

**TAMING POWER: THE EFFECTS OF PERSPECTIVE TAKING
ON BEHAVIORAL AND VERBAL POWER TACTICS**

by

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DEDICATION

This doctoral dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Kelly and Graham, my partner, Derek, and my family and friends for their love and support; to my previous supervisors and authority figures whose actions have inspired this line of research; and to all employees who have struggled with power dynamics or experienced power abuse in the workplace.

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ABSTRACT

Social power can yield both positive and negative outcomes, but which factors contribute to these different outcomes is unclear. Drawing from previous research showing that power is related to decreased perspective taking behaviors (Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006), my dissertation turns this causal relationship around to examine how perspective taking affects power. Using multiple methodologies, the current studies explore how perspective taking relates to the recognition of power and the exercise of power. Two correlational studies found that dispositional perspective taking was positively associated with inclusive power recognition (Study 1) and soft/relational power tactics (Study 2), but negatively associated with the use of harsh/coercive power tactics. A quasi-experimental study found that dispositional perspective taking was positively associated with polite verbal power tactics, but only under conditions of high power (Study 3). Findings for Studies 2 and 3 were replicated in both student and working adult samples. Two experimental studies manipulated perspective taking to assess its direct effects on power tactics, and found that perspective taking yielded less harsh sanctioning decisions for individuals in the high power condition (Study 4); and perspective taking yielded more polite verbal tactics in email communication (Study 5). Interactions between perspective taking and power were consistent across business (Study 3) and academic settings (Study 4), and across verbal power tactics (Study 3) and

behavioral power tactics (Study 4). Together, my dissertation findings demonstrate that perspective taking is associated with more inclusive power recognition and the use of more relational power tactics that consider the needs and feelings of others. By manipulating perspective taking in addition to measuring it as a stable individual difference, these studies show that perspective taking is malleable—perspective taking processes can be changed to facilitate more positive, relational power outcomes. Furthermore, interactions between perspective taking and power suggest that perspective taking is especially important in a high power context. These findings have significant implications for supervisor-subordinate relationships, organizational dynamics, and interventions; perspective taking may be one psychological process with the potential to mitigate harsh power tendencies and channel them into more socially constructive actions in organizational settings.

Keywords: power, perspective taking, politeness

CHAPTER I

Introduction to Power and Perspective Taking

Power is an inherent and integral aspect of our social relationships; it informs decision-making, allocation of resources, how we act towards one another, and even our physiological responses (Carney, Cuddy, & Yap, 2010). Power is defined in the psychological literature as control over others' outcomes, and the ability to influence others (Raven, 1992; Fiske, 1993; Deprét & Fiske, 1999; Lee & Tiedens, 2001). In that sense, wielding power is a necessary component of any interpersonal relationship. People can exert power in a variety of ways, and depending on these power tactics, wielding power can yield substantial socio-cognitive benefits (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003; Overbeck and Park 2001; 2006; and Smith, Jostmann, Galinsky, & van Dijk, 2008), or lead to detrimental behaviors and biases (Kipnis, 1972; Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973; Goodwin, Operario, & Fiske, 1998; and Woike, 1994). Given that power has the potential to yield both positive and negative effects, it is crucial to identify individual differences and contextual factors fueling these different power outcomes. Such research speaks directly to how psychological processes can play a role in attenuating the negative outcomes of power.

Recent work by Galinsky, Magee, Inesi & Gruenfeld (2006) suggests that power-holders are less likely to engage in certain components of perspective taking—the process of inferring others' psychological viewpoints. I argue that perspective taking

plays a critical role in people's understanding of social power and the specific power tactics they use. The power literature has typically endorsed the view that high power people are less likely to engage in perspective taking behaviors. For example, extensive evidence exists showing that high power people are less motivated to pay attention to low power people (e.g., Snodgrass, 1985; Fiske, 1993). My dissertation turns this causal relationship around to examine how perspective taking affects power.

Using multiple methodologies, I examine the proposition that perspective taking is associated with more relational power tactics, or tactics that consider the needs and feelings of others. In the remainder of this chapter, I first review the literature to provide a broad overview of previous research on power and perspective taking, reviewing research demonstrating the link between power and perspective taking, and the ways in which my current dissertation research extends this line of work. I will then address the power and perspective taking literatures in more detail, discussing how each of these constructs has been conceptualized and operationalized. Finally, I will conclude this chapter with an overview of my dissertation studies exploring the relationship between perspective taking, power recognition, and power use.

Power Outcomes

As mentioned earlier, previous research demonstrates that power can have both detrimental and beneficial effects on power-holders, subordinates and organizational dynamics. Below, I review previous literature on the effects of power and theorize about the psychological processes at play when power-holders engage in decision-making. Taken together, these findings suggest a potential mitigating influence of perspective taking.

Negative effects of power. Psychological research on power—specifically how power influences those who possess it—provides considerable support for the notion that “power corrupts.” There is extensive evidence that having power is associated with various biases. Because increased power usually coincides with a decreased dependence on others—asymmetrical interdependence—there is often a decreased consideration for the consequences of one’s actions, and less concern for the welfare of others. For example, Kipnis (1972; 1976), demonstrated that relative to managers without any power, powerful participants devalued their subordinates’ performance, attributed outcomes to themselves rather than to others, viewed low power others as objects of manipulation, expressed a preference for the maintenance of psychological distance from others, and exhibited unrealistically enhanced self-perceptions (e.g., Kipnis, 1972, 1976; O’Neal, Kipnis, & Craig, 1994; Rind & Kipnis, 1999).

Research on the social cognition of the powerful supports these cognitive biases. Goodwin, Operario, and Fiske (1998) argue that power enhances motives to stereotype and diminishes accuracy in social judgment processes. A series of studies showed that power-holders paid significantly more attention to stereotypic information and less attention to counter-stereotypic information, compared to those who did not have power. Power-holders also based their evaluations of others on subjective liking rather than individuating characteristics (Goodwin, et al., 1998). In sum, power-holders have been shown to engage in more stereotyping (Fiske, 1993), to engage in less complex and systematic social cognitive processes (Gruenfeld, 1995), and to behave in more socially inappropriate ways (Ward & Keltner, 2001).

