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Proactivity punished: Nativist bias in advice seeking

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Abstract

This study theorizes a nativist bias in interpersonal advice seeking within organizations and empirically assesses its effects. Extending the existing discrimination and social networks research, I argue that the effects of nativism—a bias against foreigners—in advice seeking and other network relations cannot be validly inferred from native/nonnative outcome inequalities. Instead, the effects of nativism in social networks are revealed in natives' asymmetric behaviors and attitudes that disadvantage nonnatives. It is hypothesized that, other things being equal, natives seek task-related advice across the nativity divide less frequently than nonnatives do. In another manifestation of nativism, native advice seeking targets perceive nonnatives who seek their advice as less competent than those nonnatives who do not seek their advice. Consistent evidence of these patterns was found in four separate networks of working professionals. These findings have implications for the study of discriminatory biases in social networks and for countering such biases in organizational and educational settings.

Keywords

advice seeking, competence perceptions, nativism, social network modeling

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As work becomes more mutable, collaborative, and technically sophisticated, organizational and individual performance becomes increasingly dependent on the transmission of knowledge through informal relations. Even as formal organizations and education curricula respond to the changing qualification needs, learning through informal advice networks is vital to securing the knowledge and skills to complete tasks in today's economy (Borgatti & Cross, 2003; Clarke et al., 2021; Lim et al., 2020; Sparrowe et al., 2001). Apart from providing explicit solutions, advice networks also help the exchange of tacit knowledge and metaknowledge, validation of emergent ideas, and reformulation of problems (Cross et al., 2001). As a result, people derive significant career benefits from involvement in networks of professional advice (De Janasz et al., 2003; Higgins & Kram, 2001; Nadler et al., 2003).

In another major trend, the workforce is becoming increasingly international. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social

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Affairs (2020) reported that 281 million people—1 out of every 28 humans—work outside their country of birth; the growth in size of the international workforce continued despite the COVID-19 pandemic. The dependence on immigrants is particularly salient in advanced economies' knowledge-intensive work—in the United States, 45% of workers with doctoral degrees in science and engineering are foreign born (National Science Foundation, 2022).

Nativism, or a bias against foreigners, is a growing concern in work settings. Although it is illegal to discriminate based on national origin in many countries, research has amply documented the disadvantaging effects of nativism on immigrants' career outcomes, such as wages and hiring (e.g., Borjas, 1999; Hosoda et al., 2012). Insofar as careers depend on informal interpersonal learning and the workforce becomes increasingly international, it is important to understand the nature and extent of the disadvantaging effects of nativism in informal learning. This is the task taken up in this study. I extend theories of discriminatory bias (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Borjas, 1999; Cheung et al., 2022; Correll et al., 2007; England, 1992; Moser, 2012; Ridgeway, 2011; Yee, 1992), and the methods of empirically detecting such bias, to identify the effects of nativist bias in advice seeking, with potential applications to other types of discriminatory bias and other relational outcomes.

Building on theories of social networks and homophily (McPherson et al., 2001), I argue that nativist bias in relational outcomes manifests itself in natives' asymmetric network-building behaviors and attitudes that disadvantage nonnatives. First, nativism is manifest in an advice seeking asymmetry: other things being equal, natives are less likely to seek nonnatives' advice than nonnatives are to seek natives' advice. Second, nativism is enacted in natives' tendency to penalize nonnatives' proactivity in advice seeking. While research has found that people may perceive those who seek their advice as more competent (Brooks et al., 2015), I propose that this relationship is reversed when nonnatives seek natives' advice—natives tend to perceive nonnatives as less competent when they seek their advice. Nonnatives, however, do not reciprocate in kind: they do not perceive natives seeking their advice as less competent. I replicated the test of this argument in four advice networks of students in an evening master's program and found consistent support for it. By showing that nonnatives suffer negative relational outcomes when they proactively seek to establish beneficial relations, the study puts the onus on natives and on organizations' management to counter nativist bias in network relations.

Theoretical Background

Advice Networks and Advice Seeking

Much of the research linking professional advice to individual and organizational outcomes has taken a social network perspective, viewing individuals as embedded in a network of formal and informal relations. Advice networks consist of individuals in one or both of the two roles—advice recipient and advice source—and of the ties representing the flow of advice in each pair of network members (e.g., Sparrowe et al., 2001; Zagenczyk et al., 2008).

In social network research, advice seeking refers to asking a specific person for advice. Network studies have conceptualized advice seeking using the conservation of resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 1989; Hobfoll et al., 2018). In the COR framework, advice is a valuable resource, and advice seeking is a proactive effort to obtain it (Lim et al., 2020; Marineau et al., 2018; Nebus, 2006). Because seeking advice does not guarantee receiving it, an act of advice seeking does not necessarily establish an advice tie in the network. Yet advice seeking is an important prerequisite of advice—alongside offering advice, it is one of the two ways of initiating advice ties.

Detecting Discriminatory Bias in Relational Outcomes

Studies of nativism and other discriminatory biases in organizations have examined biases' effects on a variety of individual career outcomes, including hiring (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004;

Cheung et al., 2022; Correll et al., 2007; Huang et al., 2013), performance evaluations (Roberson et al., 2007), wages (England, 1992), and promotions (Lyness & Schrader, 2006). The method of detecting discriminatory bias in these studies is premised on the notion that members of underperforming groups do not voluntarily forfeit beneficial career outcomes; therefore, a group's underperformance in a career outcome, all other relevant things being equal, is attributable to discriminatory bias (Borjas, 1999; England, 1992).

In contrast, when the outcome in question is an interpersonal relationship—such as advice seeking, help, or collaboration—discriminatory bias cannot be reliably inferred from nonnatives' or other groups' underperformance. Because relational outcomes are coproduced by both parties in the relationship, nonnatives' underperformance may alternatively result from homophily—a nearly universal preference to connect within identity-based groups and a disinclination to connect across groups (McPherson et al., 2001), including groups defined by national origin (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Homophily is a symmetric, mutual preference, enacted by natives and nonnatives alike. It is distinct from the one-sided discrimination of nativism, yet it may produce the same relational disadvantages for nonnatives that nativism does—deficit of network ties and failure to benefit from them. For example, in the typical situation where natives are the majority, homophily ensures that the pool of potential network partners is larger for them than for nonnatives, thus offering natives more opportunities to form beneficial ties. In another typical situation where social embeddedness in the local national context is more helpful than in foreign contexts, homophily would again ensure that natives are advantaged in benefitting from networks.

Because of such potentially equifinal disadvantaging effects of bias and homophily, theoretical arguments about nativism (or other types of discriminatory bias) in network relations, and the methods of detecting it, cannot be compelling if they merely compare natives' and foreigners' network outcomes. Nor can nativism be evidenced merely by natives' reluctance to have ties to foreigners, given that homophily also produces such reluctance. To identify effects of nativism on the formation or functioning of relations, and to distinguish them from those of homophily, theory must address—and methods must detect—natives' behaviors or attitudes that disadvantage nonnatives and that are not symmetrically reciprocated by nonnatives. In this study, such asymmetries are examined in the context of advice seeking.

