphericity indicates that correlations between items were sufficiently large for PCA ($p < .01$). An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues for each component in the data; only one component emerged, suggesting there are no underlying factors in the aspects of personal knowledge colleagues have about one another. Thus, going forward, I will use the composite scale to analyze the effects of personal knowledge.

I then conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to test the discriminant validity of the main variables in my model: personal knowledge, self-report individuation, value incongruence, life-to-work interference, humanization, responsiveness, and social undermining. I compared a seven-factor model with a five-factor model (collapsing personal knowledge with individuation and responsiveness with social undermining) and a four-factor model (collapsing personal knowledge and individuation with humanization and responsiveness with social undermining). Analyses indicated that the seven-factor model, separating all variables, represented the best fit with the data ($\chi^2 [df] = 2754.35 [798]$ ($p < .01$), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation [RMSEA] = .11, Normed Fit Index [NFI] = .89, Comparative Fit Index [CFI] = .92 and Standardized Root Mean Square Residual [RMR] = .09). Compared with the five-factor model ($\chi^2 [df] = 4026.72 [809]$ ($p < .01$), RMSEA = .15, NFI = .84, CFI = .87 and Standardized RMR = .16), the seven-factor model fit the data significantly better (chi-square difference test, $\chi^2 [df] = 1272.37, [11], p < .001$). Compared with the four-factor model ($\chi^2 [df] = 4632.82 [813]$ ($p < .01$), RMSEA = .16, NFI = .82, CFI = .84 and Standardized RMR = .16), the seven-factor model fit the data significantly better (chi-square difference test, $\chi^2 [df] =$

1878.47 [15], $p < .001$). Confirmatory factor analysis thus results supports my decision to separate the various aspects of other perception and interpersonal treatment in my model and analysis.

In order to test Hypothesis 1, the relationship between personal knowledge and individuation, I separately examined individuation using both the self-reported and open-coded measures. In step 1, I regressed self-reported individuation on my control variables: gender (1 = male, 2 = female) and age of the participant, gender of the colleague (1 = male, 2 = female), length of their relationship, and perceived similarity. I found a significant effect of perceived similarity ($b = .27$, $t(250.49) = 5.08$, $p < .01$) and a non-significant effect of participant gender ($b = -.03$, $t(82.38) = -.17$, $p = .86$), participant age ($b = .01$, $t(85.34) = .40$, $p = .69$), colleague gender ($b = .02$, $t(95.54) = .14$, $p = .89$), and relationship length ($b = .13$, $t(107.61) = 1.14$, $p = .26$). In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found that personal knowledge had a significantly positive association with individuation ($b = .27$, $t(204.03) = 6.37$, $p < .01$). I then repeated this procedure using the open-coded individuation measure. In step 1, I regressed open-coded individuation on the control variables. I found a significant effect of perceived similarity ($b = .30$, $t(167.94) = 4.28$, $p < .01$) and a non-significant effect of participant gender ($b = -.05$, $t(80.48) = -.16$, $p = .88$), participant age ($b = .01$, $t(78.75) = .01$, $p = .99$), colleague gender ($b = .25$, $t(66.46) = 1.25$, $p = .22$), and relationship length ($b = .37$, $t(95.31) = 1.70$, $p = .09$). In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found that personal knowledge had a significantly positive association with individuation ($b = .45$, $t(190.67) = 7.18$, $p < .01$). These results support my first hypothesis that personal knowledge is positively associated with an individuated perception.

Next, I tested Hypothesis 2, the relationship between personal knowledge and humanization through individuation. First, I examined the relationship between personal

knowledge and humanization. In step 1, I regressed humanization on the control variables. I found a significant effect of perceived similarity ($b = .21, t(224.14) = 5.61, p < .01$) and a non-significant effect of participant gender ($b = -.10, t(84.07) = -.70, p = .49$), participant age ($b = -.01, t(86.96) = -.45, p = .65$), colleague gender ($b = .09, t(82.46) = .77, p = .44$), and relationship length ($b = .14, t(69.15) = 1.30, p = .20$). In step 2, I added personal knowledge and found personal knowledge had a significantly positive association with humanization ($b = .16, t(240.80) = 4.94, p < .01$). Next, I examined the relationship between individuation and humanization. In step 1, I regressed humanization on the control variables, results consistent with the above. In step 2, I regressed humanization on self-reported individuation and found individuation had a significantly positive association with humanization ($b = .36, t(225.68) = 9.17, p < .01$). Subsequently, I reran step 2 using open-coded individuation, I found individuation had a significantly positive association with humanization ($b = .15, t(186.77) = 4.28, p < .01$). Because of the nature of mixed models, Hayes (2012) PROCESS in SPSS cannot be used to assess indirect effects. Thus instead of this more advanced analysis, I will do three things to assess mediation for Study 3: 1) applying the Baron and Kenny (1986) mediation procedure, 2) applying the Sobel test (Sobel, 1982), and 2) analyzing the mediation pathways in a non-nested model, adding several variables to account for team- and individual-level characteristics. Though neither of these methodologies is without limitations, using them in tandem will shed light on the existence of indirect effects in this model.

In the Baron and Kenny (1986) mediation procedure, the first step is to establish the relationship between the independent and dependent variable; as shown above, I have established the positive relationship between personal knowledge and humanization ($b = .16, t(240.80) = 4.94, p < .01$). The second step is to establish the relationship between the mediator and

independent variable; as shown above, I have established the positive relationship between individuation and humanization (self-report: $b = .36$, $t(225.68) = 9.17$, $p < .01$; open-coded: $b = .15$, $t(186.77) = 4.28$, $p < .01$). The final step is to regress the dependent variable on both the independent variable and mediator. Thus, in step 2, I regressed humanization on self-reported individuation and personal knowledge, entering the control variables in step 1. I found a significant association of self-reported individuation ($b = .32$, $t(236.57) = 7.67$, $p < .01$) and personal knowledge ($b = .06$, $t(226.42) = 2.01$, $p = .05$). I also reran this analysis using the open-coded individuation measure. I found a significant association of both personal knowledge ($b = .10$, $t(167.86) = 2.69$, $p = .01$) and open-coded individuation ($b = .11$, $t(173.88) = 2.85$, $p < .01$). Though the significance of the direct effect of personal knowledge remains, using a z-test to compare coefficients (Clogg, Petkova, & Haritou, 1995; Paternoster, Brame, Mazerolle, & Piquero, 1998), I find that the coefficient for personal knowledge is significantly smaller when self-reported individuation is added into the model and marginally smaller when open-coded individuation is added to the model (self-report: $z = 2.45$; open-coded: $z = 1.50$). This suggests the presence of a significant indirect effect of personal knowledge on humanization through individuation. Next, I use the Sobel test, which calculates a z-statistic for the indirect pathway through the mediator using the coefficient estimates and standard errors. This test suggests a significant indirect effect of personal knowledge on humanization through individuation, using both measures (self-report: z-statistic = 6.49, $p < .01$; open-coded: z-statistic = 3.29, $p < .01$).

Third, I examine the mediation in a non-nested model while controlling for gender and age of the participant, gender of the colleague, length of their relationship, perceived similarity, as well as the type of team and percent of time face-to-face as proxies to account for team and individual effects. Using Hayes (2012) PROCESS in SPSS, I find an indirect effect of personal

knowledge on humanization through individuation (self-reported: CI (95%) = .05, .13; open-coded: CI (95%) = .02, .09). In concert, these results support my model, that there is a positive indirect effect of personal knowledge on humanization through individuation.

In the next section, I examine the effects of my proposed model on interpersonal treatment. Given that trust and respect are established variables impacting responsiveness, in this section I will also control for friendship and respect in addition to the controls used in the previous set of analyses. First, I examined the effects of humanization on interpersonal treatment. In order to test Hypothesis 3, the relationship between humanization and responsiveness, in step 1, I regressed responsiveness on the control variables. None of the control variables had a significant effect: participant gender ($b = .22, t(79.88) = 1.09, p = .28$), participant age ($b = .01, t(84.48) = .45, p = .65$), colleague gender ($b = .17, t(84.64) = .87, p = .39$), relationship length ($b = .21, t(42.50) = 1.41, p = .16$), perceived similarity ($b = .05, t(200.32) = .84, p = .40$), trust ($b = .08, t(212.12) = .76, p = .45$), and respect ($b = .17, t(220.34) = 1.75, p = .08$). In step 2, I added humanization and found that humanization had a significantly positive association with responsiveness ($b = .37, t(221.60) = 3.47, p < .01$). These results support my hypothesis that humanization is positively associated with responsiveness.

Before testing the boundary conditions of the proposed effects, I examine the overarching model of personal knowledge influencing interpersonal treatment through individuation and humanization rather than through relational conditions such as trust and respect. Again, because of the limitations of testing mediation in a mixed model, I will establish these indirect effects using two approaches. First, I applied the Baron and Kenny (1986) mediation procedure. I tested the direct effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness. In step 1, I regressed responsiveness on the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 3. In step 2, I

added personal knowledge and found that personal knowledge had a significantly positive association with responsiveness ($b = .33, t(209.04) = 6.97, p < .01$). I next examine the relationship between all of the potential mediators and responsiveness; for each analysis, step 1 included the control variables and step 2 added the potential mediator (self-report individuation: $b = .37, t(208.06) = 5.51, p < .01$, open-coded individuation: $b = .20, t(156.89) = 3.71, p < .01$, humanization: $b = .42, t(228.83) = 4.55, p < .01$, trust: $b = .19, t(222.63) = 2.47, p = .01$, respect: $b = .21, t(229.83) = 3.00, p = .01$). Finally, I regress responsiveness on personal knowledge and the potential mediators, with the control variables. I found a significant association of personal knowledge ($b = .25, t(211.82) = 5.05, p < .01$), self-reported individuation ($b = .19, t(193.00) = 2.43, p = .02$). The effects of humanization ($b = .17, t(214.02) = 1.59, p = .11$), trust ($b = -.01, t(199.87) = -.02, p = .98$), and respect ($b = .01, t(204.53) = .10, p = .92$) did not reach significance. Using a z-test to compare coefficients (Clogg et al., 1995; Paternoster et al., 1998), I find that the coefficient for personal knowledge is not significantly smaller when these mediators are added into the model ($z = 1.12$). However, using the nested model and omitting control variables from the model, the addition of mediators did result in a significant decrease in the coefficient of personal knowledge ($z = 2.30$), with a significant effect of individuation ($b = .15, t(215.00) = 2.06, p = .04$) and humanization ($b = .23, t(232.65) = 2.30, p = .02$). Because the results of this approach are less clear when examining the indirect effect through two mediators, the subsequent analysis may be more appropriate. Next, I use the Sobel test, which calculates a z-statistic for the indirect pathway through each individual mediator using the coefficient estimates and standard errors. This test suggests a significant indirect effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness through individuation (self-report: z-statistic = 3.51, $p < .01$; open-coded: z-statistic = 2.32, $p < .01$) and humanization (z-statistic = 3.18, $p < .01$), but not through

trust (z -statistic = 1.76, p = .08) or respect (z -statistic = 1.78, p = .07).

Third, I examine the mediation in a non-nested model while controlling for gender and age of the participant, gender of the colleague, length of their relationship, perceived similarity, as well as the type of team and percent of time face-to-face as proxies to account for team and individual effects. Using Hayes (2012) PROCESS in SPSS, I find an indirect effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness through individuation and humanization (self-report: CI (95%) = .01, .13; open-coded: CI (95%) = .01, .03). Adding trust and respect into the model, neither indirect effect reaches significance (trust: CI (95%) = -.01, .03; respect: CI (95%) = -.04, .01). In concert, these results provide some support for my model, that there is a positive indirect effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness through individuation and humanization, but not through the competing mechanisms of trust or respect.