Gruenfeld, Keltner, and Anderson (2003) propose that the experience of power is

disinhibiting, and that “the powerful perceive others through a lens of self-interest and think *of* rather than *about* acting”; this ultimately results in more automatic responses, or approach-related (as opposed to inhibition-related) behavior. Supporting this notion, research has shown that power results in increased speech (Dovidio, Brown, Heltman, Ellyson, & Keating, 1988) and an increased tendency to initiate physical contact (Henley, 1973). Perhaps due to the tendency toward immediate, less contemplated action, power has also been associated with lower cognitive complexity. For instance, Woike (1994) found that individuals with a dominance, or more power-based orientation, formed less cognitively complex impressions of others relative to those with a communal, or less power-based orientation.

Positive effects of power. Anderson and Berdahl (2002) argue that “the corrupting influence of power can account for many findings, but it cannot account for many others” (p. 1363). Recent research suggests that the impact of power on social judgment may be more complex than previously suggested (Galinsky, et al., 2003; Overbeck & Park 2001; 2006; and Smith, et al., 2008). Research addressing the effect of power on social attention has revealed that power increases action orientation in the power-holder (Galinsky, et al., 2003), and that high-power perceivers better individuate low-power targets than low-power perceivers (Overbeck & Park 2001). Powerful organization members have also been found to be more responsive to organizational goals and information when setting priorities (Overbeck & Park, 2006). Smith and colleagues (2008) demonstrated that a state of powerlessness enacts cognitive deficits and impairs executive functions in the fundamental domains of updating, inhibiting, and planning, suggesting that a power mindset is beneficial to cognitive functioning.

However, while several lines of research have emphasized the socio-cognitive benefits of power, power primes led to action in a social dilemma regardless of whether that action had prosocial or antisocial consequences (Galinsky et al., 2003), and high-power perceivers' superior judgment processes were impaired by a task that directed responsibility toward organizational rather than interpersonal concerns (Overbeck & Park, 2001).

Clearly, the literature on the effects of power provides a mixed view on whether power has positive or negative consequences. In understanding these findings, it is important to recognize that not all power-holders wield power in the same way. For example, people-centered power-holders better individuate low-power targets than product-centered power-holders (Overbeck & Park, 2006). Individual differences in communal-orientation—a focus on establishing and maintaining relationships—has also been shown to moderate the effects of social power (Chen, Lee-Chai, & Bargh, 2001). Further, Winter's research on taming power has posed several potential factors mitigating the negative effects of power, including love and responsibility/accountability to others (Winter 1996; 2002; 2007; Winter & Barenbaum, 1985). These studies suggest that *relational concerns*, or caring about orientating towards others' needs and wants, moderate the valence of power outcomes. Drawing from this idea, I suggest that power-holders' perspective taking has implications for power use and power outcomes.

Current Research: The Link between Power and Perspective Taking

Perspective taking, or the process of inferring other's perspectives, is beneficial for social relations in a variety of ways. Previous research suggests that understanding another's emotional and psychological viewpoint is a key component of prosocial

outcomes, including effective conflict resolution (Arriaga & Rusbult, 1998; Richardson, Green, & Lago, 1998), the prevention of conflict escalation (Richardson, et al., 1998), moral judgment (Mason & Gibbs, 1993), altruistic behavior (Batson, Lishner, Carpenter, Dulin, Harjusola-Webb, Stocks, Gale, Hassan, & Sampat, 2003), decreased stereotyping (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000), and increased helping behavior (Batson, Sager, Garst, Kang, Rubchinsky, & Dawson, 1997; Coke, Batson, & McDavis, 1978). Extending the effects of perspective taking to the context of organizations, recent research by Bagozzi and colleagues (2012) showed that customer orientation—a form of perspective taking that involves interacting “with customers” by considering customer needs and tailoring sales techniques for products/services accordingly, as opposed to sales orientation—which involves selling “to customers” using a hard sell approach (e.g., persuasion, deceit), yielded greater opportunity recognition (e.g., contextual knowledge seeking, motivation to learn about customers) in a field study, and greater activation of neural processes associated with empathy in an experimental study.

Many of power’s documented effects relate to lower levels of perspective taking for others—specifically for subordinates. For example, the tendency of power-holders to use automatic, simplistic processing to form impressions of subordinates makes it less likely that power-holders will accurately perceive how their subordinates see the world. Their desire to maintain social distance and to devalue the subordinate also suggests that power-holders are unmotivated to understand their subordinates’ viewpoints. Snodgrass (1985) examined the effects of leader versus subordinate roles on interpersonal sensitivity within interacting dyads and found that high-power leaders were less sensitive than low-power subordinates to the feelings of the other dyad member. In this study, participants

were randomly assigned to the role of teacher (leader) or student (subordinate), and during a series of interactive tasks and games, the two members of the dyad indicated how they felt about themselves, the other person, the activity, and how they thought the other person felt about these same items. Results showed that compared to subordinates, leaders were much less accurate in their judgments of the feelings and reactions of their subordinates.

Recent research by Galinsky and colleagues (2006) provides direct evidence that power decreases perspective taking. In three studies, the authors primed power by instructing participants to reflect on a time when they had power over another individual (as opposed to instructing participants to reflect on a time when another individual had power over them). Those primed with power were less likely to take the visual perspective of someone else, less likely to take into account the information available to another, and less able to accurately identify the facial expression of others' emotions.

Together, these studies suggest that being in a "power mindset" reduces perspective taking. I argue that this leads to the use of power tactics that tend to have negative outcomes for subordinates. Further, increasing perspective taking among power-holders may mitigate these negative tactics and outcomes. This idea is supported by research showing that, while power facilitates stereotyping, the powerful can overcome this tendency if they are encouraged to pay more attention to the interpersonal context (Fiske, 1993). In a simulation of personnel decision-making, Goodwin and Fiske (1993) found that although participants' attention to others decreased while their power increased, attention to others increased when participants' sense of responsibility to

others was activated. These findings provide further support for the idea that perspective taking can change how people wield power.