Nativism in Advice Seeking

Without addressing the implications of nativism in advice seeking directly, discrimination research has identified a number of mechanisms that may give rise to discriminatory behavior in advice seeking. Apart from mere taste-based prejudice against foreigners (e.g., Moser, 2012; Yee, 1992), such behavior may result from anxiety about perceived economic competition from the nonnative group (Olzak, 1994), from bias against a nonnative accent (Hosoda et al., 2012; Huang et al., 2013), or from the attribution of characteristics to the group that are viewed as incompatible with a role—in this case, the role of an adviser (Ridgeway, 2011). For each of these mechanisms, the behavioral implications in advice seeking are asymmetric, making nonnatives relatively undesirable sources of advice for natives. Therefore, whichever combination of the mechanisms is enacted in advice seeking decisions, it will elicit natives' reluctance to reach out to nonnatives for advice, but no matching nonnatives' reluctance to reach out to natives:

> Hypothesis 1 (H1): Natives are less likely than nonnatives to seek advice across the native/nonnative divide.

Nativism in Reactions to Advice Seeking: Perceptions of Competence

Nativism may also be manifested in reactions to advice seeking. The literature on advice seeking suggests that discriminatory bias is likely to

show up in perceptions of advice seekers' competence.

Research has shown that advice seeking in professional settings may trigger two alternative reactions. On the one hand, advice seeking has potential interpersonal costs. It may signal weakness (Tost et al., 2012) and inability to complete tasks independently (Lee, 2002). It may also affirm that the seeker acknowledges her low relative standing by showing status deference to the advice giver (Agneessens & Wittek, 2012).

Yet seeking advice may sometimes elicit an opposite, positive reaction. First, the act of seeking advice conveys a willingness to learn, a trait highly prized in professional settings (Drewery et al., 2020; McCauley & Young, 1993), especially after research on the growth mindset (Dweck, 2006) gained popular appeal. Second, advice seeking is an effective means of behavioral adaptation (Henrich & Broesch, 2011) and shows advice seekers' adaptability, another highly valued trait in organizations (Hill et al., 2022). Third, asking for advice is a proactive work behavior; proactivity is rewarded in organizations and is strongly associated with professional success (Seibert et al., 2001).

Brooks et al. (2015) argued that both positive and negative reactions to advice seeking have a potential to prevail, and perceptions of advice seekers' competence will be affected accordingly. When positive reactions prevail, people will perceive those who seek their advice as more competent than those who do not seek it. When negative reactions prevail, advice seekers will be perceived as less competent. Because of its negative, discriminatory nature, nativism can be expected to elicit negative reactions to advice seeking by nonnatives. Specifically,

> Hypothesis 2 (H2): Natives will perceive nonnatives who seek their advice as less competent than nonnatives who do not seek their advice.

In and of itself, the penalty for seeking advice predicted in H2 would not provide sufficient evidence of nativist bias. If native advice seekers were subject to a similar or larger penalty—if natives or nonnatives perceived natives who sought their advice as less competent—findings consistent with H2 would not establish the asymmetric disadvantage that nativist bias involves. Nativist bias implies that native advice seekers are not subject to this penalty, or that their penalty is smaller than the penalty predicted in H2. The analysis below is designed to examine this implication.[1]

Method

Procedure

The data were collected over four academic terms on one of the campuses of a major, multicampus, public research university in the western United States, from four cohorts of working professionals enrolled in an evening in-person Master of Business Administration (MBA) program. After giving informed consent, participants completed identical social networks surveys as a take-home preparation assignment for a course session on social networks. The participants received a link to the online survey in the fourth week of the academic term and had 1 week to complete it. The network information was collected with questionnaire items that listed all cohort comembers' full names alphabetized by last name; the questionnaire also collected respondents' self-reports of gender and nativity status. At the time of the survey, three cohorts were in the last term and one was in the first term of the 2-year program.

The rationale for using an identical procedure in multiple cohorts was to check the robustness of the results. The repeat procedure enabled testing the hypotheses and then retesting them in three replication samples. The educational setting allowed the collection of relevant, high-quality data for testing the hypotheses. Because the quality of network data is highly sensitive to missing cases (e.g., Granovetter, 1976), it is a distinct advantage that very high response rates were obtained by presenting the network survey as a course assignment. Unlike in workplace surveys, the respondents had no reason to alter their responses for fear that management might access them for internal decision-making. Furthermore,

for hypotheses that predict reluctance to relate to foreigners, the MBA program in which the working professionals were surveyed may have tilted the tests in the conservative direction, due to the required diversity training prior to entering the program.

Participants

The four within-cohort social networks included 303 individuals, of which, 293 sought advice from other network members and 250 were targets of advice seeking. Overall, there were 2,265 instances of advice seeking. The combined response rate was 94.4%. Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for the participants and for the three types of networks in each cohort. Native participants were the majority in two of the four cohorts. The majority of participants in all cohorts were male. The networks are markedly less dense in Cohort 4 because this cohort was surveyed earlier in the program.

Multivariate Models for Network Outcomes

The test of H1 amounts to identifying a difference between natives' and nonnatives' homophily preference. If both groups were equally likely to seek advice internally (and thus also equally likely to seek it externally), the finding would merely evidence homophily. In contrast, higher homophily (or, synonymously, lower heterophily) among the natives would attest to a nativist bias in advice seeking.

A simple way of examining between-group homophily differences is to compare the incidence of cross-group ties at the level of individuals. In this comparison, a higher average share of within-group advice seeking among natives compared to nonnatives would serve as evidence of a nativist bias. Although intuitive, this bivariate comparison is not informative. Natives' higher incidence of within-group ties may alternatively result from a popularity effect (natives are more sought after for advice overall), or from its combination with a sociality effect (natives seek more advice). To ensure that the difference in homophily between natives and nonnatives captures nativist bias, popularity and sociality must be controlled in a multivariate model. Furthermore, measures of task-related ties, including advice seeking and competence perceptions, tend to be correlated with interpersonal positive affect (Casciaro & Lobo, 2008; McDonald & Westphal, 2003). Without controlling for the affective aspect of the relation, predictors' effects on task-related and affective ties would be confounded. To the extent that the affective aspect of the relation is correlated with other predictors of advice seeking and of competence perceptions, neglecting to control for this aspect would create omitted-variable bias in the test of H1 and H2. Friendship perceptions—reports by respondents that they consider another respondent a friend—were used to control for positive affect-based relations in multivariate models testing both hypotheses.

Exponential random graph models (ERGMs), with the necessary controls, were used to examine the hypothesized effects. ERGMs are a family of regression-like techniques for multivariate analysis of social network outcomes, implemented in the Statnet suite in R (Krivitsky et al., 2003–2023; Lusher et al., 2013; Snijders et al., 2006). The ERGMs model network-like structures—patterns of relations—by examining factors that predict whether relations do or do not exist. The existence of a relation is defined as the conditional log-odds of two network members having a tie. Unlike standard regression techniques, the ERGMs make no assumption, untenable in network data, that observations are mutually independent. Instead, they estimate the effects of patterns of interdependence. The models are designed to enable controlling for popularity, sociality, and other types of confounding effects. The statistical significance of ERGM effects is determined by comparing parameter estimates to their standard errors, as in usual regression models. Unlike more familiar deterministic estimation algorithms such as least squares and maximum likelihood, ERGMs' Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) estimation algorithm is stochastic.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for networks in analysis.