Finally, I began to test the boundaries of the effects of the model. I tested Hypothesis 5, the interaction between individuation and value incongruence on humanization, using linear regression. In step 1, I entered the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 2. In step 2, I entered individuation (self-report and open-coded respectively) and value incongruence. There was a significant main effect of individuation (self-reported: b = .32, $t(231.89) = 7.36$, $p < .01$; open-coded: b = .11, $t(174.99) = 3.33$, $p < .01$) and value incongruence, (with self-reported individuation: b = -.11, $t(210.53) = -2.24$, $p = .03$; with open-coded individuation: b = -.29, $t(174.72) = -5.52$, $p < .01$). In step 3, I entered the interaction between individuation and value incongruence. The interaction term was not significant (with self-reported individuation: $b < .01$, $t(200.63) = .19$, $p = .85$; with open-coded individuation: b = .01, $t(166.92) = .49$, $p = .63$). In addition, I tested the effect of value incongruence on the broader model by examining the interaction of personal knowledge and value incongruence on

responsiveness towards the known colleague. In step 1, I entered the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 3. In step 2, I entered personal knowledge and value incongruence. There was a significant main effect of personal knowledge ($b = .29$, $t(190.62) = 5.89$, $p < .01$) and non-significant main effect of value incongruence ($b = -.07$, $t(186.06) = -.96$, $p = .34$). In step 3, I entered the interaction between personal knowledge and value incongruence. The interaction term was not significant ($b = .01$, $t(197.55) = .09$, $p = .92$). While, I find a negative effect of value incongruence on humanization and responsiveness, the positive effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness remains positive and is not reversed by value incongruence. Hypothesis 5 is not supported.

Then, I tested Hypothesis 6, the interaction between individuation and life-to-work interference on humanization, using linear regression. In step 1, I entered the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 2. In step 2, I entered individuation (self-report and open-coded respectively) and life-to-work interference. There was a significant main effect of individuation (self-reported: $b = .34$, $t(226.57) = 8.27$, $p < .01$; open-coded: $b = .12$, $t(186.70) = 3.43$, $p < .01$) and life-to-work interference (with self-reported individuation: $b = -.08$, $t(242.24) = -2.15$, $p = .03$; with open-coded individuation: $b = -.13$, $t(196.02) = -2.79$, $p = .01$). In step 3, I entered the interaction between individuation and life-to-work interference. The interaction term was not significant (with self-reported individuation: $b = .02$, $t(201.37) = 1.06$, $p = .29$; with open-coded individuation: $b = .04$, $t(180.97) = 1.63$, $p = .11$). In addition, I tested the effect of perceived life-to-work interference on the broader model by examining the interaction of personal knowledge and life-to-work interference on responsiveness towards the known colleague. In step 1, I entered the control variables, results consistent with step 1 when testing Hypothesis 3. In step 2, I entered personal knowledge and life-to-work interference. There was a

significant main effect of personal knowledge ($b = .31, t(190.41) = 6.48, p < .01$), however there was not a significant effect of life-to-work interference ($b = .01, t(212.99) = .17, p = .86$). In step 3, I entered the interaction between personal knowledge and life-to-work interference. The interaction term was not significant ($b = .01, t(194.69) = .51, p = .61$). This set of results does not provide support for Hypothesis 6, the interaction of individuation and perceived life-to-work interference. While, I find a negative effect of life-to-work interference on humanization and responsiveness, the positive effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness remains positive and is not attenuated or reversed by life to work interference. Hypothesis 6 is not supported.

Discussion

This study provides continued support for Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3, replicating the results of Studies 1 and 2. These results demonstrate that personal knowledge can increase individuation, humanization, and responsiveness, even when accounting for perceived similarity. These effects continue to emerge when using multi-source reports, decreasing concerns of common method bias, as well as a time-lagged design, increasing the ability to assess causation. However, the results are less clear when interpreting the hypothesized boundary effects of Hypotheses 5 and 6; instead the main effect of personal knowledge on interpersonal treatment remains. There is a direct negative effect of perceived value incongruence and life-to-work interference on humanization and responsiveness. However, the positive effect of individuation and personal knowledge remains, without evidence of a significant interaction. Despite not finding support for the boundary conditions of personal knowledge, future work should explore these effects further to understand how these relationships evolve over time. Additionally, I find evidence of an indirect effect of personal knowledge on responsiveness through individuation and humanization, but not through trust or respect.

There are several strengths of this design, including utilizing real work teams, leveraging multi-source data, and employing a longitudinal design. Despite the strengths of this approach, there are a number of limitations that leave room for future directions. Many of the measures are self-report; nonconscious processes (i.e., individuation and humanization) can be difficult to measure using self-report. Future work could leverage a field experiment that would capture real-time interpersonal treatment and more direct measurement of each construct. Additionally, the time lag of one month may have added additional unexplained variation into the analysis. Because I was unable to capture changes in personal knowledge, individuation, or humanization during this time period, these tests are noisier than the previous studies. Though this design decision does increase the ability to make causal claims, it does introduce additional variation into the model. This could be the reason behind the partial support for the indirect effects through individuation and humanization. In fact, several open-ended comments at the end of the Wave 1 survey may have served as an intervention, for example “This survey inspired the whole team to get to know each other better!” and “Made me truly evaluate how much I know about my colleagues and the big gaps to fill. Also made me realize on how I need to do a better job to build a stronger friendship with them.”

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter began by emphasizing a need to better understand how one’s perception of a colleague and subsequently treatment towards that colleague are influenced by the quantity of personal knowledge acquired. This necessity stems from the trend of dehumanization in the organizational setting coupled with the established detrimental effects of this trend. Broadly, this chapter begins to explore interpersonal interpretive work—how individuals update their perceptions over time, adapting to the changing conditions of others’ lives. Specifically, this

theoretical framework integrates previous work on relational schema, person perception, and interpersonal dynamics to take a more fine-grained approach to understanding how information about the personal lives of colleagues impacts interpersonal treatment.

Table 3.4 summarizes the findings of the studies in this chapter, as well as the strengths and limitations of each design. Across three studies, I found support for my main hypotheses that personal knowledge would increase individuation, humanization, and responsiveness.

Additionally, in Studies 1 and 2, I found support for my hypothesis that higher levels of personal knowledge decreases social undermining. However, not all hypotheses were consistently supported; I did not find consistent support for the boundary conditions, Hypotheses 5 and 6, which demonstrates that the positive effect of the quantity of personal knowledge persists, even under conditions where previous theory would hypothesize its limitations. Yet, there is room for future work to continue to investigate the effects the evolving relationship between personal knowledge with value incongruence and life-to-work interference, as outlined in the discussion section of Study 2. In addition to testing my formal hypotheses, I also investigated several competing mechanisms and alternative explanations. Through this analysis, I found continued support for the positive relationship between personal knowledge, individuation, humanization, and responsiveness, above and beyond friendship, respect, trust, similarity, and length of work relationship. This theoretical model and empirical findings contribute to the body of organizational research in several ways.

This particular theoretical model advances our understanding of interpersonal relationships in organizations by demonstrating the importance of an overlooked person perception mechanism: humanization. Despite previous work in psychology demonstrating the dearth of humanization in organizations, as well as the negative consequences of this scarcity,

organizational scholars had yet to explore the antecedents and consequences of this phenomenon. The results of this dissertation suggest that an increased quantity of personal knowledge can significantly contribute to the humanization of colleagues. In turn, this humanization increases responsiveness and decreases social undermining. Not only are these effects found, but the power of humanization explains variation in these behaviors beyond more typical relationship mechanisms of trust, respect, friendship, similarity, and length of relationship. In contrast to other models of interaction in organizations, I leverage this nonconscious process, which demonstrates that under circumstances of humanization, in a less deliberate, less conscious way, the relational partner becomes an entity worthy of care, regardless of the situation or his/her ability to give back to oneself. Theoretically, this should inspire scholars to continue to integrate this mechanism when exploring interpersonal phenomenon in organizations. By adding humanization into the repertoire of antecedents of interpersonal treatment of work, scholars will be able to better understand how, when, and why individuals interact in a particular manner. Given the critical consequences of interpersonal treatment in organizations, this mechanism has the chance to make a significant impact on our understanding of well-being, job commitment, team effectiveness, and job stress.

In addition to my emphasis on humanization, this model has important implications for theory relating to the other mechanism employed: individuation. While extensive research has examined the effects of individuation in intergroup relationships (e.g., Brewer, Weber, & Carini, 1995; Prati et al., 2016), less work has examined how these processes impact interactions with everyone we encounter, including those similar to ourselves. In this dissertation, I examined both antecedents and consequences of individuated perceptions across all coworker interactions. Specifically, the results of Study 3 demonstrate that the effect of personal knowledge on

individuation, as well as its downstream effects hold regardless of the level of similarity between two colleagues. This finding demonstrates the broader utility that individuation processes may have for organizational scholars. Instead of solely employing individuation as a mechanism in the intergroup context, researchers can employ this nonconscious process into theorizing relationships more broadly. Further, by emphasizing the role of individuation in this process, my model also opens door for scholars to explore related phenomenon. For example, personal knowledge may promote charitable giving because individuals are more likely to give to a concrete individual than to an abstract group (Kogut & Ritov, 2005; Small et al., 2007). This model may also interact with related theories. For instance, in exploring ties to Tesser's self-evaluation maintenance theory (1988), one may investigate how, by contributing to individuation, personal knowledge could heighten competitive behaviors.

In addition to the theoretical advancement due to the use of these mechanisms, the introduction of the personal knowledge construct also has important implications for organizational research. This work bridges several research silos and provides a new perspective for understanding how and why personal information exchange influences behavior within organizations. The existing literature on self-disclosure, secondary disclosure, social media, and symbols at work has primarily examined the effects of the quality of particular instances of personal information exchange among colleagues. However, because individuals gather information about colleagues over time and through multiple channels, I introduce the concept of personal knowledge, which accounts for the collection of this information through experience, perceptions, and learning. Accordingly, this construct enables scholars to pursue a new line of inquiry, asking not only what effects one piece of new information may have, but also ask how the total quantity of information known will impact workplace phenomenon. In this chapter, I

empirically explore the importance of examining how acquiring a greater quantity of personal knowledge about a colleague has robust effects on interpersonal treatment. In this dissertation, I focus on how examining the quantity rather than quality of personal knowledge about a coworker will increase interpersonal responsiveness and reduce social undermining through individuation and humanization processes. However, there are theoretical grounds to also examine how the quantity of personal knowledge may impact other processes important to the functioning of organizations, such as empathic accuracy (as theorized in Chapter 2) and team transactive memory. In addition, one could explore the effects of other conceptualizations of personal knowledge, such as the breadth, depth, or accuracy, as discussed in Appendix A.

Through the introduction of the personal knowledge construct, this research also adds to the work-life literature. This perspective joins a growing conversation that encourages scholars to explore the permeability of the work-life boundary (Rothbard & Ollier-Malaterre, 2016), specifically by acknowledging that the focal actor is not in sole control of what personal information about him or her leaks into the workplace. The majority of work that examines the work-life boundary examines the border as it is managed by the employee him/her self—how he/she integrates, separates, and ultimately strikes a balance between the work and family domain (S. C. Clark, 2000). Trefalt (2013) began to acknowledge the relationality of this process, highlighting that individuals employ different boundary-management strategies in different relationships. However, it is helpful to acknowledge that one is not in sole control of one's work-life boundary (e.g., due to gossip and social media posts). My work contributes by building a framework for how and why this permeability is consequential for interpersonal dynamics. It also highlights ways to increase the likelihood that personal knowledge results in improved, rather than corroded, interpersonal dynamics. Accordingly, individuals could seek to

highlight personal information about themselves that is value congruent with colleagues and does not convey high levels of life-to-work interference.

Conclusion

Driven by the importance of interpersonal dynamics in the workplace, this chapter demonstrates that the amount of personal knowledge acquired about a colleague will change how that colleague is viewed and treated in constructive ways. Personal knowledge, by increasing humanization, results in collegial relationships where the relational partner becomes an entity worthy of care, regardless of the situation or his/her ability to give back to oneself. This initial investigation encourages and inspires deeper inquiry more generally into interpersonal interpretive work and specifically into how knowledge about colleagues' personal lives influences interpersonal dynamics, which is of the utmost importance given the centrality of work relationships in individuals' lives (Dutton & Ragins, 2007; Gini, 1998). This work not only contributes to our theoretical understanding but also taps into a very real everyday struggle that many working adults face: whether to share information about their personal life at work, and, if so, what to share and what to attempt to conceal, amid difficulty of managing the boundary between the personal and professional.