In summary, this literature suggests that the powerful stereotype others in part because they do not pay attention (Fiske, 1993). The powerful do not need to attend to the powerless because by definition, people with power are less dependent on people without power for valued resources. If power-holders are not thinking about their subordinates' needs, and instead reduce them to stereotypes and objects of manipulation, it becomes that much easier to take actions that harm the subordinate. However, perspective taking may have the potential to mitigate power decisions, as individuals who incorporate the feelings and perspectives of others into their frame of mind are more apt to consider the ramifications of their behavior before acting. Considering the potential consequences that one's power decisions have upon others should result in softer, more relational power tactics that acknowledge the needs and concerns of others. Perspective taking may also facilitate more inclusive perceptions of what constitutes power, as those who understand multiple interpretations of a situation are more likely to incorporate a wider range of potential power tactics into their repertoire. Furthermore, because individuals with a high power mindset are less likely to spontaneously engage in perspective taking behavior (Galinsky, et al., 2006), perspective taking (both dispositional perspective taking and manipulated perspective taking) may be particularly important in the context of a high power mindset, as opposed to a low power mindset that is inherently more likely to facilitate perspective taking.

Summary

Although power has been shown to decrease perspective taking (Galinsky, et al.,

2006), the link between these two constructs warrants further exploration. First, while previous research has demonstrated that priming a high power mindset yields lower perspective taking in certain cognitive domains (e.g., the identification of visual perspectives, facial expressions, and available information), the act of perspective taking has been conceptualized as a more complex process involving both cognitive and emotional components (e.g., inferring another's thoughts and feelings) (Bernstein & Davis, 1982; Davis, 1980; 1983). Second, because perspective taking is used as a dependent variable in previous research on the relationship between power and perspective taking (e.g., Galinsky, et al., 2006), this research focuses mainly on perspective taking behaviors. Other conceptualizations of perspective taking (such as dispositional tendencies, or manipulating perspective taking) have not been explored in the context of power. Third, the reverse causal relationship, that is, how perspective taking affects power, has remained largely unexplored.

The current research examines whether dispositional perspective taking is associated with the recognition and use of specific power tactics, and the extent to which perspective taking can be manipulated to directly affect power tactics. I conceptualize perspective taking in two ways—both as a dispositional tendency as well as a psychological process that can be triggered through experimental manipulations. I further include both socio-cognitive and emotional components of perspective taking. Similarly, in examining power tactics and outcomes, I differentiate between two forms of power (harsh power and soft/relational power). Theoretically, the current research addresses these gaps in the literature by exploring how perspective taking affects the recognition and use of different power tactics. Practically, testing this causal relationship can identify

psychological factors that exacerbate or mitigate the potentially corruptive effects of power.

Theoretical Framework for Power

The literature on power has been guided by three primary interests: 1) the origins of power, 2) the correlates of the experience of power, and 3) the consequences of power (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003). While the previous section addressed some of the key consequences of power, this section addresses the remaining core interests—the origins and correlates of power.

There are a variety of proposed models and theories for the concept of power. Power can be defined as the ability to influence another, the ability “to get things done”, or the ability “to get others to do things they would not otherwise do” (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1977; Kanter, 1979). In the literature, there are three major perspectives on how people acquire power: 1) an individual model of power, 2) a relational model of power, and 3) a situational/contextual model of power. In the individual model, power stems from unique qualities of the individual. In other words, attributes and characteristics of the individual give him/her power. French and Raven (1959) pioneered this line of work, proposing five bases of social power: *coercive* power results from control over punishments, *reward* power results from control over positive reinforcers or rewards, *legitimate* power stems from having a widely accepted position of formal authority (this is similar to status), *expertise/information* power resides in having valued knowledge or skills, and *referent* power results from respect and admiration of one’s followers or constituents. Referent and legitimate power stem from the relationship between the power-holder and others, in the sense that referent power necessitates that power-holders

establish a “oneness” with followers, and legitimate power requires that followers accept a figure as having authority and identify with that particular authority’s group.

In the relational model of power, power is derived from the relationship between individuals. According to this model, people acquire power in the context of other people; power is relative, and one cannot have power in a vacuum. Power results from a social structure of interdependence that yields asymmetrical outcome control (Fiske, 1993; Deprét & Fiske, 1999; Stevens & Fiske, 2000). Considering a relationship between two people (person A and person B), the power of person A over person B is equal to the dependence of person B on person A for valued resources that cannot be obtained elsewhere and vice versa (Dahl, 1957; Emerson, 1962; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1977; Lawler & Bacharach, 1979). This relationship is reciprocal in nature, as interdependence is determined by the relative power of both people in the relationship. For example, in a relationship between a supervisor and an administrative assistant, the supervisor has power over the assistant, because the supervisor controls resources such as rewards and punishment in accordance with the position of authority; but the assistant also has power in the relationship stemming from work-related skills/information and control over other resources that the supervisor needs (e.g., scheduling logistics, client contacts, knowledge of administrative paperwork, etc.). In other words, power is not a zero sum game, in which one person has all of the power in the relationship, while the other has none. In this relational model, the power of person A (over person B) and the power of person B (over person A) can both increase simultaneously if their mutual dependence on each other increases.

In addition to addressing the power dynamics between individuals, relational models can also be applied at the organizational level. That is, whichever individuals, groups, or organizations have the most resources valued by others in turn have the most power. This perspective is exemplified in the resource dependency model of power, or theories of contextual dependencies, in which elements of the context determine dependence on, and thus power of, entities who can address the most critical, scarce, and uncertain demands from the situation (e.g., Bacharach & Aiken, 1979; Pfeffer & Konrad, 1991; Atwater, 1995).

In addition to origins and sources of power, the research on power has also explored correlates of the experience of power, or how power affects those who possess it. Individuals have stereotypes about what power is and how it affects people. Powerful people tend to be perceived as independent and agentic (Kipnis, 1972). Tiedens, Ellsworth, and Mesquita (2000) found that there are different emotional stereotypes associated with power, and people infer social status from emotional information; specifically, higher power people are perceived as feeling more anger than sadness or guilt in response to a negative event, and more pride than gratefulness in response to a positive event.

As mentioned, people with higher power have more resources at their disposal (e.g., wealth, social resources/skills) and awareness that one can “act at will without interference or serious social consequences” (Keltner, et al., 2003, p. 269). These resources and beliefs lead to higher levels of approach-related processes, such as freedom, attention to rewards, taking action, allocating resources, and automatic information processing. Conversely, low power is associated with fewer resources and is

subject to more social constraints (i.e., social threats and consequences), and these factors lead to higher levels of inhibition-related processes, such as a focus on threat and punishment, attention to others' interests and goals, and more controlled information processing (Galinsky, et al., 2003; Keltner, et al., 2003).