Cohort no.	*N*	Advice seeking		Competence		Friendship		Months in program	Native (%)	Female (%)
		N (ties)	Density (%)	*N* (ties)	Density (%)	*N* (ties)	Density (%)			
1	93	1,093	12.77	2,946	34.43	2,947	34.44	19	45.16	34.41
2	85	598	8.38	2,332	32.66	1,892	26.50	19	42.35	32.94
3	58	386	11.68	936	28.31	949	28.71	19	53.45	27.59
4	67	188	4.25	624	14.11	490	11.08	1	64.18	32.84
Total	303	2,265	-	6,838	-	6,278	-	-	50.17	32.34

Note. Here and elsewhere, the cohort networks are ordered chronologically.

ERGMs were chosen over stochastic actor-oriented models (SAOM), an alternative multivariate network modeling technique, in accordance with the guidelines suggested by Block et al. (2019). They recommend ERGMs for dependent networks of ties involving low emotional and time investments, such as the one-off advice requests and perceptions modeled in this study (as opposed to high-investment ties such as close friendship; Block et al., 2019, pp. 233–234).

The dependent outcome in ERGMs is a matrix of network relations or ties. A single ERGM can simultaneously estimate the effects of three types of predictors on the dependent matrix: actor attributes, dyadic attributes, and patterns of interdependence. "Covariate" is a convenient covering term applicable to all three types of predictors. Actor attributes may be used to compute a variety of effects, including ego and alter effects. The ego effect measures the degree to which a network member with that attribute sends more ties. The alter effect measures the degree to which a network member with that attribute receives more ties. The effects of dyadic attributes capture the extent to which a tie is more likely between a pair of network members who share a particular attribute. When the dyadic attribute denotes a network tie, it enters the model as a network matrix and its effect captures the tendency of ties in that matrix to co-occur with ties in the dependent network. Finally, patterns of interdependence, or structural effects, measure the tendency of specific network structures to occur in the network more frequently than expected under randomness.

For example, when the dependent outcome is a matrix of advice seeking, the alter effect of the actor attribute of nativity reflects advice seekers' tendency to turn for advice to natives rather than to nonnatives (the popularity effect of nativity). The corresponding ego effect measures the tendency of natives to seek advice from more people (the sociality effect of nativity). The similarity effect for nativity captures homophily, that is, the tendency of ties to stay within the native and nonnative groups. (The hypotheses were tested with interactions involving these effects, as detailed below.) The dyadic effect of friendship controls for the tendency of friendship ties and advice seeking to co-occur. The structural effect of reciprocity measures the tendency to reciprocate advice seeking.

A remarkable feature of ERGMs is that, when homophily in two groups is compared, they inflate homophily estimates for smaller groups (D. Schaefer, personal communication, August 20, 2022). As shown in Table 1, the nonnatives are a minority in two networks examined in this study, and a slight majority in the other two. The test of H1 is thus tilted in the conservative direction in two networks (3 and 4) because H1 states that there is less homophily in the smaller nonnative group. The test is tilted toward the hypothesized effect in the other two networks. Generally, ERGMs are well suited for conservative testing of nativist bias effects in organizational contexts

because in most such contexts, nonnatives are likely to be a minority.

Measures

Dependent networks. The matrix of advice seeking is the dependent network in the test of H1. Advice seeking was recorded with the survey item that read, "I have asked this person for advice (please mark all who apply)." The competence matrix is the dependent network in the test of H2. Competence perceptions were collected with a similar item: "I consider this person highly competent (please mark all who apply)." The qualifier "highly" was added to the competence item based on prior test runs of the survey; without the qualifier, over a quarter of the respondents would politely mark all others as competent. The ties in both dependent networks are directed and binary (0/1).[2]

Nativity. The nativity variable was coded as 1 if the respondents identified as "United States American (African, Asian, Native, White, or other)," and as 0 if they identified as "Not United States American (international)." The hypotheses were examined using interaction terms that involved actor attribute effects of the nativity variable on patterns of advice seeking and competence perceptions, as detailed below.

Control covariates. The friendship matrix is a control covariate in all models. Friendship relations were collected with the prompt, "I consider this person a friend (please mark all who apply)." The density of the resulting friendship network is high, exceeding 34% in Cohort 1 (see Table 1), which suggests that the respondents did not view friendship as a close, exclusive personal relationship. Gender (1 = *female*, 0 = *male*) is a person-level control covariate. The two actor effects of gender in the models account for possible gender inequality in the tendency to seek advice and to be asked for advice. I further included the respondents' performance score in the course where the data were collected, measured on a 100-point percentage scale. The alter effect of this score helps ensure that the effects in the models are net of the target person's academic performance. The nativity alter effect controls for popularity, ensuring that the results are not biased by any nativity category's tendency to be more sought after for advice. Finally, two structural controls were included in all models. The density effect ensures that the hypotheses are tested net of the observed baseline propensity to seek advice, rather than in the unrealistic model assuming that no one seeks advice when all other included effects are at zero. The reciprocity effect controls for the tendency of asymmetric ties to become symmetric, avoiding the unrealistic assumption that seeking someone's advice is independent of whether that person has asked the seeker for advice.