Table 3.4 Summary of Studies

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3	Summary
Design	Within subject	Multi-source	Multi-source, time-lagged	
Sample	200 staff members	225 dyads	229 dyads across 25 consulting teams	
Strengths	Established work relationships, within subjects design	In addition to Study 1: multi-source data	In addition to Studies 1 and 2: time-lagged design	
Limitations	Self-report, cross-sectional data	Cross-sectional data	Limitations in ability to establish causality	
Hypothesis Testing				
1: Personal knowledge - + -> Individuation	✓	✓	✓	✓
2: Personal knowledge - + -> Individuation - + -> Humanization	✓	✓	✓	✓
3: Humanization - + -> Responsiveness	✓	✓	✓	✓
4: Humanization - - -> Undermining	✓	✓		✓
Boundary Testing				
5: Individuation x Value incongruence --> Humanization		✗	✗	✗
6: Individuation x Life-to-work interference --> Humanization		✓	✗	✓
Competing Mechanisms				
Personal knowledge - + -> Individuation - + -> Humanization - + -> Resp.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Personal knowledge - + -> Individuation - + -> Humanization - - -> Under.	✓	✓		✓
Personal knowledge - + --> Trust - + -> Responsiveness	✗	✗	✗	✗
Personal knowledge - + -> Friendship - + -> Responsiveness	✓	✓		✓
Personal knowledge - + -> Respect - + -> Responsiveness			✗	✗
Alternative Explanations				
Length of Relationship	✗	✗	✗	✗
Similarity			✗	✗

✓ Denotes fully supported ✓ Denotes partially supported ✗ Denotes not supported

CHAPTER 4

What Personal Knowledge Adds to Our Understanding of Relationships at Work

This dissertation began with an emphasis on the undeniable need for human connection coupled with recognition of the fears that can restrain individuals from forming these connections with colleagues in their organization. In Chapter 2, I theoretically explore how and when these fears may be of valid concern. I argue that under conditions of value incongruence or life-to-work interference, increased levels of personal knowledge may result in dehumanization and subsequently increase undermining behavior. However, through the empirical investigations of Chapter 3, I demonstrate the robust positive effect of increased levels of personal knowledge. Through this theoretical and empirical work, my dissertation contributes to our understanding of interpersonal dynamics within organizations and can shape future investigations in critical ways. Not only does the broader model contribute to our theoretical understanding of behavior within organizations, but this dissertation also contributes to our understanding of each construct employed. Accordingly, I structure this section by clustering the insights around each individual construct and then explore the utility of the proposed relationships of the broader model for both theory and practice.

Personal Knowledge

This work bridges several research silos and provides a new perspective for understanding how and why personal information exchange influences behavior within organizations. The existing literature on self-disclosure, secondary disclosure, social media, and

symbols at work has primarily examined the effects of the quality of particular instances of personal information exchange among colleagues. However, because individuals gather information about colleagues over time and through multiple channels, I introduce the concept of personal knowledge, which accounts for the collection of this information through experience, perceptions, and learning. Accordingly, this construct enables scholars to pursue a new line of inquiry, asking not only what effects one piece of new information may have, but also ask how the total quantity of information known will impact workplace phenomenon. In Chapter 3, I empirically explore the importance of examining how acquiring a greater quantity of personal knowledge about a colleague has robust effects on interpersonal treatment. In this dissertation, I focus on how examining the quantity rather than quality of personal knowledge about a coworker will increase interpersonal responsiveness and reduce social undermining through individuation and humanization processes. However, there are theoretical grounds to also examine how the quantity of personal knowledge may impact other processes important to the functioning of organizations, such as empathic accuracy (as theorized in Chapter 2) and team transactive memory. In addition, one could explore the effects of other conceptualizations of personal knowledge, such as the breadth, depth, or accuracy, as discussed in Appendix A.

Individuation

While extensive research has examined the effects of individuation in intergroup relationships (e.g., Brewer, Weber, & Carini, 1995; Prati et al., 2016), less work has examined how these processes impact interactions with everyone we encounter, including those similar to ourselves. In this dissertation, I examined both antecedents and consequences of individuated perceptions across all coworker interactions. Specifically, the results in Study 3 in Chapter 3 demonstrate that the effect of personal knowledge on individuation, as well as its downstream

effects hold regardless of the level of similarity between two colleagues. This finding demonstrates the broader utility that individuation processes may have for organizational scholars. Instead of solely employing individuation as a mechanism in the intergroup context, researchers can employ this nonconscious process into theorizing relationships more broadly.

Additionally, although I theorized that there might be limits to the positive effect of individuation when perceived value incongruence or life-to-work interference is present, empirical results across the Chapter 3 studies do not support this theory. Though in some cases an interaction emerged, even under the highest levels of perceived value incongruence or life-to-work interference, the positive effect of personal knowledge and individuation remained. Surprisingly, my empirical findings of Study 2 in Chapter 3 demonstrated that the positive effect of individuation on humanization was actually strengthened under conditions which previous theory would presume to mitigate the effect. This finding further underscores the power of individuation processes for interpersonal treatment in organizations.

Humanization

Through the investigation of both individuation and humanization, this dissertation seeks to add to the small but growing research that considers the importance of nonconscious processes in organizations (Pratt & Crosina, 2016). This research is one of the first forays into humanization processes within an organizational setting. Given the trend of dehumanization within the business context (Montagu & Matson, 1983; Weber, 1947) and the grave consequences of viewing others in this manner (Epley et al., 2013), this dissertation contributes to our understanding of how to push back against and reverse this detrimental interpersonal process. Despite previous work in psychology demonstrating the dearth of humanization in organizations, as well as the negative consequences of this scarcity, organizational scholars had

yet to explore the antecedents and consequences of this phenomenon. The results of this dissertation suggest that an increased quantity of personal knowledge can significantly contribute to the humanization of colleagues. In turn, this humanization increases responsiveness and decreases social undermining. Not only are these effects found, but the power of humanization is demonstrated to explain variation in these behaviors beyond more typical relationship mechanisms of trust, respect, friendship, similarity, and length of relationship.

By empirically testing the explanatory power of this phenomenon against more commonly used interpersonal mechanisms, this work underscores the foundational nature of this nonconscious cognitive process. By foregrounding humanization, it is my hope that this dissertation will encourage other organizational scholars to employ this key mechanism, investigating other antecedents and consequences of humanization. Theoretically, this should inspire scholars to continue to integrate this important mechanism when exploring interpersonal phenomenon in organizations. By adding humanization into the repertoire of antecedents of interpersonal treatment of work, scholars will be able to better understand how, when, and why individuals interact in a particular manner. Given the critical consequences of interpersonal treatment in organizations, this mechanism has the chance to make a significant impact on our understanding of important downstream consequences of interpersonal treatment, including: well-being, job commitment, absenteeism, team effectiveness, turnover intentions, and job stress.

Responsiveness and Social Undermining

While extensive research has examined the antecedents of interpersonal treatment in organizations, most of the work has investigated one very specific type of behavioral outcome, often examining a positive or negative type of behavior, not both simultaneously. However, there is a push in our literature to honor a more complete array of interpersonal behavior within

organizations (Liden et al., 2016), a call that is addressed in this dissertation. By simultaneously exploring how to increase responsiveness and decrease social undermining, this work takes a more holistic view of interpersonal treatment in organizations, which acknowledges that personal knowledge, individuation, and humanization not only provide opportunities of connection and growth, but also have the power to mitigate great pain. In my quest to investigate this more complete array of interpersonal treatment, I attempt to organize this vast area of literature under larger umbrella constructs as a way to codify the existing number of prolific constructs. This codification of interpersonal treatment constructs can be leveraged in future endeavors by scholars seeking to understand broader interpersonal phenomenon unfolding within an organizational context. Furthermore, scholars could employ this dissertation to understand the more specific constructs that comprise the larger umbrella terms. For example, it is feasible that increased levels of personal knowledge could increase compassion or social support, types of responsiveness, or reduce politicking or harassment, types of undermining.

Value Incongruence

This research contributes to the literature on interpersonal comparisons within organizations, an area that commonly employs the construct of similarity. However, aspects of similarity can be conceptualized or operationalized in a number of ways including race, ethnicity, sex, gender, age, religion, education, occupation, socioeconomic status, status, and values (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). Through a focus on value incongruence between coworkers, my dissertation highlights what may be a critical aspect of assessing another as similar or different than oneself. This particular construct has been used previously by social psychologists interested in intergroup phenomenon, however has not been integrated into the organizational behavior literature in as expansive of a way. Some work has explored assessments

of value (in)congruence between an individual and an organization (Hewlin, Dumas, & Burnett, 2017). In an interpersonal setting, Desai and Kouchaki (2017) explore how symbols of morality are observed and impact supervisor behavior and Byron and Laurence (2015) show how symbols communicate values, which can serve as a common ground to begin a relationship. However, my dissertation takes the observation of another's value hierarchy to the next level, by comparing another's value hierarchy to one's own, rather than the organization's, to determine congruency. These interpersonal assessments of value (in)congruence may provide a fruitful avenue to explore specific instances of similarity and dissimilarity, helping to illuminate when and what types of similarity may be most powerful in explaining relational phenomena in organizations. For example, in addition to employing a broad measure of similarity based on demographic differences, scholars could ask individuals to assess value (in)congruence with other colleagues, which could help to uncover what specific mechanisms are driving the effects of dissimilarity.

Life-to-Work Interference

This work fills a void in the work-life literature by investigating the interpersonal consequences of life-to-work interference, an expansion from the previously studied consequences to the self. For example, it has been found that one's own level of life-to-work interference can impact job satisfaction (Ellen Ernst Kossek & Ozeki, 1998) and work performance (Demerouti et al., 2010). However, this model suggests that life-to-work interference may also negatively impact interpersonal treatment by contributing to the dehumanization of the individual experiencing the interference by others. This expands our perspective on how life-to-work interference may impact workplace dynamics by also having consequences for coworker relationships. Subsequent empirical studies can further examine the boundary conditions of this proposed effect. For example, scholars could investigate the level of

perceived interference necessary to dehumanize, as well as examine how the nature of the interference (e.g., how responsible is the known colleague for his/her circumstances) contributes to perceptions formed by colleagues.

Overarching Model

In addition to the theoretical advancements in understanding the meaning and impact of each individual construct, this dissertation makes contributions to our collective understanding of dyadic relationships within organizations and equips us with additional ways to study them.

To date, person perception has been integrated into our understanding of workplace dyads in a limited manner, focusing on the importance of initial acquaintance and impressions (Liden et al., 2016). However, this work, by incorporating assessments of interpersonal perception in established relationships, uncovers additional mechanisms that are critical for explaining dyadic work relationships: individuation and humanization. Though contemporary psychologists recognize the importance of nonconscious processing, many organizational behaviorists still build theories on the assumption that behaviors are both conscious and deliberate (Pratt & Crosina, 2016). By weaving individuation and humanization into our understanding of work relationships, this dissertation pushes organizational scholars to embrace the less deliberate, less conscious aspects of interpersonal treatment. By both widening and deepening the use of nonconscious processes in organizations, scholars can better understand how individuals at work “think, feel and act,” which can have a meaningful influence on “a variety of topics at the heart of organizational psychology and behavior, including leadership, motivation, judgment and decision making, ethical behavior, and more generally, how we organize and learn,” an understanding which “to date is largely a case of unrealized potential” (Pratt & Crosina, 2016, p. 341).

Because of this, my framework differs from existing dyadic theories, including the dominant perspective of social exchange. Social exchange theories emphasize self-interest employing the calculation of the reputation of the other in generalized reciprocity systems (Baker & Bulkley, 2014) or the ability of the other to return favors in a direct reciprocity (Meglino & Korsgaard, 2004). Some elements of my dissertation model may support elements of a social exchange perspective. For example, I theorize an improvement in empathic accuracy, which would improve one's ability to exchange effectively. Additionally, I discuss instrumental motives that may be triggered by dehumanization. However, overall, my model takes a different approach examining how one constructs the other, not in relation to oneself or his/her potential to contribute to oneself. In my model, under circumstances of humanization, in a less deliberate, less conscious way, the relational partner becomes an entity worthy of care, regardless of the situation or his/her ability to give back to oneself.