Other researchers have taken “person by situation” approaches to power that acknowledge the role of both individual differences as well as the situational context. Research has shown that power can lead to either independent or interdependent self-construals, or self-perceptions, and that these construals may influence power-holders' behavior. Caza, Tiedens, and Lee (2011) found that explicit power cues led to more interdependent self-construals, in which the self is seen as connected to others, while subliminal power cues led to more independent self-construals, in which the self is seen as autonomous. In turn, self-construals partially mediate the relationship between power and social behaviors, such as willingness to engage in co-worker support.

Along the same vein, Chen and colleagues (2001) found that people with a communal orientation associated power with social-responsibility goals and behaved in more socially responsible ways when they had power (i.e., by adhering to norms related to socially acceptable views, and by agreeing to take on more time-intensive tasks so that others would be assigned the less time-intensive tasks). In contrast, people with an exchange orientation associated power with self-interest goals and behaved in more self-interested ways. This research suggests that individual differences in interdependence and communalism appear to be related to more pro-social exercise of power. Extending this research, I argue that perspective taking is another important individual difference variable that affects the recognition and use of power.

Defining power. Consistent with the relational model of power, I define power as control over others' outcomes (Raven, 1992; Fiske, 1993; Deprét & Fiske, 1999; Lee & Tiedens, 2001). For the purposes of this stream of research, *power* refers to the ability to have influence or control over others, and the current studies examine different types of power use in the context of organizations¹. This definition is most appropriate for the current research objective of examining the relationship between perspective taking and different types of power because it differentiates the ability to have influence or control from the ways in which one actually exercises that influence. In other words, this definition does not assume a specific type of power or method of using power, as people can exercise power in a variety of ways. *Power use* is defined as exercising control or influence over another's resources and/or outcomes, or how one chooses to utilize power. *Power tactics* refer to the specific ways of exercising power or influence, and I include *influence tactics* under this same heading, as influence tactics entail more specific ways to exert control and influence over others to achieve personal goals. For example, *coercive* power tactics entail using one's position to coerce a target to accomplish a certain task, and *pressuring* influence tactics involve specific forms of coercion (e.g., using direct orders and demands to influence a target to do something, or using threats to influence a target to do something). These power and influence tactics are very similar, but influence tactics tend to be more fine-grained ways of using power. *Power*

¹ While I focus on power in the context of organizations in the current line of research, it is important to note that power use also occurs in personal domains—among the intimacy of the nuclear family and personal relationships—as well as among coworkers or strangers. However, power use in the workplace is often more clearly defined than in other contexts, because job descriptions and accepted procedures often make explicit what forms of power (e.g., control over others' outcomes) are associated with various positions, and there are well-established organizational norms that indicate informal power use. Because professional environments provide a more clearly delineated context in which to operationalize power, the current studies will primarily focus on the relevance of power in organizations as opposed to personal domains. However, the arguments made here have the potential to extend to other social relationships.

recognition refers to the extent to which people recognize different power and influence tactics as forms of power.

It is important to note that the terms power and status, or formal authority, are typically conflated in the literature on power. These constructs are often used interchangeably, with the assumption that obtaining or maintaining high status is synonymous with having power opportunities to influence others (e.g., Smith, et al., 2008). Indeed, having high status typically affords an individual a great deal of power. However, while power typically accompanies status, they are not necessarily interchangeable. Secretaries provide a useful example to tease apart the concepts of power and status. Secretaries have low status, or low formal authority compared to high status figures in an organization, but they can have a tremendous amount of power. They are essentially gatekeepers, controlling the schedules of authority figures, their contacts, which customers get access to which resources, and so forth. Conversely, there are many examples of high status figureheads who actually hold very little power (e.g., the Queen of England, who plays no role in determining British government policies). When manipulating power, the current studies attempt to link formal status (e.g., supervisor) with decision-making power, or the ability to make decisions that exercise control and influence over others (e.g., evaluating others/situations, making sanctioning recommendations, verbally communicating these decisions to others). However, while the terms power and status often overlap theoretically and correlate with one another, these are technically distinct terms with potentially different meanings and implications.

Parsing Forms of Power

Behavioral power. Given that I define *power use* generally as exerting control/influence, in the context of the current research, power use is not conceptualized as an exclusively negative (or positive) use of authority. Arguably, there are many situations in which both the power-holder and the subordinate benefit from the use of power (e.g., a supervisor granting praise and encouragement for excellent performance), and it is important to consider positive uses of control and influence in addition to more negative forms of power. Raven's (1992; 1993; 1998) work provides a theoretical framework for distinguishing between two forms of power. Raven, Schwarzwald, and Koslowsky (1998) argue that there are two types of power tactics: a "harsh" expression of power that emphasizes the power-holder's superior position and directly addresses the power dynamics in the relationship; and a "soft" strategy that addresses the power relationship more indirectly, and through more personable means. Extending the concept of the five bases of power (French & Raven, 1959), Raven and colleagues (1998) found support for two categories of power bases: coercive, legitimate, and reward power as *harsh* forms of power; and referent, expert, and information power as *soft* forms of power.

Supporting this differentiation between harsh and soft power tactics, Kipnis, Schmidt, and Wilkinson (1980) asked participants to write essays describing how people have influenced others in organizations (bosses, coworkers, and subordinates), and content analysis of the essays yielded two groups of influence tactics: assertiveness, sanctions, exchange, upward appeals, and blocking (harsh tactics); ingratiation, rationality, and coalitions (soft tactics). Yukl and Falbe (1991; 1993) explored the types

of power used to influence subordinates and peers, and proposed two taxonomies for conceptualizing power: *positional power* (including coercive, legitimate, and reward power) and *positional influence* tactics (e.g., pressure, legitimating, and exchange tactics), versus *personal power* (including referent, charismatic, and persuasive power) and *personal influence* tactics (e.g., inspirational appeals, consultation, rational persuasion, ingratiation, coalition) (see Appendices C and D for example items of power tactics and influence tactics, respectively). Research on leadership styles has employed similar distinctions among influence tactics (Halpin & Winer, 1957), positing two main leadership styles—*consideration* as a more people-focused, relational style that emphasizes the needs and feelings of others, and *initiating structure* as a task-focused style that focuses on enforcing standards and guidelines, and establishing structured group relations.