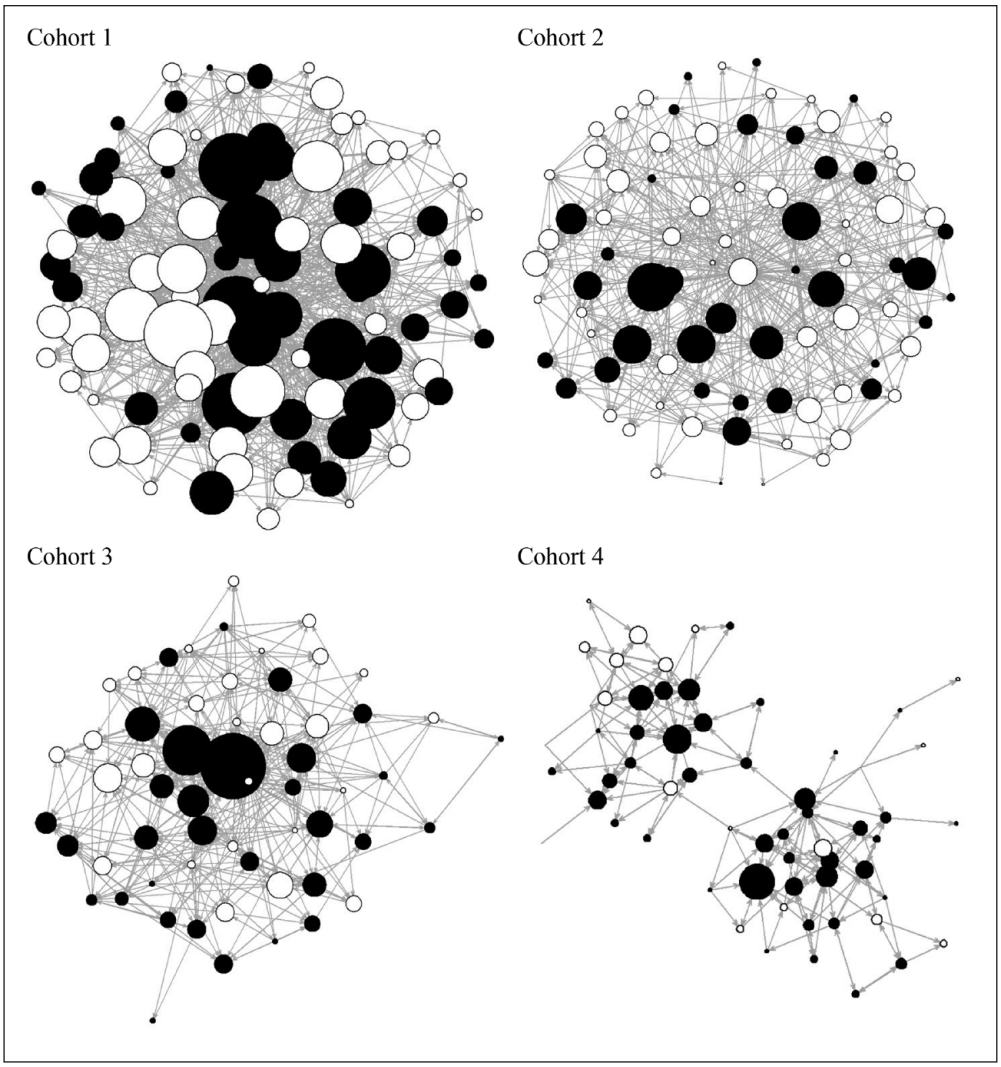
Results

Cross-Nativity Advice Seeking

Figure 1 visualizes the four advice seeking networks where H1 was tested. Because Cohort 4 was surveyed early in the program when its members were taking all courses in two separate sections, the network diagram shows clustering by section. The most popular sources of advice (large black circles) tend to be natives. Due to the exponential relationship between the number of network members and the number of ties, smaller networks appear sparser, albeit the visual sparseness does not necessarily indicate less advice seeking per person.

The ERGMs summarized in Table 2 examine the nativist bias in advice seeking networks. The density effect is negative, attesting that a tie in a dyad is more likely to be absent than present. The reciprocity effect is predictably positive, confirming that advice seeking has the tendency to be mutual. So is the effect of friendship, consistent with the tendency of task relations to coincide with affective relations. There is no significant tendency of women to seek more advice, and women are less likely to be asked for advice only in one cohort (they are more likely to be asked for advice in one other cohort). The alter effect of

Figure 1. Diagrams of advice seeking networks.



Note. Graphs show the Kamada–Kawai layout. Arrows point from advice seekers to advice seeking targets. Black nodes represent natives. Node sizes are proportional to indegree (number of people seeking network member's advice).

nativity is positive and significant in three of the four cohorts, evidencing that natives' advice is more frequently sought in these cohorts than nonnatives' advice.

The interaction effects in the models shown in Table 2 test H1. This hypothesis stated that natives are less likely than nonnatives to seek advice across the nativity divide or, equivalently, that homophily in the network of advice seeking is higher among the natives. The suite of ERGM actor effects enables a direct test of this statement. The similarity effect of nativity captures homophily, that is, the tendency to seek advice within native and nonnative groups. The positive

Table 2. Effects of advice seekers' nativity and nativity-based homophily on advice seeking in cohort networks.

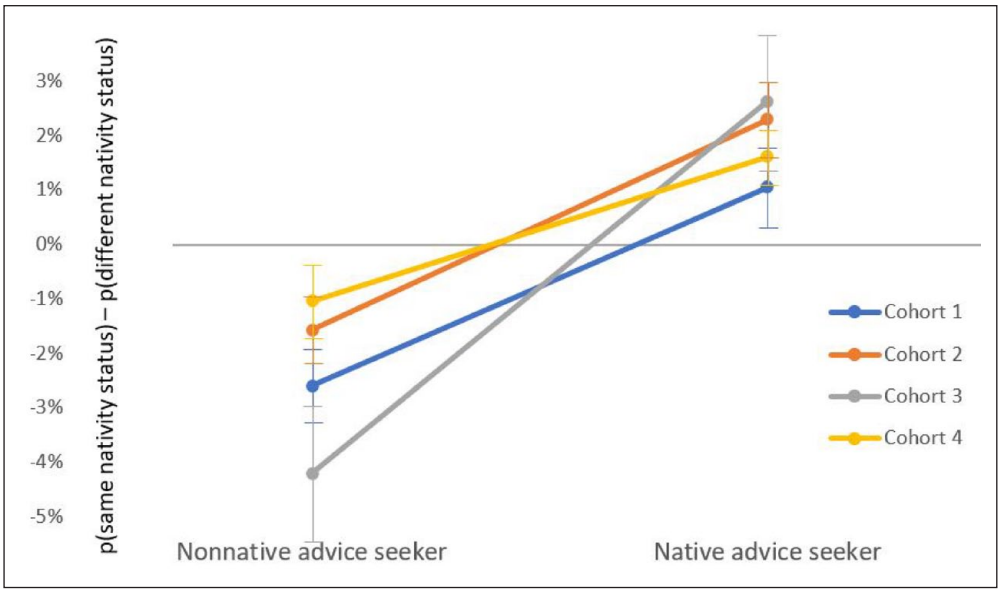
	Exponential random graph models			
	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Cohort 3	Cohort 4
Structural effects				
Density	−4.52**	−4.73**	−9.52**	−5.06**
	(0.64)	(0.96)	(1.65)	(1.57)
Reciprocity	0.92**	1.12**	1.16**	1.70**
	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.31)
Control effects				
Friendship network	2.30**	3.19**	3.55**	3.36**
	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.19)	(0.21)
Female advice seeker (ego effect)	−0.13	−0.03	−0.06	0.22
	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.19)
Female advice target (alter effect)	−0.55**	0.12	0.29*	−0.19
	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.20)
Course performance (alter effect)	0.02*	0.01	0.06**	0.002
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Native advice target (alter effect)	0.03	0.61**	0.42**	1.17**
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.20)
Nativity and nativity-based homophily effects				
Same nativity status (homophily effect)	−0.29**	−0.23*	−0.53**	−0.43
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.19)	(0.32)
Native advice seeker (ego effect)	−0.10	−0.86**	−0.58**	−0.78*
	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.23)	(0.34)
Same Nativity Status × Native advice seeker	0.39**	0.69**	0.84**	1.45**
	(0.15)	(0.21)	(0.28)	(0.44)
Network members	93	85	58	67
Ties (advice seeking = 1)	1,093	598	386	188
Converged with >99% confidence	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note. Network covariates (advice seeking and friendship) are $N \times N$ matrices, where N is the number of network members. Standard errors are in parentheses.
**$p < .010$. *$p < .050$ (two-tailed tests).

and significant interaction of the similarity effect of nativity with the ego effect of nativity evidences that natives' advice seeking is more homophilous, consistent with H1. Remarkably, the main effect of homophily is negative in all cohorts and smaller in absolute value than the positive interaction effect. Given that the native covariate in not centered in the reported ERGMs, these two results for the main effect of homophily together show that advice seeking is homophilous only among the natives; the nonnatives are more likely to seek natives' than fellow nonnatives' advice.