This model adds to the work-life literature. This perspective joins a growing conversation that encourages scholars to explore the permeability of the work-life boundary (Rothbard & Ollier-Malaterre, 2016), specifically by acknowledging that the focal actor is not in sole control of what personal information about him or her leaks into the workplace. The majority of work that examines the work-life boundary examines the border as it is managed by the employee him/her self—how he/she integrates, separates, and ultimately strikes a balance between the work and family domain (S. C. Clark, 2000). Trefalt (2013) began to acknowledge the relationality of this process, highlighting that individuals employ different boundary-management strategies in different relationships. However, it is helpful to acknowledge that one is not in sole control of one's work-life boundary (e.g., due to gossip and social media posts). My work contributes by building a framework for how and why this permeability is consequential

for interpersonal dynamics. It also highlights ways to increase the likelihood that personal knowledge results in improved, rather than corroded, interpersonal dynamics. Accordingly, individuals could seek to highlight personal information about themselves that is value congruent with colleagues and does not convey high levels of life-to-work interference.

In addition to these theoretical contributions, this work has important practical implications. As discussed in Chapter 1, there are many fears associated with allowing colleagues to have personal knowledge of one's self. These fears are stoked by the popular press's call for sparse offices with a dearth of personal items. These fears are stoked by television plotlines full of workplace blackmailing and backstabbing, using information gathered to advance one's own agenda. However, this research highlights the often eschewed benefits of allowing colleagues to have personal knowledge of one's self. Others have personal knowledge will individuate and humanize you in the eyes of your colleagues, which results in increased responsiveness and decreased social undermining. Of course there are limitations to this relationship, as results demonstrate that both value incongruence and life-to-work interference can have a negative effect on humanization processes. So while one should feel more comfortable allowing aspects of one's personal life in the office space, including discussion of outside activities or the display of personal photographs, caution should be used in determining what to highlight. Though individuals do not have control of all of the ways others gain personal knowledge of themselves, they can help shape what others know by volunteering information.

Individuals acting alone can make these changes, as discussed above; however, organizations can also adopt practices that signal safety in sharing more personal information. For example, Google has publically discussed their adoption of a practice named "One Simple Thing" (re:Work). In this practice, individuals in teams can share a person goal each fiscal

quarter. Shared goals could include a manager's desire to have breakfast with his children three mornings a week or an analyst's desire to make it to a particular workout class a few nights a week. In both cases, sharing goals could result in new team norms of when to schedule meetings with these particular team members. Not only can adopting these practices directly encourage the sharing of personal information through vocalizing the goal itself, but they can also indirectly signal an acceptance of discussing and knowing about teammates' personal lives. Future research should further investigate how this practice influences the level of personal knowledge and humanization within the team context.

Conclusion

Workplace dyads have been called the fabric of life and the building blocks of organizations (Liden et al., 2016). By learning more about the personal lives of those around us, we can strengthen the foundation of organizations, promoting responsive behavior and mitigating social undermining. Not only does improving interpersonal relationships improve organizational outcomes, but also has important consequences for each of us as human beings. By allaying some fears about the potential negative consequences of colleagues knowing more about one's non-work self, this work may broaden the ability for individuals to find connection with others, sating a need as strong as the need for food and water.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Defining and Measuring Personal Knowledge

In defining personal knowledge about work colleagues (referred henceforth as *personal knowledge*), I draw on definitions of knowledge consistent across philosophical, psychological, economic, data science, and organizational literatures, management scholars' conceptions of what is personal, and Baldwin's theory of relational schema. In brief, personal knowledge is one colleague's justified beliefs about the non-work like of another colleague, a subset of the other-schema.

What is knowledge?

Broadly, knowledge includes insight, interpretation, and information (Schulz, 2001) that is justified, true, and believed (Plato, 369BC). In line with management scholars, I deemphasize the necessity of truth as a defining quality of knowledge, focusing instead on knowledge as justified beliefs (Nonaka, 1994). As Nonaka (1994, p. 15) explains, "that while the arguments of traditional epistemology focus on 'truthfulness' as the essential attribute of knowledge, ... it is important to consider knowledge as a personal 'belief,' and emphasize the importance of the 'justification' of knowledge. This difference introduces another critical distinction between the view of knowledge of traditional epistemology and that of the theory of knowledge creation. While the former naturally emphasizes the absolute, static, and nonhuman nature of knowledge, typically expressed in propositional forms in formal logic, the latter sees knowledge as a dynamic human process of justifying personal beliefs as part of an aspiration for the 'truth.'" I

conceptualize knowledge as not merely static, but as a process updated through flows of messages containing new information (Dretske, 1981; Machlup, 1983), since the world constantly develops and evolves (Piaget & Wells, 1972).

In defining knowledge, it must be situated among similar and related constructs, often discussed in a hierarchy (see Figure 5.1): data, information, knowledge, understanding, and wisdom. This hierarchy was introduced by computer scientists as a way to show the progression of data and information inputs into action (Ackoff, 1989). Though

this hierarchical thinking is not universally accepted (Weinberger, 2010), it provides a way to begin positioning

knowledge among similar constructs. Data and information are considered raw inputs; knowledge is the compilation or collection of this data and information through experience, perception, and learning; understanding is cognitive

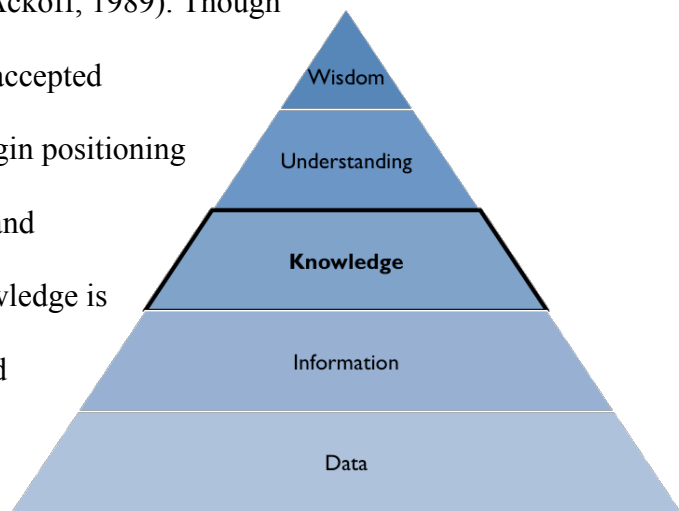


Figure 5.1

and analytical, synthesizing knowledge to have awareness of the connection between pieces of information and is essential in putting knowledge into action; finally, wisdom goes beyond understanding in that it contains judgments and elements of moral code (Ackoff, 1989; Bellinger, Castro, & Mills, 2004). Similar to the aforementioned definitions, philosophers have long discussed the difference between information and knowledge specifically, acknowledging that the terms are often incorrectly used interchangeably. Simply put, information is a flow of messages and meanings that can change or restructure knowledge, which is created, stored, organized, and rooted in the beliefs of its holder (Dretske, 1981; Nonaka, 1994).

What is personal?

I argue that individuals in organizations have knowledge about their colleagues that reaches beyond that which is directly related to task (*the distinctiveness of knowledge related to task will be further discussed below*). Personal knowledge, consistent with previous usage of the term personal (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015), encompasses knowledge about non-work roles (e.g., family and non-family), social identities (e.g., racial identity, religious affiliation, sexual orientation), and other aspects of personal life (e.g., experiences and values). Thus, personal knowledge about a colleague consists of an individual's continuously updated, justified beliefs about the non-work lives of colleagues.

What are the ways personal knowledge can be conceptualized?

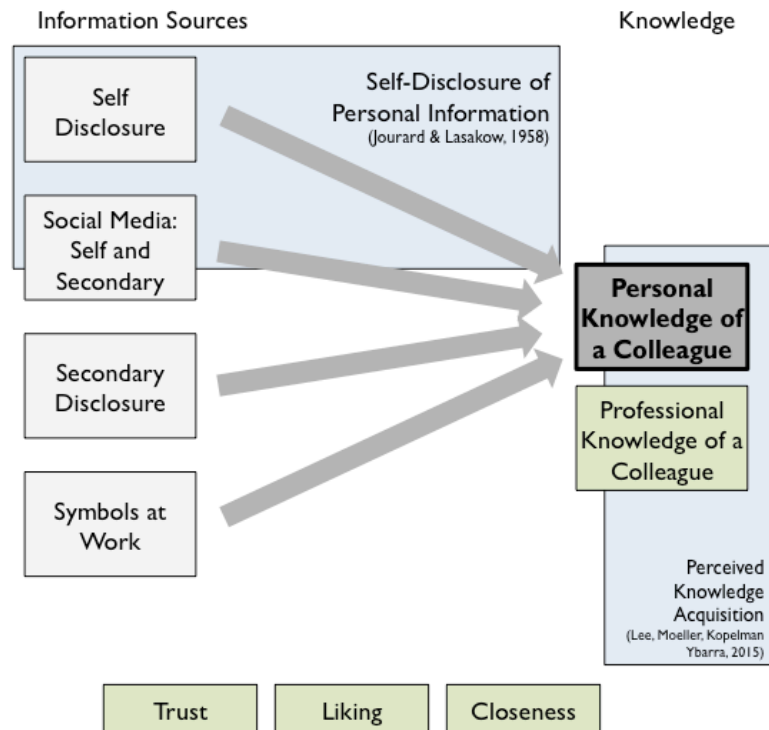
Similar to most constructs in the management space, there are many ways to conceptualize and operationalize personal knowledge. Personal knowledge could be examined through its quantity or quality. The quantity of personal knowledge accounts for the level of personal knowledge of a colleague, examining how much is known across all aspects of a colleague's personal life. The quality of personal knowledge accounts for the breadth and depth of what is known. Breadth refers to how many aspects of the personal life one knows about, the extent to which knowledge is distributed across domains. Breadth can span both descriptive (e.g., one's political affiliation) and evaluative (e.g., one's feelings about non-work commitments) information; a distinction derived in the literature on self-disclosure (Collins & Miller, 1994). Depth refers to the amount one knows about any particular aspect of personal life. Perceptions of depth may be influenced by several factors: the intimacy of the information (*e.g., the number of individuals that have this same knowledge*), the importance of the information (*e.g., the extent to which this information is core to the known colleague's identity*), and the intensity of the information (*e.g., the extent to which this information impacts the known colleague while*

working). In addition to these distinctions, one could examine the accuracy of the personal knowledge (i.e., are the perceptions accurate?), asymmetries of personal knowledge (do both parties have similar levels of personal knowledge about one another?), perceptions of how much personal knowledge another colleague has about oneself, etcetera. Future work could examine these different qualities of personal knowledge, but my introductory theoretical arguments will focus on the quantity, or level, of personal knowledge, examining what is known across all aspects of a colleague’s personal life.

RELATED CONSTRUCTS: CONVERGENT AND DISCRIMINANT VALIDITY

Figure 5.2 depicts an initial nomological network for understanding how personal knowledge in a work context is related to other similar, yet distinct constructs. By surveying the management literature for related concepts, I present six propositions regarding the basic properties of personal knowledge and some critical relatives of the construct to begin building its nomological network.

Figure 5.2



Convergent Validity

In previous work, scholars have focused on two constructs related, but distinct from personal knowledge: self-disclosure of personal information and perceived knowledge acquisition.

Self-disclosure of personal information is the act of one person telling another about particular categories of information about the self (Jourard & Lasakow, 1958). In the literature, this construct is used to discuss and measure the direct sharing of personal information with various others. In their initial study, Jourard and Lasakow (1958) examined differences in self-disclosure tendencies of men and women to various close others, including parents and friends. The self-disclosure of personal information questionnaire includes the topics of attitudes and opinions, tastes and interests, work or studies, money, personality, and body (Jourard & Lasakow, 1958). Self-disclosure of personal knowledge is one input contributing to personal knowledge of a colleague, involving the specific information flow from the perspective of the known individual. However, not all information disclosed via self-disclosure would contribute to personal knowledge since it also encompasses information about the professional domain (e.g., work/study). Since self-disclosure is one key input of personal knowledge, I hypothesize that these constructs will be positively correlated.

Proposition 1: Increased levels of personal knowledge about a given colleague is positively related to that colleague's level of self-disclosure of personal information.