While these studies utilize different terminology to distinguish among types of power tactics (harsh, positional, task-focused vs. soft, personal, people-focused), it is clear that they converge in showing two categories of power tactics: harsh power tactics and soft power tactics. Harsh power tactics tend to emphasize the power differential between the power-holder and the subordinate, while soft power tactics tend to de-emphasize the power differential. For the purposes of the current research, *coercive* power and *pressuring* influence are most relevant to this conceptualization of harsh power, as these tactics directly emphasize the power differential by offering something negative in exchange for compliance (e.g., using one's position to take disciplinary action against others if they fail to comply with a request), or by pressuring or coercing others to comply (e.g., using demands and/or threats to influence others to do something), without

exercising consideration for or affiliation with others. *Reward* and *legitimate* power, or *exchange* and *legitimizing* influence respectively, employ other tactics when exercising power—offering something positive in exchange for compliance (e.g., using one’s position to increase a target’s chance of getting a pay raise or bonus), or using one’s legitimate authority or the chain of command to accomplish a task without necessarily offering a positive or negative exchange (e.g., using one’s authority to evaluate a target’s performance). Thus the current research focuses on *coercive* power and *pressuring* influence tactics as harsh forms of power.

Conversely, *referent*, *charismatic* and *persuasive* power (and *consultation*, *inspirational appeals*, and *rational persuasion* influence) are most relevant to this conceptualization of soft power, as these tactics serve to de-emphasize the power differential by appealing to the needs, values and aspirations of others (e.g., interpreting and analyzing events/problems in a way that makes sense to others, having strong integrity and being a person others can trust, using one’s position to provide social mentorship and support to others), and seeking others’ input when attempting to influence them (e.g., making requests/proposals that appeal to others, seeking others’ participation in planning a strategy, activity, or change for which one desires support and assistance). Thus the current research focuses on these specific power and influence tactics as soft forms of power.

While both harsh and soft power tactics entail the use of influence, they can look and feel very different. For instance, if a subordinate has committed a mistake, the supervisor can openly criticize the subordinate, giving direct commands to change behavior, or using his/her position over the subordinate to threaten or reprimand him/her

(a *harsh* power tactic). On the other hand, the supervisor might choose to support and encourage the subordinate by establishing rapport, commending the positive aspects of his/her performance, suggesting alternatives, or offering assistance in a helpful, less authoritative manner (a *soft* power tactic).

While both harsh and soft tactics reflect a use of power, they have different implications for subordinates and relationships in the workplace. Yukl and Falbe (1991) found that harsh tactics (such as pressure and legitimating tactics) were the most important factors predicting compliance to requests, but soft power tactics (such as rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, and consultation) were more predictive of task commitment and ratings of managerial effectiveness (Yukl & Tracey, 1992).

Given that harsh power tactics tend to emphasize the power differential by using the position of authority to punish or coerce subordinates, I hypothesize that perspective taking—which serves to minimize the psychological distance between power-holder and subordinate—will be negatively associated with the use of harsh behavioral power tactics. Conversely, because soft power tactics employ a relational and affiliative approach to control or influence others, I hypothesize that perspective taking will be positively associated with the use of soft behavioral power tactics. For power recognition—the extent to which people recognize different power tactics as forms of power, I hypothesize that because perspective taking makes the perspectives and situations of others more salient, perspective taking will be associated with a more inclusive perception of what power means; specifically, perspective taking should be associated with recognition of *both* harsh and soft power tactics as attempts to exercise

power, and recognition of power tactics *across* status levels (i.e., the actions of lower status people, such as subordinates and peers) as power.

Verbal power. The majority of the literature on power focuses on behavioral power outcomes, or the actions in which power-holders engage. However, influence can also be exercised verbally through various forms of communication. Power results in an increased tendency to express emotions (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998) and increased speech (Dovidio, et al., 1988). In other words, power tends to make people speak more (Dovidio, et al., 1988), but what is the content of this speech? Evidence from social psychology and socio-linguistics research has found that, across multiple cultures, individuals with large power differentials over others use fewer affiliative (or soft/relational) verbal tactics. For example, they are less likely to show concern for another's needs, or to speak in ways that enhance another's self esteem (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Ambady, Koo, Lee, & Rosenthal, 1996; Lee, 1997). In contrast, individuals who are perceived equals, and therefore have a small power differential, tend to use more soft, or other-oriented verbal tactics; they are more likely to show care and concern for the needs of others in the way they speak (Wolfson, 1990).

Building on this work, the current research assessed both *behavioral* and *verbal* power tactics. Behavioral and verbal power tactics may not always coincide. For example, in firing a subordinate (a behavioral tactic), one power-holder might use a “harsh” verbal strategy that emphasizes control over the other person and directly places blame on the target: “You’re incompetent and no longer suitable for this position- you’re fired!” In contrast, another power-holder might use a “soft” verbal strategy: “Unfortunately, this job does not seem to be particularly suitable for you—maybe it

would be in your best professional interest to seek out a job that will allow you to exercise and enhance your unique skill sets.” In short, the same behavioral tactic can be communicated very differently.

In analyzing verbal tactics, I draw primarily on Politeness Theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Politeness Theory proposes that people utilize face-saving techniques when communicating information to others to indicate their softness, or care and concern for others, and this tendency is especially relevant when communicating negative information. According to this theory, the extent to which the communicator allows the recipient to “save face,” or continue presenting the self as competent and worthwhile, corresponds to the level of politeness present in the speech. While Brown and Levinson’s (1987) definition of face-saving may slightly differ from lay understandings of what it means to “save face,” I use this theoretical framework of politeness theory to explore verbal tactics. Politeness Theory posits four categories of linguistic strategies, ranging in ascending order of “softness,” or attention paid to the listener’s needs and concerns: 1) the *on-record* strategy, considered to be the most harsh, or least soft strategy addresses the issue directly and places the blame on the target; 2) the *positive politeness* strategy addresses the issue at hand, but approaches the target in a polite and friendly manner, placing the blame on external causes rather than the target (i.e., these strategies acknowledge situational factors rather than directly blaming the target); 3) the *negative politeness* strategy addresses the issue at hand, but minimizes the threat of the statement by tempering the information or placing some of the blame on the self rather than the target; and 4) the *off-record* strategy, considered to be the most soft, or least harsh strategy addresses the issue indirectly, and no blame is directly placed anywhere.