This tendency is visualized in Figure 2. The vertical axis denotes the difference between (a) the predicted advice seeking probability when the target is in the same nativity category as the seeker, and (b) the same probability when the target is in the other nativity category. The difference is positive, evidencing homophily, for native advice seekers; it is negative, evidencing heterophily, for nonnative advice seekers. The Wald test

Figure 2. Marginal effects of nativity homophily on advice seeking by native/nonnative status of advice seeker.



Note. Effects were computed with ERGMs in Table 2, holding all other predictors constant. Each plotted value is the predicted probability of advice seeking when the advice seeking target's nativity status is the same as the seeker's status (the main category) minus the predicted probability of advice seeking when the advice seeking target's nativity status is different from the seeker's status (the reference category). Whiskers show 95% confidence intervals; all native/nonnative differences are significant at $p < .010$.

of second differences shows that this difference between the natives and the nonnatives is significant in all cohorts, which is expected given the significance of the underlying interaction effects.[3]

Nativity and Perceptions of Advice Seekers' Competence

The ERGMs summarized in Table 3 examine advice targets' perceptions of advice seekers' competence. The models are specified using ego–alter selection tables. Selection tables (also called mixing matrices) contain the full set of possible tie composition scenarios for categorical actor attributes. Thus, for the binary nativity variable in a network of directed ties, the selection table is 2 × 2 and has the following scenarios: (1) native → nonnative, (2) nonnative → native, (3) nonnative → nonnative, (4) native → native, where arrows denote tie direction (e.g., in a network of competence perceptions, Scenario 1 represents natives' perceptions of nonnatives' competence). In ERGMs, selection tables produce one statistic for every scenario except the one chosen as the reference category.

To test H2, each scenario in the selection table is interacted in ERGMs with the matrix of advice seeking, with interaction terms showing the effects of advice seeking in each scenario. H2 states that advice seeking will affect perceptions of advice seekers' competence negatively in the native → nonnative scenario. In order to directly contrast natives' perception of nonnatives with their perception of other natives, the native → native scenario is chosen as the reference category, with its effect in the model constrained to zero. Because the hypothesis specifies an effect of receiving a tie (advice seeking) on a reaction directed back at the source of the tie (perception of advice seeker's competence), the matrix of advice seeking was transposed. (A model with the nontransposed matrix, instead of capturing reactions, would be capturing the relationship between advice seeking and perceptions of the

Table 3. Effects of advice seekers' nativity on advice targets' competence perceptions.

	Exponential random graph models			
	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Cohort 3	Cohort 4
Structural effects				
Density	−1.51**	−3.01**	−4.75**	−1.68*
	(0.44)	(0.54)	(1.11)	(0.80)
Reciprocity	0.22**	−0.16*	0.35**	0.67**
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.16)
Control effects				
Friendship network	1.07**	1.95**	1.52**	1.86**
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.12)
Female advice seeker (ego effect)	−0.09	−0.11*	−0.16	0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Female advice target (alter effect)	−0.56**	0.09	0.25*	0.24*
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Course performance (alter effect)	0.01*	0.02*	0.04**	−0.01
	(0.005)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Nativity and competence perception effects				
Scenario 1: Native → nonnative	0.43**	0.73**	0.42**	0.81**
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Scenario 2: Nonnative → native	−0.87**	0.47**	−1.11**	−0.30*
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.14)
Scenario 3: Nonnative → nonnative	−1.13**	0.35**	−1.42**	−0.34
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.15)	(0.19)
Advice seeking (transposed matrix)	0.81**	0.20	0.39	1.21**
	(0.15)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.24)
Scenario 1 × Advice Seeking	−1.10**	−1.51**	−0.59*	−2.17**
	(0.20)	(0.31)	(0.30)	(0.50)
Scenario 2 × Advice Seeking	0.32	0.06	0.80*	0.05
	(0.21)	(0.36)	(0.35)	(0.50)
Scenario 3 × Advice Seeking	0.24	0.18	0.63	−0.26
	(0.20)	(0.29)	(0.36)	(0.57)
Network members	93	85	58	67
Ties (competence perception = 1)	2,946	2,332	936	624
Converged with >99% confidence	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note. Network covariates (competence perceptions, advice seeking, and friendship) are $N \times N$ matrices, where N is the number of network members. Arrows in scenario descriptions point from the perceiver to the perceived. Standard errors are in parentheses.

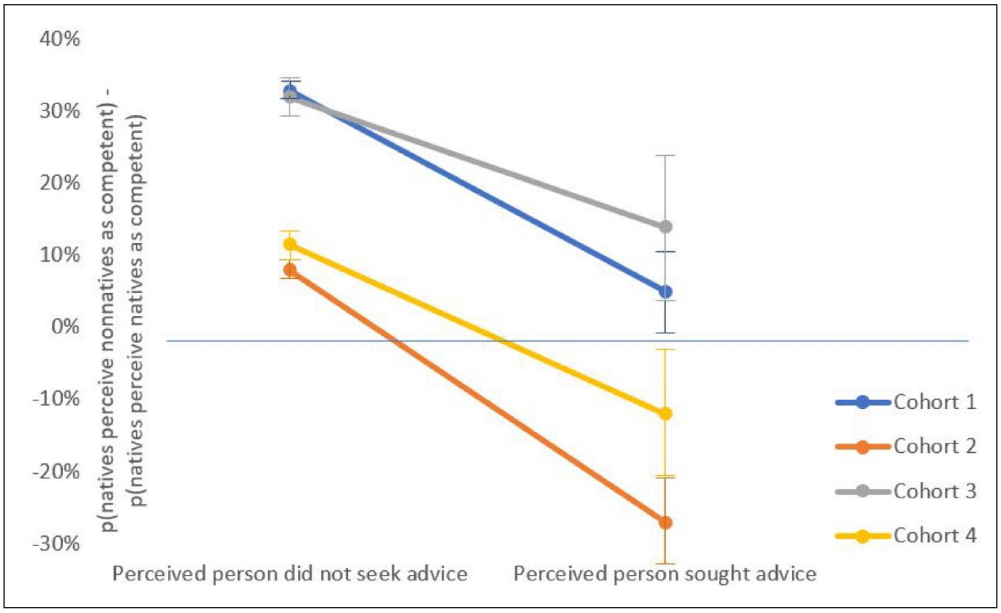
**$p < .010$. *$p < .050$ (two-tailed tests).

competence of the person whose advice is sought.)

The ERGMs in Table 3 retain the density, reciprocity, friendship, gender, and course performance controls used in the test of H1. The models omit the ego, alter, and homophily effects of nativity; with any of these terms, the computation of the standard errors would fail because the information that the terms contain is already contained in the selection table.