Perceived knowledge acquisition is defined as the degree to which individuals judge they have obtained knowledge of an interaction partner's private thoughts, feelings, and intentions (D. S. Lee, Moeller, Kopelman, & Ybarra, 2015; Park, Choi, & Cho, 2006; Pronin, Kruger, Savtisky, & Ross, 2001). This construct is typically used to discuss perceived information asymmetries

between interaction partners, particularly focusing on the phenomenon of feeling one knows others better than others know oneself during a negotiation. Though this construct has similarities to personal knowledge in that it focuses on knowledge of interaction partners, there are key differences between them. Perceived knowledge acquisition is not about knowing specific aspects of a colleague, but is focused on having confidence in the ability to accurately take that colleague's perspective. Since the level of personal knowledge one has about a colleague is likely to increase these feelings of perceived knowledge acquisition, I hypothesize that these constructs will be positively correlated.

Proposition 2: Increased levels of personal knowledge about a given colleague is positively related to perceived knowledge acquisition about that colleague.

Discriminant Validity

In defining personal knowledge, I draw on organizational scholars' definitions of what is personal. This definition relies on the contrast of the personal versus professional domain, thus it is also likely that individuals could develop professional knowledge of their colleagues. The professional domain encompasses work roles and identification with the work (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015; Uhlmann et al., 2013). Work roles can entail task activities, task knowledge, habits at work, competence and performance, prior professional experience, and relationships with colleagues. And identification with work refers to the perceptions of oneness or belongingness to the organization or workgroup (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Management scholars have explored knowledge about the professional domain through studies of transactive memory, the ability to know who knows what about the task (Moreland, Argote, & Krishnan, 1996). Though it is possible that individuals can gain both greater levels of personal and professional knowledge about their colleagues in tandem, I hypothesize that these constructs will

be distinct in that they theoretically concern to two separate domains (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015), increasing the likelihood that the knowledge travels through different channels and for different reasons. For example, one may gain professional knowledge of a colleague by reviewing a their resume or company profile, working virtually on a the same project deliverable, or being present in a meeting to review performance, whereas one may gain little to no personal knowledge through these scenarios. Conversely, one may gain personal knowledge, but little professional knowledge, by skimming a colleague's Facebook page, sharing conversation over a water cooler, or observing knickknacks displayed in their office. So while a colleague may amass an increased level of professional knowledge, this does not inherently translate to an increased level of personal knowledge and vice versa.

Proposition 3: Increased levels of personal knowledge about a given colleague is distinct from increased levels of professional knowledge about that given colleague.

In defining personal knowledge, I classify it as an important aspect of the other schema. In Baldwin's (1992) theory of relational schema, one's self-schema, other-schema, and relational schema determine how one person interacts with another, acknowledging that interpersonal cognition and interaction are not primarily about independent, isolated individuals, rather about the interdependent functioning of the two (Baldwin, 1992, 2005). Self-schemas and other-schemas consist of facts, memories, beliefs, and descriptors about the self or other (Baldwin & Dandeneau, 2005), whereas relational schemas **include beliefs and expectations about interactions in a particular relationship** (Baldwin, 1992). It is clear how personal knowledge of a colleague differs from one's self-schema; however, some may argue that it is more closely linked to aspects of the relational schema. A dominant way for the relational schema to be discussed in the management literature is through the quality of the connection, often

operationalized through trust, liking, and closeness (Ragins & Dutton, 2007). Trust is, “a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based on positive expectations of the intentions or behavior of another (e.g., Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998),” (Kim, Dirks, & Cooper, 2009, p. 401). Liking is “the degree to which one is fond of and feels a sense of attachment to another person,” (Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2013, p. 654). Closeness captures how familiar, intimate, and proximate one person feels to another (C. Clark, 1987), defined specifically in the work context, “as the extent to which people feel a sense of connection and bonding with their colleagues, or the extent to which their relationships go beyond the mere perfunctory tasks associated with their work (Bacharach, Bamberger, & Vashdi, 2005),” (Dumas, Phillips, & Rothbard, 2013, p. 1378). Though personal knowledge may seem linked to these relational characteristics, for example, high levels of trust and liking increasing self-disclosure and personal knowledge, which further increases trust and liking (Collins & Miller, 1994), I argue that they are distinct. For example, one may gain personal knowledge of a colleague that highlights deep value incongruence between the self and the colleague that would likely decrease closeness and liking, despite increases in the level of personal knowledge. In this way, relational characteristics and personal knowledge become decoupled. Thus, I hypothesize that:

Proposition 4: The level of personal knowledge about a given colleague is distinct from the level of trust in that colleague.

Proposition 5: The level of personal knowledge about a given colleague is distinct from the level of liking of that colleague.

Proposition 6: The level of personal knowledge about a given colleague is distinct from the level closeness felt towards that colleague.

SCALE DEVELOPMENT

I begin by developing a measure for personal knowledge of a colleague. Whereas existing literature gives some insight into aspects of the personal life that may become known in the workplace, through this pilot study, I develop a more comprehensive view of what personal knowledge encompasses. In line with the widely used Hinkin (1998) method of survey scale development, I gathered and analyzed open-ended responses in order to generate items to be used to assess the level of personal knowledge of a colleague. In the future, I will undergo additional studies in order to fulfill additional steps of scale development: questionnaire administration; initial item reduction; confirmatory factor analysis; and convergent and discriminant validity.

Method

I use multi-source data and a snowball sampling methodology (Grant & Mayer, 2009; Mayer et al., 2009; Skarlicki & Folger, 1997). Students in an introductory management course were asked to recruit a working adult (focal employee) who was willing to complete a short survey; each focal employee recruited a coworker, who was also willing to complete a short survey. Thus, individuals participated as pairs of coworkers, and all participants were employed full-time. As a course requirement, 599 students were asked to participate in creating this subject pool; 498 students submitted contact information for dyads of working individuals, two colleagues who work together regularly. Colleagues reported an average working relationship over two years. Each participant was electronically sent information about the survey, a link to the survey, and a unique identification number for matching respondent data anonymously. Through this online survey, focal employees and their coworkers about the coworker's personal knowledge about the focal employee. In all, I received 213 pairs of focal employee and

coworker's data.

Measures

Personal knowledge. In order to develop the measure for personal knowledge, I asked pairs of colleagues to report aspects of personal knowledge from either the known colleague's perspective (i.e., what they felt their colleagues knew about their personal life) or from the knowledge acquirer's perspective (i.e., what they knew about their colleague's personal life). The difference between recalling information and knowing something may seem nuanced and difficult to capture via survey. However, a group of cognitive scientists demonstrated that the subtle linguistic difference of asking individuals if they remember or know something produced different results, with remembering triggering the recall of a particular incident, or a nugget, and knowing being a general sense that something is the case, tapping into the coherent constellation of information (Gardiner, Gregg, & Karayianni, 2006). Thus, in order to capture personal knowledge about a particular colleague, I intentionally use the word know rather than alternative terms such as recall, recognize, or remember.

Item Generation

Through this online survey, focal employees were asked to list what they felt their coworker knew about their personal life, and coworkers were asked to list what they knew about the focal employee's personal life. Respondents reported an average of 3.1 aspects of personal life; the knowledge acquirers listed slightly more aspects of personal knowledge on average than the known colleagues, which is in line with the negotiations literature that suggests individuals assume that they know more about other people than other people know about themselves (D. S. Lee et al., 2015). From these open responses, I coded each aspect of personal knowledge into higher order categories to create an extensive list of the aspects one's personal life that may

become known by colleagues. In all, 12 categories emerged and were consistent in both content and frequency across the focal employee and coworker responses. Based on this typology, participants in subsequent field studies will respond to the following items: How much do you feel you know about the following aspects of your colleague's personal life? (1 = *Nothing at all*, 7 = *A great amount*)

- Family information (e.g., members' names, ages, occupations, schools, pets)
- Hobbies/interests (e.g., likes, dislikes)
- Relationships (e.g., friends, significant others, quality and content of relationships)
- Activities (e.g., things they do outside of work such as sporting events, volunteer commitments)
- Living arrangements (e.g., where, with whom)
- Personal history (e.g., birth place, education, life milestones, experiences)
- Travel (e.g., past vacations, desired travel destinations)
- Values (e.g., religious beliefs, political preferences)
- Health (e.g., past or current health issues, preventative care)
- Finances (e.g., investments, bills, additional income sources)
- Personal challenges (e.g., grief, domestic abuse, aging parents)
- Aspirations (e.g., goals, hopes, dreams, future plans)

Discussion

Despite previous work examining particular instances of learning about a colleague's personal life, there has not been an investigation into the total knowledge developed across all instances of learning about a colleague's personal life. This section introduces and clarifies the definition of personal knowledge, situating it among related constructs used in the management literature. Additionally, the study developed a method for measuring the level of personal knowledge one colleague has about another colleague; identified items will be used in the subsequent study. Based on the emerging categories, it is clear that these aspects of personal life may not be mutually exclusive, with the emergent codes based on the frequency of specific types of responses. For example, one could consider travel a subset of activities; however, with over 10% of respondents mentioning travel specifically, it seemed to merit a separate item. Since I am

currently interested in the level of personal knowledge, having mutually exclusive categories is not essential. However, if future work explores the differential effects of these aspects, scholars should pay close attention to the theoretical overlap and statistical correlations between potentially overlapping items. The measure of self-disclosure of personal information also lists various aspects of a person's personal life. In testing the face validity of my list, I compared the personal aspects contained in the two measures. There are several areas of overlap including values, attitudes and opinions about religion and politics, interests and hobbies, and financial circumstances. The self-disclosure measure also includes aspects of work (which I would consider a type of professional knowledge), sources of emotions (which could be partially captured in my categories of personal history and challenges), and attitudes towards one's body (which is partially covered in my category of health; however, I have not covered their items around adequacy of sexual behavior or feelings about specific body parts, which may be more freely discussed in intimate, rather than collegial relationships). In addition to the categories listed in the self-disclosure scale, I also cover family information, living arrangements, personal history, travel, and aspirations. These additions are not surprising; the self-disclosure of personal information scale is often used between close family members and intimate partners, in which my additional categories may be assumed as known.

APPENDIX B

Experimental Studies and Results

Experiment 1

Experiment 1 has three main objectives: 1) test the first proposition, 2) establish causation in this relationship, and 3) begin to develop a self-report method for measuring individuation that can be used across subsequent studies. This third step is critical before launching the subsequent studies since current methods of measuring individuation are only applicable to experimental settings where the category of the focal person is amplified and displayed, making it easier to assess the level of individuation from that pre-assigned category.

Method

Through a 2x2 experiment, I manipulate personal knowledge (some v. none) as well as the gender of the known colleague (male v. female). I recruited 400 participants, 100 per condition, through Amazon Mechanical Turk to partake in this study. In this task, participants were asked questions to assess their underlying gender biases towards potential team members. Low levels of individuation—categorization—is closely linked to the use of stereotypes and their subsequent biases, whereas high levels of individuation has been shown to decrease the reliance on stereotypes and their subsequent biases (Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Wilder, 1978). Thus, I expect that participants in the no personal knowledge conditions will show greater levels of gender bias than those in the personal knowledge conditions. Specifically, in the no personal knowledge condition, it is expected that men will be rated as less warm and more competent; whereas in the personal knowledge condition, there will be a smaller difference between ratings

of warmth and competence for the male and female conditions.

Based on the Goldberg Paradigm, participants read a passage introducing a task where they will be evaluating the competence of a potential teammate (Goldberg, 1968). This vignette is in a male dominated domain, since gender stereotypes have been found to emerge in this type of setting and the competence of the potential teammate is slightly ambiguous to allow for variability in participant responses (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004; Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012). All participants were provided with an internal resume for the potential team member, and then those in the no personal knowledge read about the team member's life at work, while those in the personal knowledge condition read about the team member's life outside of work. Participants read the full introduction, answered a series of questions about this colleague, completed manipulation checks, and then finally answered an open-ended question about their experience with the task. All participants read this prompt, with the gender condition they were assigned:

In this task, we hope to better understand how individuals select others to work with.

Imagine the following.

You work for a medium-sized technology company as a team manager. It is common to work closely on teams for various projects and you frequently get assigned to new projects with different colleagues. Today you are assessing potential new team member to collaborate with in developing a new app.