Consider the following example in which a subordinate has arrived late, and a power-holder who needs to sanction such behaviors must decide how to communicate this information. In accordance with the four politeness strategies: 1) The power-holder could use an impolite verbal strategy that directly places blame on the subordinate and doesn't allow this person to save any face (on-record): "You're late. This behavior is unacceptable"; 2) The power-holder could use a more polite verbal strategy that addresses the situation in a relational manner, allowing the subordinate to save some face (positive politeness): "Are you ok, is something wrong? Maybe something happened that caused you to be late." This approach employs qualifiers (e.g., maybe), phrases the confrontation in terms of questions rather than direct statements/demands, and acknowledges that external factors may play a role in the person's behavior; 3) The power-holder could take some of the blame or minimize the threat to allow the subordinate to save even more face (negative politeness): "Did I indicate the wrong time? It's no big deal." This strategy places some of the potential blame on the self rather than entirely on the target; or 4) The power-holder could address the situation indirectly by not placing blame anywhere (off-record): "Hello. It's good to finally see you. We were just discussing..." This strategy indirectly addresses the problem, and is a soft rather than harsh tactic. In short, the on-record category comprises the most impolite, or harsh verbal strategy, because this strategy addresses the situation at hand directly and places complete blame on the target, while the remaining categories are more polite verbal strategies, because these categories incorporate different politeness strategies to soften the negative feedback, avoid placing blame directly on the target, and address the situation more indirectly and through more personable means. By placing blame

elsewhere or by neglecting to place blame at all, the positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record strategies allow the target to save some face.

Overall, I hypothesize that perspective taking—which serves to minimize the psychological distance between power-holder and subordinate—will be negatively associated with the use of harsh, or impolite verbal tactics. Conversely, I hypothesize that perspective taking will be positively associated with the use of soft, or more polite verbal tactics, as these tactics employ a more relational approach to communication that allows others to save face.

Operationalizing Power

The concept of power has been manipulated as an independent variable—using both explicit and implicit manipulations to prime power mindset—and also measured as a dependent variable with respect to power decisions and outcomes. Power has also been measured as both a dispositional tendency toward various power tactics as well as a situational variable. The numerous methodologies of operationalizing power in the literature reflect the different definitions of power.

There are several approaches to manipulating power as an independent variable. One of the most common approaches explicitly assigns participants to a position within a dyad, or asks participants to assume a high or low power role in the context of a specific situation (e.g., Tiedens, et al., 2000; Galinsky, et al. 2003). For example, studies have manipulated power by instructing participants to read vignettes about high status or low status characters and asked them to take the role of one of the characters (e.g., Tiedens, et al., 2000; Lee & Tiedens, 2001). Richeson and Ambady (2003) developed a power manipulation that randomly assigns each participant to be either a supervisor or a

subordinate in a computer-based task completed with a partner, and this design has since been adapted by other prominent researchers in the field (e.g., Smith, et al, 2008). In addition to manipulating status (or formal position), these approaches often create elements of asymmetrical interdependence in the relationship by giving supervisors control over resources and outcomes (e.g., Lee, 1993; 1999). For instance, the more powerful member of a dyad is often granted direct control over allocating a monetary reward (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002), holding more information and more important pieces of information (Lee, 1993; 1999), directing or instructing the subordinate, or evaluating the subordinate's performance (Galinsky, et al, 2003; Richard & Ambady, 2003; Smith, et al., 2008).

Similarly, Cohen (1958) manipulated power using a procedure that experimentally creates an organizational hierarchy consisting of an upward, downward, and lateral power structure. This design randomly assigns dyads to roles of supervisors, subordinates, and peers—creating different positions of relative power (high, low, or equal relative power, respectively)—while they perform a collaborative task (Cohen, 1958; Lee, 1993). Participants believe they are performing a task in a dyad, when in fact their partner (who was assigned to a higher, lower, or equal status role compared to the participant) is a confederate. These designs manipulate both status (formal position within a hypothetical organizational hierarchy) and power (control over resources and others' outcomes) and address elements of both the relational model of power (in which there is asymmetrical interdependency) as well as the situational model of power (in which objective positions within an organizational social structure determine power over others). One of the key determining factors in the relational model of power is the

stipulation that the members of the dyad must *value* the controlled resources or outcomes in order for dependency to arise. This focus on valued resources introduces a challenge for experimental methodologies, as it is difficult to create short-term, experimentally-based scenarios where outcomes are highly valued by study participants. Anderson & Berdahl (2002) attempted to address this concern by creating a stronger power manipulation that gave the more powerful dyad member ostensive control over realistic valued resources, such as extra credit in a course or a larger monetary reward (e.g., \$500). Consistent with the relational model of power, increasing the value, or intensity, or the resources creates a more salient power differential and therefore a more impactful power manipulation.

Another methodological concern is the random assignment to power positions, as this can lead to perceptions of illegitimacy among participants. If participants believe that their positions are merely random, they may not perceive the scenario to be particularly meaningful and therefore may not be sufficiently engaged in the study. Researchers have addressed this issue of legitimacy by associating specific qualifications with the high power position to increase the meaningfulness of power manipulations (Lee, 1993, 1999; Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; Galinsky, et al., 2003). Anderson and Berdahl (2002), for example, developed a design that provides participants with faux feedback on their leadership abilities to make the assignment of power positions more legitimate (even though in reality, power positions are randomly assigned).

Continuing in the effort to make power manipulations more meaningful, Galinsky and colleagues (2003) developed a measure to manipulate power in the context of the participants' own lives and experiences. This method primes power using a writing task

that asks subjects to reflect on a previous experience with power. The high power prime instructs participants to “write about a time when you had power over someone else,” while the low power prime instructs participants to “write about a time when someone else had power over you.” The control condition simply instructs participants to “write about what you did yesterday.” This priming procedure allows experimenters to prime the concept of power in a way that is meaningful to participants’ lives.

In addition to explicit power primes, researchers have also utilized implicit priming procedures to manipulate power mindset. Smith and Trope (2006) developed a sentence-completion task that primes a high power, low power, or neutral (control condition) mindset. This priming measure instructs participants to complete a 17-item scrambled-sentences task—each sentence consists of a list of five words, and the instructions stipulate that participants must use four of the words to make a grammatically correct sentence (Smith & Trope, 2006; Smith, et al, 2008). The high power prime contains nine items that include a word relevant to having power (e.g., captain, authority, influenced, controls), while the low power condition contains nine items that include a word relevant to a lack of power (e.g., subordinate, obey, complied, submits). The control condition contains only power irrelevant words (e.g., drink, prepared, cleaned, wrote). Similarly, in their work exploring the effects of power on the self, Caza and colleagues (2011) manipulated the explicitness of power cues by showing participants high power or low power words subliminally (50 ms) or supraliminally (250 ms). The intention of these implicit priming tasks is to indirectly prime the concept of power without the participants’ explicit awareness of the relevance of power to the task.