The first interaction effect in Table 2 tests H2. This hypothesis stated that there is a nativist bias

Figure 3. Marginal effects of native perceiver–nonnative perceived dyad composition on competence perceptions by whether or not the perceived person sought advice.



Note. Effects were computed with ERGMs in Table 3, holding all other predictors constant. Each plotted value is the predicted probability that natives perceive a nonnative as competent (scenario of interest) minus the predicted probability that they perceive another native as competent (reference scenario). Whiskers show 95% confidence intervals; all plotted within-cohort differences are significant at $p < .050$.

against nonnatives who seek advice. Specifically, H2 proposed that natives perceive nonnatives who seek their advice as less competent than those nonnatives who do not seek their advice. The interaction effect of the native → nonnative covariate with the advice seeking matrix (labeled "Scenario 1 × Advice Seeking" in Table 3) is negative and significant in all four cohort networks, evidencing that natives are less likely to perceive nonnatives as competent when the latter seek their advice. These results support H2. To check the robustness of the results, all ERGMs were also estimated with Scenario 2 and again with Scenario 3 as the reference category; the Scenario 1 × Advice Seeking interaction effect remained negative and significant regardless of the reference category.

Figure 3 visualizes the moderating effect of advice seeking hypothesized in H2. The plot compares, in each of the four cohort networks, (a) the marginal effect of the perceived person's status as nonnative (vs. native) on competence perceptions by natives when that nonnative sought advice, and (b) the same effect when that nonnative did not seek advice. H2 predicts that Marginal Effect (a) is smaller than Marginal Effect (b). Marginal Effect (a), expressed as the nonnative/native difference in predicted probability of being perceived as competent by a native, is plotted for each cohort on the right side of Figure 3; Marginal Effect (b) is plotted on the left side of the figure. In all cohorts, the line connecting Effects (a) and (b) slopes downward from left to right, showing graphically that (a) is smaller (b). The difference between (a) and (b), visualized in the slope, is significant in the Wald tests in all four cohorts and also large, ranging from 7% in Cohort 3 to 29% in Cohort 2. Thus, for example, in Cohort 2, the predicted probability is 29% lower when the nonnative has sought that native's advice as compared to when she has not. In Cohorts 2 and 4, the act of advice seeking was

impactful enough to switch the effect from positive to negative.

Because native → native is the reference scenario, the interaction effects in Table 3 showing the penalty for advice seeking in the native → nonnative scenario are negative and significant relative to the native → native scenario (whose effects are by design constrained to zero). This confirms that natives' reactions to advice seeking were significantly more negative when nonnatives sought their advice than when fellow natives did. Given that the interaction effects of the nonnative → native scenario are positive, natives' reactions to advice seeking by nonnatives were even more negative relative to this scenario than relative to the reference scenario. This pattern of findings shows the unique disadvantage suffered by nonnatives: the penalty for advice seeking was only applied by natives against nonnatives and was not applied by either group against natives.

Postestimation Checks

Recall that the survey items capturing network information listed individuals alphabetically by last name. Because nonnatives' last names tended to appear lower in those lists, analyses involving a native–nonnative comparison may potentially be affected by respondent fatigue. All ERGMs reported in Tables 2 and 3 were reestimated with a control capturing the alter's order of appearance in the network survey items. No reestimated coefficients differed meaningfully from those reported in Table 2 and 3. Evidence of fatigue (a significant negative effect of alter's order of appearance on receiving ties) only appeared in one of the eight ERGMs. Because the listing order is a method bias control rather than a theoretically grounded determinant of ties, and because controlling for it changed no results, it was not included in the reported ERGMs.

The goodness of fit of all ERGMs reported above was examined by comparing the value of the model terms observed in the original network to the distribution of those terms in networks simulated from the models. All observed terms were within the interquartile range, indicating good fit (Hunter et al., 2008).

Alternative Explanations

I examined alternative explanations that might potentially account for the results of testing H1 presented above.

National origin homogeneity as a source of natives' higher homophily. In H1 and in interpreting its test above, it was suggested that the natives' disinclination to seek nonnatives' advice attests to a nativist bias. However, this tendency may alternatively result from national homophily rather than from the bias. The natives may be less likely than the nonnatives to seek advice across the nativity divide because all tend to seek advice within their national group. As there is only one national group among the U.S. natives and multiple groups among the nonnatives, this would produce the findings supporting H1 even in the absence of a nativist bias. In other words, the natives may be more homophilous than the nonnatives because the natives are more homogeneous.

I examined how homophily is related to national origin homogeneity in the four cohorts. The distribution of cohort members' reported national origins is shown in Table 4. Because the native category, by definition, includes people from one nation only, national origin homogeneity may only vary among the nonnatives. To quantify homogeneity among the nonnatives, I used the Herfindahl–Hirschman index (HHI). The index is defined as the sum of squared proportions; thus, in a group consisting of three subgroups representing 50%, 30%, and 20%, HHI would be equal to $.50^2 + .30^2 + .20^2 = .38$. The closer HHI is to 1, the more homogeneous the group is. The definition of homophily, ingrained in the logic of ERGMs, is the change in the probability of a tie (advice seeking) when the potential

Table 4. Non-U.S. natives' national/regional origin distribution.

	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Cohort 3	Cohort 4
African	1	-	-	1
Arab	-	1	-	-
Chinese	14	16	5	3
Indian	19	16	5	7
Iranian/Persian	4	2	3	2
Israeli	3	-	1	1
Japanese	1	-	1	-
Korean	3	2	4	1
Latin American	1	4	2	2
Turkish	2	-	1	1
Vietnamese	-	3	1	4
Mixed	1	3	2	1
Other or unknown	2	2	2	1
Total	51	49	27	24
HHI	.23	.23	.13	.15
Homophily effect for nonnatives	−2.60	−1.57	−4.20	−1.04

Note. The Herfindahl–Hirschman index (HHI) is computed from the origin distribution in the table. The homophily effect is the percentage change in the probability of advice seeking by a U.S. nonnative when the target of advice seeking is also a U.S. nonnative (as compared to native), computed from the exponential random graph models in Table 2. A negative effect attests to a preference to seek natives' (rather than fellow nonnatives') advice.

tie partner is in the same category (nativity) relative to when the partner is in a different category.

To add plausibility to the idea that national homogeneity was responsible for the native/nonnative difference in homophily predicted in H1, higher HHI would coincide with more homophily among the nonnatives—that is, a tendency to seek other nonnatives' rather than natives' advice. As the HHIs reported in Table 4 show, Cohorts 1 and 2 were relatively more homogeneous, largely due to the sizeable Chinese and Indian subgroups, and Cohorts 3 and 4 were relatively less homogeneous. The more homogeneous cohorts exhibited intermediate advice seeking homophily. The less homogeneous cohorts had both the highest and lowest levels of homophily. This result is inconsistent with a linear relationship between nativity categories' internal homogeneity and homophily. Although the result based on four data points is far from conclusive, it grants no prima facie plausibility to the notion that this relationship produced the findings for H1.