You have already selected four teammates, and are reviewing the following colleague:

Here is a copy of [Patrick/Patricia]'s internal resume:

Patrick Smith

Position: Application Development Analyst
Tenure: June 2014 – Present

Education:

University of Michigan
Bachelor of Science in Information, May 2014
Minor in Communications
Member of Alpha Kappa Psi, business fraternity

Internal Experience:

6 months in training, rotational development program
1 year on development of internal messaging system
6 months on development of external messaging app

Internal Review Excerpts:

Average Performance Rating: ★★★★★

Hard worker, acts on feedback, room for skill development

Patricia Smith

Position: Application Development Analyst
Tenure: June 2014 – Present

Education:

University of Michigan
Bachelor of Science in Information, May 2014
Minor in Communications
Member of Alpha Kappa Psi, business fraternity

Internal Experience:

6 months in training, rotational development program
1 year on development of internal messaging system
6 months on development of external messaging app

Internal Review Excerpts:

Average Performance Rating: ★★★★★

Hard worker, acts on feedback, room for skill development

In addition to this internal resume, you have heard a bit about [Patrick/Patricia], since [he/she] has worked in your department for almost two years.

Those in the no personal knowledge condition then read the following, with the gender condition they were assigned:

[Patrick/Patricia] regularly attends work group meetings on Thursday afternoons. [He/She] does not always speak up, but has interesting ideas when [he/she] chooses to contribute. As part of [his/her] job, [he/she] often takes potential recruits out to dinner and travels to give presentations at various universities. Additionally, [Patrick/Patricia] is involved in the company’s Junior Achievement initiative to teach business principles to elementary school students.

Those in the personal knowledge condition then read one of the two the following prompts, with the gender condition they were assigned. Because there could be concern that different types of personal knowledge could trigger different assessments of competence, I wanted to ensure that results were consistent across different personal knowledge scenarios. In analysis, there were no statistical differences between these conditions, thus they were collapsed into one personal knowledge condition.

Personal Knowledge, Chess Club Condition:

[Patrick/Patricia] regularly attends chess club on Saturday afternoons. [He/She] does not always play, but usually does well when [he/she] engages in a match. When [he/she] has time off, [he/she] loves to try interesting new restaurants in town and travels to immerse [himself/herself] in new cultures, visiting various countries. Additionally, [Patrick/Patricia] is involved in a local non-profit, a Junior Achievement initiative to teach business principles to elementary school students.

Personal Knowledge, Movie Club Condition:

[Patrick/Patricia] regularly attends movie club on Saturday afternoons. [He/She] does not always speak up, but has interesting ideas when [he/she] chooses to contribute. When [he/she] has time off, [he/she] loves to try interesting new restaurants in town and travels to immerse [himself/herself] in new cultures, visiting various countries. Additionally, [Patrick/Patricia] is involved in a local non-profit, a Junior Achievement initiative to teach business principles to elementary school students.

Measures

Individuation, Indirect Measures, Gender Bias.

Warmth. Warmth was measured in a consistent manner with previous work, which classifies these traits as female-positive (Diekmann & Goodfriend, 2006; Eagly & Mladinic, 1994). To what extent does this person possess the following characteristics: nurturing, warm to others, kind (1 = *Very unlikely*; 7 = *Very likely*; $\alpha = .88$, $M = 5.62$, $SD = .86$).

Competence. Perceived competence was measured using a previously validated three-item scale, which is based on 9-point bipolar adjective scale ratings describing the individual (*competent-incompetent*, *productive-unproductive*, and *effective-ineffective*; $\alpha = .89$, $M = 7.21$, $SD = 1.10$) (Heilman et al., 2004).

Individuation, Direct Measures.

Open-Ended Description. Individuals were asked: Please list how you would describe this colleague to someone in your work group (open-ended). Two independent coders then rated these responses to determine the individuation of the participant's description. Coders responded to the following items, in regards to each description: this description acknowledges the

underlying uniqueness of the potential teammate; this description displays an understanding that this person is one of a kind; this description conveys that the potential teammate may be hard to distinguish from others (R) (1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\alpha = .97$, $M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.59$). After data collection, two coders responded to these face valid items in order to assess the level of individuation. During this process, I met with the coders regularly, assessed inter-coder reliability, and addressed any discrepancies in their understanding of the task. After coding each response, their inter-coder reliabilities for each item were $\alpha_1 = .86$, $\alpha_2 = .85$, and $\alpha_3 = .85$ and their inter-coder reliability for the scale was $\alpha = .87$.

Self-report. In addition to the previous, more indirect, ways to measure individuation, participants were asked to report on the extent to which they view this potential teammate as unique. Participants responded to the following five items, roughly based on a scale used by Hutter et al. (2013) and Prati et al. (2016): I think this person is a unique individual; I think this person is hard to distinguish from others (R); I think this person would be difficult to classify into a group; I think this person is one of a kind; I think this person is hard to pigeon-hole (1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*). During initial analysis, these items did not have a high reliability ($\alpha = .59$); thus I dropped the item “I think this person is hard to distinguish from others” from the analysis, since the wording of the item may have been confusing ($\alpha = .68$, $M = 4.27$, $SD = .93$). As expected, the participant self-report measure of individuation and the coders developed measure were highly correlated ($r = .13$, $p < .01$). However, the participant self-report has a much smaller level of variation.

Attention Check: Gender. There was one item to assess if the participant was paying careful attention to the vignette provided, “To your recollection, the colleague you read about at the beginning of this task was” (1 = *Male*, 2 = *Female*). In all, 13 participants were excluded

from analysis, due to failing this attention check (these participants completed the survey in less than four minutes on average, leaving very little time to have fully read the prompts); and four participants were excluded for taking more than 40 minutes to complete the study, which is over seven standard deviations above the mean time to complete, as the manipulation was likely not strong enough to withstand leaving and returning to the task. With or without these exclusions, the results are directionally the same, with a few differences in significance; these differences are noted in the analysis section.

Open-Ended Question. Participants also had the chance to leave any additional comments, “Please provide any general reactions you had to this survey.”

Results

Table 5.1 contains the descriptive statistics by condition for the Experiment 1 variables.

Table 5.1
Experiment 1: Condition Descriptive Statistics

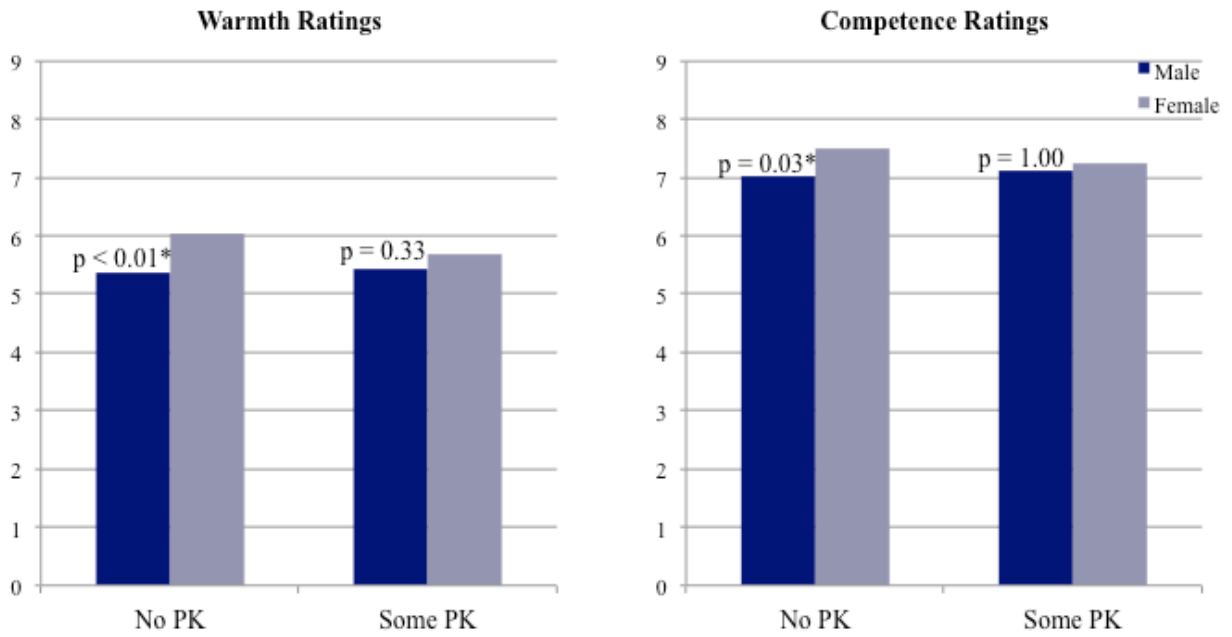
Condition	N	Warmth Mean (SD)	Competence Mean (SD)	Open-coded Individuation Mean (SD)	Self-reported Individuation Mean (SD)
Male, No Personal Knowledge	93	5.35 (.78)	7.02 (1.07)	3.57 (1.66)	4.06 (.81)
Male, Personal Knowledge	98	5.44 (.83)	7.12 (1.19)	3.97 (1.64)	4.22 (.89)
Female, No Personal Knowledge	94	6.04 (.83)	7.49 (1.03)	3.85 (1.54)	4.36 (.92)
Female, Personal Knowledge	98	5.67 (.83)	7.23 (1.09)	3.98 (1.49)	4.48 (1.03)

In order to test the relationship between personal knowledge and individuation, I examined the effect of condition on gender bias. First, I used two two-way, between-subjects, ANOVAs to separately examine the effects of condition on the gender bias via assessments of warmth and competence (see Figure 5.3). In order to support my hypothesis, I expected to find a significant interaction effect. Consistent with my hypothesis, I found a significant interaction effect for warmth ($F(1,382) = 7.45$; $p < .01$); however there was not a significant interaction effect for competence ($F(1,382) = 2.45$; $p = .12$). As predicted, there was a significant difference

between the ratings of warmth for men and women in the no personal knowledge conditions ($M_M = 5.35$; $M_F = 6.04$; $p < .01$), but no significant difference between ratings of the men and women in the personal knowledge conditions ($M_M = 5.44$; $M_F = 5.67$; $p = .33$).

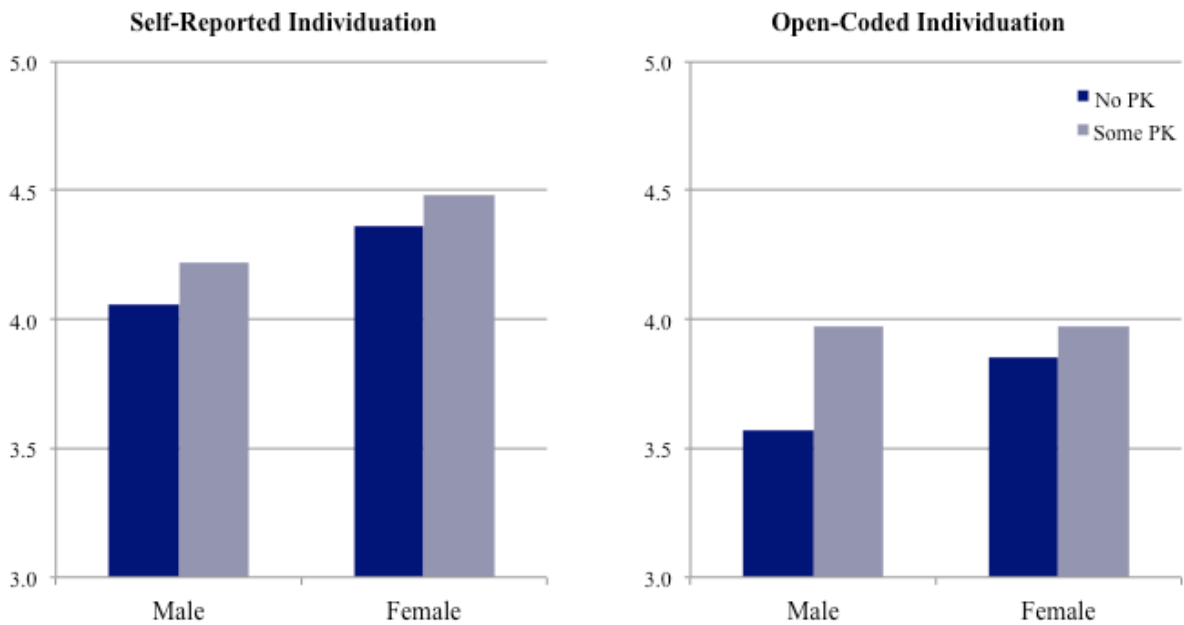
Since the above results suggest that there are higher levels of individuation in the personal knowledge conditions given the display and disappearance of bias, I am able to explore the effectiveness of the two proposed measures of individuation: open-coded and self-reported. I examined the effect of the personal knowledge condition on two dependent variables—the open-coded individuation measure and the self-reported individuation measure—using two two-way, between-subjects, ANOVAs. In order to support my hypothesis, I expected a significant main effect, with the personal knowledge conditions displaying higher levels of individuation than the no personal knowledge conditions, regardless of the gender condition. There is not a significant main effect of knowledge condition on the open-coded individuation ($F(1,382) = 2.68$; $p = .10$) or the self-reported individuation ($F(1,382) = 2.06$; $p = .15$). However, without removing the cases that failed the attention check, I find a marginally significant effect on the open-coded individuation measure ($F(1,399) = 3.05$; $p = .08$), but a non significant main effect of knowledge condition on self-reported individuation measure ($F(1,399) = 2.23$; $p = .14$). Examining the means of each condition, it is evident that the individuation measures in the no personal knowledge conditions are lower than their counterparts in the personal knowledge condition; this suggests the study may be underpowered; however, these measures are beginning to assess underlying perceptions, with those in the personal knowledge conditions reporting higher levels of individuation than those in the no personal knowledge conditions (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.3
Experiment 1: Plots of warmth and competence ratings