Researchers have also manipulated power by using real-world power cues

(Cohen, 1958; Chen, et al., 2001). Chen and colleagues (2001) primed power by randomly assigning participants to sit in a professor's chair behind a desk (high power prime) or a guest's chair in front of the desk (low power prime).

In addition to experimental manipulations of power, other research has focused on the measurement of individual differences in beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors related to power. These approaches include survey measures of power/influence tactics, or assessing tactics in response to a specific scenario (Kipnis et al., 1980; Raven, et al., 1998; Bruins, 1999). For example, Yulk and Falbe (1990; 1991; 1993) developed scales to assess various types of power and influence. Items such as “being a person [others] can trust” and “providing social mentorship and social support to [others]” indicate *referent/charismatic* power tactics (*soft* power tactics), while “taking disciplinary action against [others] if they fail to comply with a request” and “using one’s authority to evaluate [others’] performance” indicate *coercive* and *legitimate* power tactics, respectively (*harsh* power tactics). Similarly, items such as “appealing to [others] by increasing his/her self-confidence” and “[offering] to modify requests or proposals to address [others] concerns and suggestions” indicate *inspirational* and *consultation* influence tactics (*soft* influence tactics), while “using frequent checking and persistent reminders to influence [others] to do something” or “using one’s authority or referring to the ‘chain of command’ to establish the legitimacy of a request” indicate *pressuring* and *legitimizing* influence tactics, respectively (*harsh* influence tactics) (see Appendices C and D for additional examples of harsh/soft power tactics and harsh/soft influence tactics). However, such self-report measures require that participants have knowledge of

their own influence tactics, and also that they accurately report on their attitudes and beliefs.

Each of these operationalizations of power offers unique strengths and limitations. The current research uses multiple methods of operationalizing power, taking a multi-faceted approach to studying the relationship between perspective taking and power. The current research will employ four different methodologies to operationalize power; methods include both individual difference measures of power/influence as well as two different experimental manipulations: 1) self-reports to measure dispositional measures of power and influence tactics (Yukl & Falbe, 1990; 1991; Yukl, Falbe, & Joo, 1993); 2) a self-referent experimental power manipulation, in which participants write about a power experience relevant to their own lives (Galinsky, et al, 2003); 3) an experimental power manipulation, in which participants are assigned to power roles in the context of an organizational vignette: supervisor, subordinate, or peer (e.g., Cohen, 1958; Chen, et al., 2001; Tiedens, et al., 2000; Lee & Tiedens, 2001); 4) an experimental power manipulation, in which participants are provided with faux feedback on their leadership abilities and assigned to a high power role (supervisor) accordingly (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002), and then granted decision-making power in the context of email correspondence with subordinates; and 5) specific behavioral and verbal power tactics in response to the above scenarios.

Theoretical Framework for Perspective Taking

The notion of perspective taking is strongly rooted in folklore surrounding social conflict and is intuitively understood as viewing a situation from another perspective. Popular advice for conflict mediation includes “seeing things from the other person’s

point of view” or “walking a mile in the other person’s shoes” before passing judgment or criticism. Indeed, conflict resolution programs often employ such perspective taking exercises in their peace-building efforts (Doob, 1974; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). In the social psychology literature, perspective taking is often viewed as a single, unitary construct, and the terms “perspective taking,” “empathy,” and “role-playing” are often used interchangeably (e.g., White, 1991; Long, Angera, Carter, Nakamoto, & Kalso, 1999; Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan, & Bleier, 2003). Perspective taking has been conceptualized as one of the main aspects of empathy and has been defined broadly as the tendency to adopt the psychological viewpoint of others (Davis, 1980, 1983). The act of role-playing is distinguishable from perspective taking, as it involves an outward manifestation of one’s understanding of another’s perspective.

While much of the literature has loosely applied the term “perspective taking” to a vast array of phenomena (e.g., White, 1991; Long, Angera, Carter, Nakamoto, & Kalso, 1999; Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan, & Bleier, 2003), research by Davis (1983) and Stephan and Finlay (1999) has taken a multi-dimensional approach to empathy and perspective taking, stressing the importance of addressing both cognitive and affective components. Davis (1980) developed an individual difference measure—the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI)—to measure various components of empathy and responsiveness to others. The IRI consists of four subscales: *perspective taking*—the tendency to spontaneously adopt the psychological viewpoint of others; *fantasy*—the general tendency to transpose oneself imaginatively into the feelings and actions of fictitious others (e.g., characters in books, movies, plays); *empathic concern*—feelings of

sympathy and concern for others (typically unfortunate others); and *personal distress*—feelings of personal anxiety and unease in tense interpersonal settings.

This conceptualization includes both cognitive empathy (inferring another's perspective, or perspective taking) and affective empathy (one's emotional responses to another person's perspective or situation). In other words, Davis (1983) defines perspective taking as a component of empathy, but includes both perspective taking and empathy in a broader model of interpersonal responsiveness. While the fantasy and perspective taking subscales assess cognitive elements of interpersonal reactivity (whether hypothetical or real-world others), the empathic concern and personal distress subscales address emotional, or affective elements of responsiveness to others' perspectives and situations. These four constructs have been conceptualized as intrinsically linked processes, or co-occurring elements of interpersonal reactivity (Davis, 1983), as empathic behavior tends to accompany the understanding of another's cognitive and emotional perspective. However, Davis' research has also demonstrated that while cognitive and affective components of interpersonal reactivity tend to be highly correlated with one another, they can be associated with different outcomes, supporting the relevance of this distinction. Further, Bagozzi and colleagues' (in press) work in organizational neuroscience showed a decoupling of perspective taking (theory of mind) and affect (empathy)—specifically activation in different regions of the brain—for people with a Machiavellian personality style, suggesting that in certain contexts these processes are distinct.