To further probe the potential confounding effect of ethnic heterogeneity among nonnatives in the test of H1, I reexamined homophily in Cohorts 1 and 2. These two cohort networks, which included large Chinese and Indian groups, were truncated to include only native, Chinese, and Indian members. The ERGMs presented in Table 5 include the effects of all possible ethnic compositions of advice ties in this three-way ethnic partitioning of the data. For each cohort, two ERGMs were estimated, identical in every way except the choice of the reference category: the reference category is Chinese → Indian in the first model, and Indian → Chinese in the second model. The reference categories were chosen to clearly articulate the nativist bias implied in H1: the proclivity of the natives to seek advice in a nonnative ethnic group is contrasted to the proclivity of another ethnic nonnative group to seek advice in the same group. Because each nonnative group is ethnically homogeneous, the internal heterogeneity of the nonnative category

Table 5. Effects of seeker–target ethnicity combinations on advice seeking ties in subsets of Cohorts 1 and 2.

	Exponential random graph models			
	Cohort 1		Cohort 2	
Structural effects				
Density	−4.41**	−4.17**	−4.81**	−5.15**
	(0.83)	(0.81)	(1.11)	(1.15)
Reciprocity	0.80**	0.81**	0.78**	0.78**
	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.21)	(0.21)
Control effects				
Friendship network	2.18**	2.19**	3.11**	3.11**
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.15)
Female advice seeker (ego effect)	−0.13	−0.12	−0.07	−0.07
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.12)
Female advice target (alter effect)	−0.65**	−0.66**	0.18	0.18
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Course performance (alter effect)	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.005
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Tie types by ethnicity of sender and target				
Chinese → Chinese	0.63**	0.39*	0.55*	0.98**
	(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.30)
Chinese → native	0.36†	0.13	0.33	0.72**
	(0.19)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.29)
Chinese → Indian		−0.25		0.40†
		(0.20)		(0.24)
Indian → Chinese	0.25		−0.39	
	(0.19)		(0.24)	
Indian → Indian	0.52*	0.26	0.71**	1.10**
	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.29)
Indian → native	−0.06	−0.32	0.33	0.73*
	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.33)
Native → Chinese	−0.53†	−0.79**	−0.90*	−0.45
	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.43)	(0.46)
Native → Indian	−0.06	−0.29	−0.46†	−0.05
	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.33)
Native → native	0.34*	0.09	0.71**	1.11**
	(0.17)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.26)
Network members (*N*)	75	75	68	68
Ties (advice seeking = 1)	812	812	423	423
Convergence criterion ($p < .01$) met	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Note. Network subsets are limited to members of native, Chinese, and Indian origin. Network covariates (advice seeking and friendship) are $N \times N$ matrices, where N is the number of network members. Standard errors are in parentheses. Effects of the native/nonnative dummy are excluded due to redundancy with ethnic categories.
**$p < .010$. *$p < .050$. †$p < .100$ (two-tailed tests).

cannot confound the results in these truncated networks.

The native → Chinese and the native → Indian effects are consistently negative. The natives seek advice from the Chinese less frequently than the Indians do; the natives seek advice from the Indians less frequently than the Chinese do. These effects are significant in two of the four

models. Thus, the natives were less likely to seek advice in each nonnative group than were the members of the other nonnative group. Consistent with the nativist bias interpretation of the results supporting H1, this result shows that the natives exhibit more homophily in advice seeking vis-à-vis the nonnatives than the nonnative groups exhibit vis-à-vis each other.

Natives' cultural competence as advice tie magnet. The test of H1 above showed that natives were less likely than nonnatives to seek advice across nativity categories. This finding may be alternatively explained as a result of the natives' higher cultural competence in the U.S context where all cohort members lived. If the difference in homophily existed because nonnatives preferentially sought natives' advice on culturally relevant topics, whereas the natives had less interest in nonnatives' advice on such topics, nativism might have no role in creating this difference.

To examine the plausibility of this explanation, additional data were collected. Every member in an MBA cohort of 28 self-identified U.S. natives and 20 nonnatives (Cohort 5) answered a person-by-advice-topic matrix question that read, "I have asked this person for advice on the following topics (please mark all persons and topics that apply)." Two topics were directly culture-related and four were not, as shown in Table 6.

The two rightmost columns in Table 6 show, for native and for nonnative advice seekers, the difference between two quantities: (a) the percentage of cross-nativity ties if the ties were formed with no regard to nativity status (see the table's footnote for calculation details) and (b) the observed percentage of cross-nativity ties (reported in the previous two columns). The more negative these differences are, the stronger advice seeking homophily is observed. A positive number would show heterophily, a tendency to seek advice across nativity categories.

The nonnatives did not tend to seek natives' advice on culture-related topics more than on other topics. The differences at the bottom-right of the table, computed separately for culture-related topics grouped together and non-culture-related topics grouped together, are similar and slightly less negative for culture-related topics, attesting that both natives and nonnatives are slightly more homophilous in culture-related topics than in non-culture-related topics. Thus, although nonnatives sought more advice than the natives on culture-related topics, cultural relevance did not stand out as a driver of cross-nativity advice seeking by nonnatives. The results belie the notion that nonnatives preferentially sought natives' advice on culture-related topics.[4]

Discussion

Summary and Contributions

This study built on theories of discrimination and on organizational networks research to explore the nativist bias in advice seeking and in responses to advice seeking. In four networks of working professionals, it was consistently found that, after controlling for popularity, sociality, reciprocity, friendship, and course performance, native network members were less likely to seek nonnative members' advice than vice versa. It was further found that, while nonnatives tended to seek natives' rather than fellow nonnatives' advice, this tendency backfired in natives' competence perceptions—native advice seeking targets perceived nonnatives who had sought their advice as less competent than those nonnatives who had not. No such penalty for advice seeking was applied to natives, either by nonnatives or by other natives.

The study's contributions are at the intersection of discrimination research and organizational social network research. First, it clarifies the consequences of discriminatory bias for relational outcomes and the method of detecting such consequences. Discrimination research has developed rigorous theories of the effects of discriminatory biases on career outcomes and methods that identify such effects by comparing advantaged and disadvantaged groups' career outcomes such as wages, hiring, and performance evaluations. However, in case of relational

Table 6. Advice seeking ties sent in Cohort 5 by topic, advice seekers' nativity status, and cross-nativity nature of ties.