Note: Filtered data displayed, results consistent across Bonferroni posthoc analysis

Figure 5.4
Experiment 1: Plots of individuation measures



Note: Filtered data displayed, results consistent across

Discussion

This study design has both strengths and limitations. Its strengths include: demonstrating causality between the independent variable and main mechanism through experimental manipulation, utilizing an implicit measure of person perception by tapping into underlying gender biases, and developing multiple ways to measure the individuation of person perceptions. However, the study does have limitations. Results did not consistently support my hypothesis, though there is support suggesting that personal knowledge can reduce gender bias, specifically warmth perceptions, which suggests higher levels of individuation. The self-reported measure of individuation demonstrates promise; however, also suggests there may be some demand effects, with participants rating individuation ($M_S = 4.27$) higher than coders rated their descriptions ($M_C = 3.84$), with less variation ($SD_S = .93$; $SD_C = 1.59$). Because these two measures were highly correlated, I will continue to explore both of their utility in subsequent studies. This study's main downfall lies in its vignette design without behavioral measures, which diminishes the realism of the design. I hope to address these limitations in the subsequent studies by examining existing workplace relationships.

Experiment 2

In Experiment 2, I seek to expand the hypotheses tested experimentally to continue to assess causality. Experiment 2 tests Hypotheses 1, 2, and 5, the main effect of personal knowledge on individuation and humanization, as well as the interaction between individuation and value incongruence in predicting humanization.

Method

Through a 3 condition experiment, I will manipulate the level of personal knowledge (some v. none) and perceived value (in)congruence for those in the personal knowledge condition (congruent v. incongruent); the three conditions are: no personal knowledge, personal

knowledge that is value-consistent, and personal knowledge that is value-inconsistent. Students from an introductory management course were required to participate for course credit, 522 participated. This resulted in 174 in the no personal knowledge condition, 168 in the value incongruent personal knowledge condition, and 166 in the value congruent personal knowledge condition.

Participants read the following passage, as the introduction to a task:

In core courses at Ross, it is common to be assigned by the professor to teams for the final course project. Usually these projects are a main determinant of final grades. As such, we are attempting to understand how students evaluate fellow group members, whom they may not know prior to working together.

Each participant will be given a potential group member to evaluate and you will be asked a series of questions about your initial reactions to the idea of working with this fellow Ross Student.

Prior to the first week of Strategy 290, you are sent a series of potential group members for the course's final project. The professor has asked you to rate the extent to which you would like to be in a group with each classmate. After selecting four students whom you would like to work with, you are considering how you will evaluate a fifth potential group member. You are reviewing the following classmate (names changed to preserve anonymity):

Here is some information from Patricia's iMpact profile:

Patricia Smith
BBA Student, Section 3

About Me
I am concentrating in Finance and Strategy, with the hopes of working for a global consulting firm after graduation.

Education

University of Michigan, College of Literature, Science and the Arts

- Minor in History with focus on Global Legal and Business History

University of Michigan, Stephen M. Ross School of Business 2019

- Emphases in Finance and Strategy
- Co-Social Chair of Alpha Kappa Psi

Experience

Frankenmuth Mutual Insurance Company

- Personal Lines Intern, working on improving department filing system

In addition to this information, you have heard a bit about Patricia from fellow BBAs.

Patricia regularly attends [group meetings/Michigan [Democrat/Republican] meetings] on [Thursday/Saturday] afternoons. She does not always speak up, but has interesting ideas when she chooses to contribute. You have heard that Patricia is really passionate about [Ross and the business community/this student organization and fighting for their platform]. In general, you have heard that Patricia is a [decent teammate/decent person to have around].

Participants read this prompt, answered questions about this potential teammate (in order to be consistent with the cover story, this will include their estimates of Patricia's competence and their desire to work with her, from Experiment 1, though these measures will not be used for analysis since there was not a male condition counterpart), reported demographic information, including political affiliation, completed manipulation checks, and then finally answered an open-ended question about their experience with the task.

Measures

Individuation. Individuals responded to both the open-ended and self-report measures

from Study 1 and Experiment 1 (1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*; self-report: $\alpha = .56$, $M = 3.91$, $SD = .86$; open-coded: $\alpha = .95$, $M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.51$).

Humanization. Individuals respond to the same six items to measure humanization as used in Studies 1-3 (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much so*; $\alpha = .70$, $M = 4.73$, $SD = .68$).

Political Affiliation. Participants reported their political affiliation by responding to the following: I consider myself to be a (Democrat: 60%, Republican: 36%, Other: 0%). This question was used to determine the value (in)congruence for the vignette presented to each participant (Congruent Condition: 63 Republicans, 103 Democrats; Incongruent Condition: 60 Republicans, 108 Democrats).

Manipulation Check: Personal Knowledge. Consistent with Experiment 1, participants were asked: Think of the knowledge you have about Patricia's life outside of Ross: I have extensive knowledge of my Patricia's life outside of Ross (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*; No PK: $M = 3.01$, $SD = 1.34$; PK: $M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.30$). A one-way ANOVA of the effect of condition on personal knowledge does reveal a significant difference ($F(1,502) = 4.36$; $p = .01$), with a significant difference between the means of the value congruent and no personal knowledge condition. However, there was not a significant difference between the means of value incongruent condition and the no personal knowledge condition. These statistics may suggest that the manipulation of personal knowledge could be setup in a stronger way in future designs.

Manipulation Check: Value Congruence. I utilized a three-item scale developed by Hoffman et al. (2011) to assess value (in)congruence. Each person reported, based on what I have read, I feel that "my personal values match this student's values and ideals; the things that I value in life are similar to the things this student values; this student's values provide a good fit

with the things I value” ” (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*; $\alpha = .91$, Value Incongruent: $M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.09$; Value Congruent: $M = 4.40$, $SD = 1.09$; no Personal Knowledge: $M = 4.25$, $SD = 1.00$). A one-way ANOVA of the effect of condition on value incongruence perceptions does reveal a significant difference ($F(1,502) = 34.70$; $p < .01$), with a significant difference between the means of value incongruent and congruent conditions.

Demographics. Participants reported their basic demographic information (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, education). The sample demographics are: 56% male; 63% Caucasian, 28% Asian, 3% African American, and 2% Hispanic; 87% English as a first language; and an average age of 20.21 years.

Open-Ended Question. Participants had a chance to leave any additional comments, “Please provide any general reactions you had to this lab session.”

Results

Table 5.2 contains the descriptive statistics by condition for the Experiment 2 variables.

Table 5.2
Experiment 2: Condition Descriptive Statistics

Condition	N	Personal Knowledge Mean (SD)	Value Congruence Mean (SD)	Self-reported Individuation Mean (SD)	Open-coded Individuation Mean (SD)	Humanization Mean (SD)
No Personal Knowledge	174	3.01 (1.34)	4.25 (1.00)	3.95 (.86)	3.78 (1.49)	4.80 (.66)
Value Incongruent Knowledge	168	3.50 (1.37)	3.49 (1.09)	3.81 (.90)	3.52 (1.55)	4.63 (.72)
Value Congruent Knowledge	166	3.42 (1.21)	4.40 (1.09)	4.00 (.80)	3.89 (1.42)	4.77 (.66)

In order to support Hypothesis 1, I expected a significant main effect, with the personal knowledge conditions displaying higher levels of individuation than the no personal knowledge condition. However, based on both the self reported and open-coded measures, I do not find a

significant effect (self-reported: $F(1,502) = 2.35$; $p = .09$; open-coded: $F(1,388) = 2.04$; $p = .13$). Interestingly, a significant difference did emerge in the self-reported individuation measures of the value congruent and incongruent conditions. This may suggest that in my personal knowledge conditions, I did not provide enough attribute knowledge to motivate the participants to engage in individuation processes, as a categorical label sufficiently accounted for the attributes provided. Results were consistent when examining the republican and democratic respondents separately.

In order to test Hypothesis 2, the relationship between individuation and humanization, I first regressed humanization on individuation and found individuation had a significantly positive association with humanization (self-reported: $b = .23$, $\beta = .29$, $p < .01$; open-coded: $b = .12$, $\beta = .27$, $p < .01$). Because this experiment is not a fully crossed design, in order to test Hypothesis 5, I first examined the overall effect of condition on humanization using an ANOVA. I find a significant overall effect ($F(1,502) = 2.96$; $p = .05$). Interestingly, this significant result is driven by a significant difference in the means of the no personal knowledge and value incongruent conditions, a similar pattern to that emerging when examining individuation. Then, I split the file by condition and analyzed the relationship between individuation and humanization. I regressed humanization on self-reported individuation (no personal knowledge: $b = .08$, $\beta = .11$, $p = .15$; value incongruent condition: $b = .37$, $\beta = .46$, $p < .01$; value congruent condition: $b = .21$, $\beta = .26$, $p < .01$). Additionally, I regressed humanization on open-coded individuation (no personal knowledge: $b = .08$, $\beta = .20$, $p = .02$; value incongruent condition: $b = .16$, $\beta = .35$, $p < .01$; value congruent condition: $b = .10$, $\beta = .21$, $p = .02$). These results are contrary to my initial hypothesis that the effect of individuation on humanization would be attenuated under conditions of perceived value incongruence. Instead, I find the strongest effect of individuation on

humanization is among those in the value incongruent condition.

To further analyze the proposed interaction, I examine the interaction between individuation and the reported value incongruence measure, a reverse coded version of the congruence measure used for ease of interpreting results. In step 1, I entered self-reported individuation (centered) and value incongruence (centered). There was a significant main effect of self-reported individuation ($b = .18, \beta = .22, p < .01$) and of value incongruence ($b = -.17, \beta = -.29, p < .01$). In step 2, I entered the interaction between self-reported individuation and humanization. The interaction term was significant ($b = .10, \beta = .16, p < .01$), such that the effect of individuation on humanization was stronger when high levels of value incongruence were present. The simple slope for low levels of value incongruence (one standard deviation below the mean: $b = .05, t(.05) = 1.05, p = .29$) was not significantly different than zero; the simple slopes for mean levels ($b = .17, t(.03) = 5.1, p < .01$) and high levels (one standard deviation above the mean: $b = .28, t(.04) = 7.17, p < .01$) of value incongruence were significant. Results using the open-coded measure of individuation were consistent. In step 1, I entered open-coded individuation (centered) and value incongruence (centered). There was a significant main effect of open-coded individuation ($b = .09, \beta = .19, p < .01$) and of value incongruence ($b = -.16, \beta = -.27, p < .01$). In step 2, I entered the interaction between open-coded individuation and humanization. The interaction term was significant ($b = .05, \beta = .13, p < .01$), such that the effect of individuation on humanization was stronger when high levels of value incongruence were present. The simple slopes for low levels of value incongruence (one standard deviation below the mean: $b = .03, t(.01) = 7.21, p < .01$), mean levels ($b = .08, t(.01) = 7.21, p < .01$) and high levels (one standard deviation above the mean: $b = .14, t(.01) = 7.21, p < .01$) of value incongruence were significant. Both plots suggest that the effect of individuation on

humanization was strongest among those who reported the highest levels of perceived value incongruence (see Figures 5.5 and 5.6).

Figure 5.5
Experiment 2: The effect of self-reported individuation and perceived value incongruence on humanization

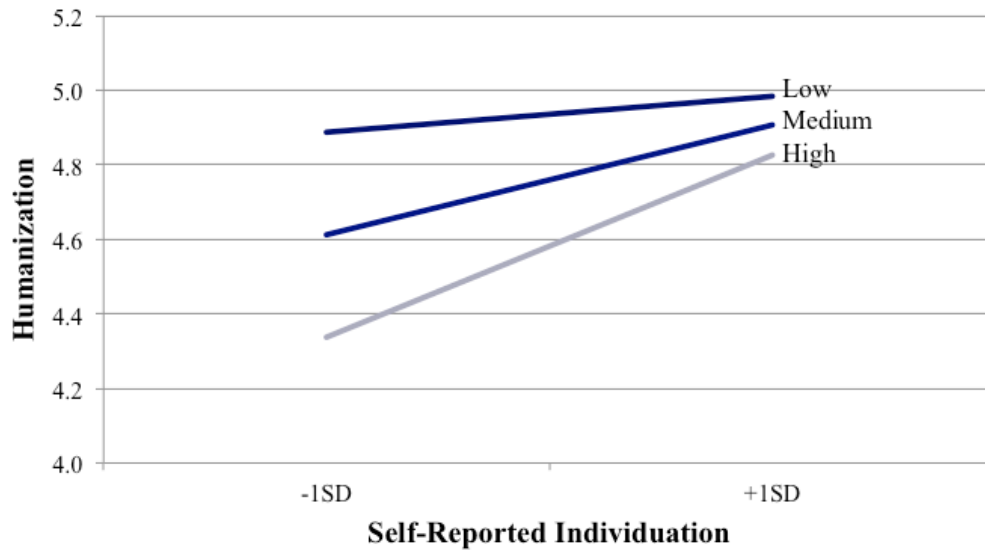
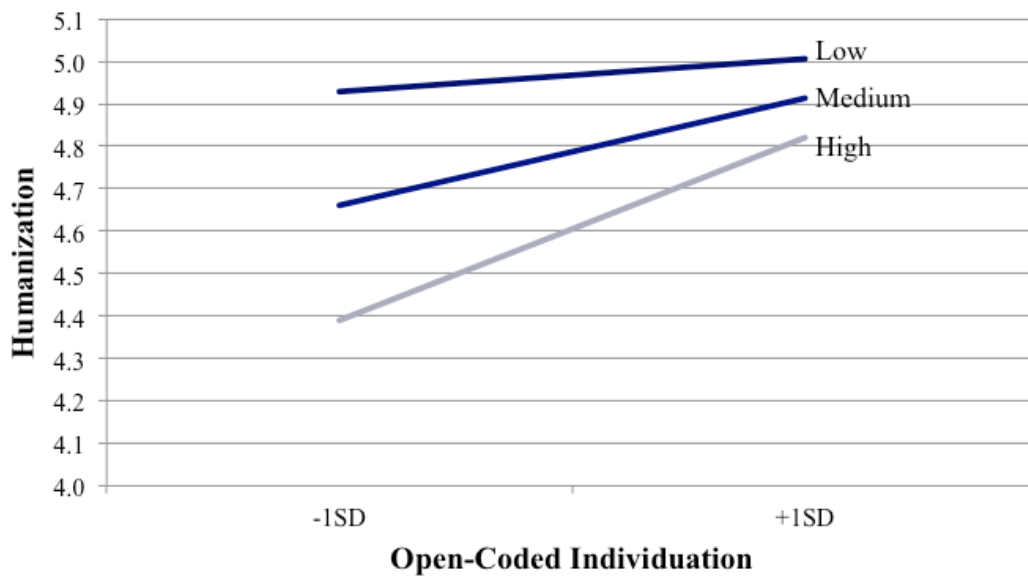


Figure 5.6
Experiment 2: The effect of open-coded individuation and perceived value incongruence on humanization



Discussion

In Experiment 2, I sought to expand the hypotheses tested experimentally to continue to assess causality. However, initial results suggest that the manipulation of personal knowledge was not strong enough. Simply adding information about Patricia's political affiliation did not provide sufficient attribute information to motivate individuating processes. This experiment actually demonstrates that just a bit of personal information, political affiliation, can actually trigger categorization, a less individuated view than those without this knowledge. Subsequent work should continue to test this hypothesis by providing additional attribute information and investigating at what point individuation processes begin. Despite lack of support for Hypothesis 1, there was strong support for Hypothesis 2, the relationship between individuated and humanized perceptions.

Finally, the results in the test of Hypothesis 5 are surprising. I hypothesized that perceptions of value incongruence would attenuate the positive relationship between individuation and humanization. However, analysis of the interaction revealed that there was a stronger relationship between individuation and humanization processes under conditions of value incongruence in comparison to conditions of value congruence. This demonstrates that under circumstances of perceived value incongruence, forming an individuated perception is of greater benefit for the underlying relationship. Thus, those in organizations who are seen as value incongruent may benefit the most from others gathering more personal knowledge about themselves.

Despite the strengths of this study design, which include experimental manipulation with a realistic scenario of undergraduate business students assessing potential group mates, the design also has limitations. As revealed in the results, it seems the manipulation of personal knowledge was not strong enough to induce effortful attribute processing. Because this vignette

study was quite shallow in the nature of information and the context of the relationship, future research should seek to strengthen the design through a more heavy-handed manipulation of providing additional attribute information.

APPENDIX C

List of Scale Items for Chapter 3, Studies 1, 2, and 3

This appendix contains the full list of items for each scale used in this dissertation. Items marked with an asterisk were included in the condensed scales for Studies 2 and 3 in Chapter 3.

Personal Knowledge. Participants responded to the following twelve items, developed in Appendix A. How much do you feel you know about the following aspects of your colleague's personal life? (1 = *Nothing at all*, 7 = *A great amount*):

- Family information (e.g., members' names, ages, occupations, schools, pets)
- Hobbies/interests (e.g., likes, dislikes)
- Relationships (e.g., friends, significant others, quality and content of relationships)
- Activities (e.g., things they do outside of work such as sporting events, volunteer commitments)
- Living arrangements (e.g., where, with whom)
- Personal history (e.g., birth place, education, life milestones, experiences)
- Travel (e.g., past vacations, desired travel destinations)
- Values (e.g., religious beliefs, political preferences)
- Health (e.g., past or current health issues, preventative care)
- Finances (e.g., investments, bills, additional income sources)
- Personal challenges (e.g., grief, domestic abuse, aging parents)
- Aspirations (e.g., goals, hopes, dreams, future plans)

Self-Reported Individuation. Participants responded to the following four items, based on a scale used by Hutter et al. (2013) and Prati et al. (2016). Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements in regards to this coworker (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*):

- I think this person is a unique individual*
- I think this person would be difficult to classify into a group
- I think this person is one of a kind

- I think this person is hard to pigeon-hole*

Open-Coded Individuation. Participants were asked: Please list how you would describe this colleague to someone in your work group (open-ended). Two independent coders then rated these responses to determine the individuation of the participant's description. Coders responded to the following items, in regards to each description (1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*):

- This description acknowledges the underlying uniqueness of this person
- This description displays an understanding that this person is one of a kind
- This description conveys that this person may be hard to distinguish from others (R)

Humanization. Consistent with previous approaches to measure humanization (Loughnan et al., 2010; Prati et al., 2016), participants rated to what extent they feel each colleague possesses each of the following characteristics, a balance of traits associated with both animalistic (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much so*):

Animalistic

- Civil
- Refined
- Mature

Mechanistic

- Emotionally responsive
- Warm
- Deep

Value Incongruence. Participants responded to a three-item scale developed by Hoffman et al. (2011) to assess value (in)congruence with each colleague. Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements in regards to this coworker (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*):

- My personal values match this colleague's values and ideals
- The things that I value in life are similar to the things this colleague values*
- My colleague's values provide a good fit with the things I value

Life-to-Work Interference. Participants responded to a preexisting four-item scale

(Burley, 1989; Gutek et al., 1991), modified to be about the perception of another rather than oneself, to assess perceived collegial life-to-work interference. Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements in regards to this coworker (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*):

- This colleague is often too tired at work because of the things he/she has to do at home
- His/her personal demands are so great that it takes away from his/her work*
- Others dislike how often he/she is preoccupied with his/her personal life while at work*
- His/her personal life takes up time that he/she would like to spend working

Responsiveness. Participants reported their responsiveness towards each colleague using a modified seven-item scale for perceived partner responsiveness developed by Lemay et al. (2007). Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements in regards to this coworker (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*):

- I attend to this person's needs/ This person attends to my needs
- I provide emotional support when this person is stressed/ This person provides emotional support when I am stressed
- I help this person out or do favors for him/her/ This person helps me out or does favors for me
- I am good at recognizing this person's needs and feelings/ This person is good at recognizing my needs and feelings
- I am always there for this person whenever he/she needs me/ This person is always there for me whenever I need them
- I am someone this person can turn to when he/she is feeling sad or worried or stressed about something/ This person is someone I can turn to when I am feeling sad or worried or stressed about something
- Meeting his/her needs is a high priority for me/ Meeting my needs is a high priority for this person

Social Undermining. Participants reported their social undermining towards each colleague using a thirteen-item scale developed by Duffy and colleagues (2002). Individuals were to rate how frequently they engage in each of the following behaviors towards each colleague in the previous month (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Once or Twice*, 3 = *About Once a Week*, 4 =

Several Times a Week, 5 = Almost Every Day, 6 = Everyday):

- Hurt his/her feelings/ Hurt my feelings
- Put him/her down when he/she questioned work procedures/ Put me down when I questioned work procedures
- Undermined his/her effort to be successful on the job/ Undermined my effort to be successful on the job
- Let him/her know you did not like him/her or something about him/her/ Let me know he/she did not like me or something about me
- Talked bad about him/her behind his/her back/ Talked about me behind my back
- Insulted him/her, belittled him/her or his/her ideas/ Insulted me, belittled me or my ideas
- Spread rumors about him/her/ Spread rumors about me
- Made him/her feel incompetent/ Made me feel incompetent
- Delayed work to make him/her look bad or slow him/her down/ Delayed work to make me look bad or slow me down
- Talked down to him/her, gave him/her the silent treatment, and did not defend him/her when people spoke poorly of him/her/ Talked down to me, gave me the silent treatment, and did not defend me when people spoke poorly of me

Trust. Participants reported their trust in each colleague responding to a four-item scale developed by Colquitt et al. (2011) Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements in regards to this coworker (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*):

- In general, I trust this colleague
- It bothers me to think that I am vulnerable to this colleague's actions (R)
- It bothers me when I have to rely on this colleague during job tasks (R)
- I am confident that I can depend on this colleague when performing job tasks

Friendship. Participants reported their friendship with each colleague by responding to a one-item scale, which has been found to have predictive proximity to longer scales, developed by Selfhout et al. (2009): Please indicate to what degree you are friends with this coworker (1 = *Far Acquaintance*, 7 = *Best Friend*).

Respect. Participants reported their respect for each teammate by responding to a two-item scale developed used in previous work (Chatman, 1991; Jehn & Mannix, 2001). Please answer the following questions using the scale provided about this colleague (1 = *Nota at all*, 7 =

A lot):

- How much do you respect this colleague
- How much do you respect the ideas of this colleague

Similarity. Finally, participants reported their perceived similarity with each teammate by responding to a two-item scale, developed by Abele and Stasser (2008). Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements in regards to this coworker (1 = *Strongly*

Disagree, 7 = *Strongly Agree*):

- This person is similar to me
- This person and I have much in common

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