	Total advice seeking ties sent				Cross-nativity advice seeking ties sent					
	Count		%		Count		Total ties sent (%)		Percentage-point deviation from nativity-indifference	
Advice topics	Native	Nonnative	Native	Nonnative	Native	Nonnative	Native	Nonnative	Native	Nonnative
Culture-related										
English, writing	17	35	2.77	6.70	4	18	23.53	51.43	−16.90	−6.02
Life, culture in US	54	74	8.81	14.18	17	39	31.48	52.70	−8.94	−4.74
Non-culture-related										
Academic work	220	117	35.89	22.41	67	52	30.45	44.44	−9.97	−13.00
Non-work-related interests	107	108	17.46	20.69	29	63	27.10	58.33	−13.32	0.89
Personal, emotional	75	53	12.23	10.15	15	27	20.00	50.94	−20.43	−6.50
Professional, career	114	113	18.60	21.65	33	61	28.95	53.98	−11.48	−3.46
Other	26	22	4.24	4.21	7	11	26.92	50.00	−13.50	−7.45
All topics	613	522	100.00	100.00	172	271	28.06	51.92	−12.37	−5.53
Culture-related topics combined							29.58	52.29	−10.85	−5.15
Non-culture-related topics combined							27.9	51.92	−12.52	−5.53

*Note***.** Nativity-indifference exists when the choice of targets of advice seeking is unrelated to the targets' nativity status. The number of advice seeking ties within and across nativity categories is then determined solely by the number of advice seeking targets (persons) in each category. In this network of 28 native and 20 nonnative members, advice seeking by nonnative members is nativity-indifferent if 27/47 = 57.4% of advice seeking is cross-category; advice seeking by native members is nativity-indifferent if 19/47 = 40.4% of advice seeking is cross-category. Percentages in the table may not exactly add up due to rounding.

outcomes such as network ties, differences between groups may or may not result from bias because identical differences may also be produced by homophily, that is, reciprocal withholding of cross-group ties. Therefore, to detect effects of discriminatory bias, studies must find asymmetric disadvantages in relational outcomes, which groups that experience bias are subject to but do not reciprocate. The principle of asymmetric relational disadvantage is generalizable across types of bias and may be applied to detect various relational inequalities, including those driven by gender and race.

The study's second contribution is in using this principle to identify asymmetric disadvantages in advice seeking produced by nativist bias. The study shows that nativist bias may detectably affect natives' advice seeking behavior and demonstrates its effects, natives' reluctance to seek nonnatives' advice and their reduced perceptions of nonnative advice seekers' competence.

Third, the study broadens the understanding of determinants of advice seeking behavior. While conservation of resources theory has been fruitfully applied to show that advice seeking behavior is driven by individual's pursuit of valuable information and support (Lim et al., 2020; Marineau et al., 2018; Nebus, 2006), researchers have also begun to document how advice seeking depends on local contextual factors such as ostracism (Byrne et al., 2016) and interpersonal perceptions (Brooks et al., 2015). By demonstrating the effects of discriminatory bias, this study shows that advice seeking is also determined by factors in the larger social context, originating beyond the local context of interaction.

Managerial Implications

By showing that the nativity divide may impede advice seeking, this study encourages proactive diversity management interventions in organizations

that depend on informal learning relations. The findings suggest that when knowledge resides in nonnative employees, or within foreign divisions, its diffusion may be slowed by the reluctance of the native employees to seek it. Because informal learning is difficult for organizations to measure or monitor, its normal functioning tends to be underappreciated, and its disruption due to a nativist bias in an international workforce may go undetected. Managers will be well advised to address such creeping disruption proactively rather than deal with its detrimental effects after those become evident. A proactive response to increasing national diversity in organizations may include investment of extra resources in facilitating informal knowledge sharing and complementing informal sharing with organized, deliberately encouraged mutual learning practices. The same recommendation would apply in educational programs, where information sharing in informal contacts between native and immigrant students has been shown to improve immigrant students' academic performance (Wölfer et al., 2019). For example, programs may enforce or encourage collaboration between domestic and international students in study groups.

The study's other main finding, natives' tendency to discount the competence of foreigners who seek their advice, is even less likely to be visible to managers because it manifests in attitudes rather than behavior. Yet the detrimental effects of such discounting—particularly on talent utilization, initiative taking, and motivation—may be large. A promising lead in developing a managerial response is offered by studies that found that immigrants' career disadvantages result from their perceived lack of social and political skills (Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997; Huang et al., 2013). These studies show that natives' apparent failure to appreciate immigrants' competence may mask an underlying disbelief that the immigrants can effectively utilize their "hard" skills within organizations' social structures. Visible counterexamples to such disbelief as well as political skill training specifically tailored to immigrants may help organizations reduce the harm from the biased perceptions of nonnative advice seekers.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study has left several questions unresolved. These questions suggest avenues for future research.

The nativist bias detected in the study was robust, with H1 and H2 supported in all four replications of the test. These findings may be indicative of a widespread discriminatory bias, but they may also have resulted from the specifics of the nonnatives' national origins in the data. Studies have shown that Asians in the United States, particularly in educational settings and in knowledge-intensive roles, are highly vulnerable to stereotyping that discounts the value of their skills (Friedman & Krackhardt, 1997; Yee, 1992). Replicating the analysis in networks where nonnatives come predominantly from other regions would help understand the generalizability of the findings.

Furthermore, this study is limited to one national context. While its arguments about nativism are general, the data only show what U.S. Americans do when they are in the native position. Future research can enrich our understanding of nativist bias by replicating the study in countries where other nationals are native, and possibly with U.S. Americans among the nonnatives.

Because this study relied on cross-sectional data, its causal inference warrants caution. The study was designed to separate the hypothesized causes and effects in time—the respondents' nativity status preceded advice seeking in the test of H1, and all instances of advice seeking preceded the measurement of competence perceptions for the test of H2. Nevertheless, cross-sectional design does not enable complete temporal separation; it is particularly difficult for H2 because advice seeking and competence perceptions may have affected each other in causal loops before the perceptions were measured. Nor could the data rule out all alternative causal

mechanisms in the test of H2. For example, natives may perceive nonnatives as less competent not because of advice seeking as such but because the nonnatives struggle to absorb advice due to language or cultural barriers. These limitations of cross-sectional field data are difficult to overcome in controlled experiments because real-life advice relations are not fully reproducible in the lab. However, longitudinal data may capture the causality flows between advice seeking and interpersonal perceptions more accurately than was possible in this study.

Overall, it is disturbing that advice seeking and its perceptions may correlate with individuals' national origin—a factor beyond their control and irrelevant to the functions of advice seeking. So is the increasing potential of the nativist bias to breed discrimination and to create learning bottlenecks as work becomes more international. The interest in understanding the bias is both theoretical and practical. This study offered a method of detecting nativist bias and used it to detect this bias in one context. It was conducted in hope of providing a stepping stone to research on the origins and scope of the nativist bias in peer learning, its effects on individual and organizational performance, and ways of remedying it.

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Notes

1. An earlier version of this article offered hypotheses for the two dyadic scenarios involving native advice seekers. The first hypothesis predicted that natives would perceive natives who seek their advice as more competent than natives who do not seek their advice; the second predicted that nonnatives would do the same. However, theory provides no strong basis for predicting a positive effect of natives' advice seeking on perceptions of their competence. Because the two hypotheses lack theoretical grounding, I removed them. Neither hypothesis was consistently supported by the data, nor is the positive effect predicted by these hypotheses necessary to evidence nativist bias; the lack of a negative effect, alongside support for H2, is sufficient.
2. Because of the large network size, asking to assign numeric values to ties for every other network member would require unrealistic time and effort investment from respondents and would likely result in response fatigue.
3. The calculation of the predicted probabilities and the test are implemented in the ergMargins package in R.
4. I thank the GPIR editor for encouraging the analyses presented in Tables 5 and 6.

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