Defining perspective taking (PT). Consistent with Davis' (1980; 1983) research on perspective taking as a form of empathic behavior, I define perspective taking as the

process of imagining the internal, psychological state of another. Rather than treating perspective taking as a unitary phenomenon, I argue that this process involves both cognitive components, attempts to acknowledge and understand the other's perspective, as well as emotional components, attempts to consider others' feelings in response to that perspective. However, cognitive and emotional components of perspective (e.g., inferring others' thoughts and feelings) are distinct from affective empathy, or one's own emotional reactions to others' plights. The perspective taking subscale of the IRI is most relevant to the current line of research and hypotheses, as it addresses the tendency to consider others' socio-cognitive and emotional understanding of a situation (e.g., "When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to 'put myself in his shoes' for a while"; "Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place").

While both the perspective taking and fantasy subscales address cognitive components of interpersonal reactivity, perspective taking focuses on the tendency to consider other people's viewpoints in the context of real social interactions and disagreements, whereas the fantasy subscale is a more meta-cognitive measure of perspective taking that focuses on the tendency to transpose oneself imaginatively into the feelings and actions of fictitious characters in hypothetical scenarios (e.g., books, movies, or plays). The empathic concern and personal distress subscales address affective components of interpersonal reactivity, or one's own, *self-oriented* emotional responses to others' situations rather than *other-oriented* attempts to consider another's perspective (as in the perspective taking subscale). The personal distress subscale in particular focuses more on the self rather than engaging in perspective taking for others, which could potentially have negative implications for interpersonal relations (especially in

organizational settings).

Thus, for the purposes of my dissertation, I include *only* the perspective taking element of interpersonal reactivity in my conceptualization and measurement of dispositional perspective taking: inferring another's internal, psychological state (i.e., imagining others' thoughts and feelings associated with their perspectives).

Operationalizing Perspective Taking

Perspective taking is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon (Davis, 1980; 1983; Bernstein & Davis, 1982). Perspective taking has been manipulated as both an independent variable as well as measured as a dependent variable—as a self-reported dispositional tendency. Experimental research on perspective taking has manipulated the extent to which people take the perspective of others by encouraging participants to “imagine how [the target] feels”; “try to take [the target's] perspective” (Davis, Conklin, Smith, & Luce, 1996); “imagine a day in the life of this individual as if you were that person, looking at the world through his eyes and walking through the world in his shoes” (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000); “imagine how you would feel in another's situation”; “imagine how the other is feeling in that situation” (Batson, Lishner, Carpenter, Dulin, Harjusola-Webb, Stocks, Gale, Hassan, & Sampat, 2003), or “visualize the incident from the partner's point of view, and ask yourself why does the partner feel this way?” (Arriaga & Rusbult, 1998).

Some of these perspective taking manipulations have been tailored to the experimental task. For example, in a study by Galinsky and Mussweiler (2001) using a mock negotiation paradigm between two participants, they manipulated perspective taking with these instructions to participants: “When preparing for your negotiation it is

important to think about and focus on the potential alternatives that the buyer has to this negotiated agreement. A clear understanding of the alternatives the buyer has will assist you in preparing for the negotiation”.

Despite differences in perspective taking manipulations, these studies consistently found that perspective taking increased perceptions of similarity between the perspective taker and the target (Davis, et al., 1996); decreased use of stereotypes (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000); decreased negative emotions and blame (Arriaga & Rusbult, 1998); and increased ability to overcome anchoring effects associated with an opponent’s first offer (Galinsky & Mussweiler, 2001).

Research has also utilized dispositional measures of perspective taking. The most widely established scale employed in this line of research is the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) (Davis, 1980; 1983). The perspective taking subscale of this measure consists of items such as “I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision” and “I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the ‘other guy’s’ point of view” (reverse-scored). Empirical evidence has demonstrated that this measure is valid and psychometrically sound (Davis, 1980; 1983; Bernstein & Davis, 1982).

Researchers have developed similar dispositional approaches by modifying the IRI perspective taking subscale (Long & Andrews, 1990; Arriaga & Rusbult, 1998). Mason and Gibbs (1993) operationalized perspective taking as the quantity and quality of role-taking experiences, such as opportunities to analyze things from another’s viewpoint and exposure to diverse viewpoints (e.g., “My campus friends and I discuss our differences of opinion” and “I read the news articles in newspapers and magazines”). Dispositional perspective taking has been shown to improve social relations in domains

including relationship satisfaction (Franzoi, Davis, & Young, 1985); decreased aggressive responses to a provoking target (Richardson, et al., 1998); less negative conflict perceptions (Sessa, 1996); more mutually satisfactory contracts following a negotiation (Neale & Bazerman, 1983); and the development of moral judgment (Mason & Gibbs, 1993).

Other studies have measured perspective taking behaviors, either indirectly by measuring other behaviors presumed to be related to perspective taking, or directly by assessing the perspective taking process itself. For example, Stephenson and Wicklund (1983) measured perspective taking by instructing participants to write a story from two different perspectives (the second perspective had fewer pieces of information than the first) and measured the ability to write the second story including only available information. Avoiding the insertion of “missing” information was considered to indicate good perspective taking. Other researchers (e.g., Hass, 1984; Steins, 2000) have measured the ability to infer visual perspectives by instructing participants to write the letter “E” on a card held against their own forehead as they faced another person. Participants who correctly oriented the letter “E” from the other person’s perspective were considered to be engaging in perspective taking. Reimer (2001) operationalized perspective taking in the context of a Tower of Hanoi task (in which a set of disks must be moved from the first of three pegs to the last peg without moving more than one disk at a time and without ever placing a larger disk on top of a smaller disk). Participants completed the task in dyads, and perspective taking was measured by asking participants to predict how their partner would move if he or she were playing independently, and these predictions

were compared to the partner's actual moves to determine perspective taking accuracy (Reimer, 2001).

Though less common, some researchers have also attempted to measure perspective taking directly. These approaches utilize perspective taking coding schemes for open-ended responses. For instance, Leith and Baumeister (1998) prompted participants to write about an interpersonal conflict from their own perspective and then generate the other person's perspective. Perspective taking was coded as a dichotomous variable (presence/absence), and was said to occur if participants generated novel thoughts and feelings when writing the other's perspective. Frantz (2006) and Frantz and Janoff-Bulman (2000) developed a similar measure of perspective taking in response to an interpersonal conflict. In these studies, participants wrote about the conflict, and coders subsequently categorized the sentences as supporting one perspective or the other, and then tallied the number of statements supporting each.

In my dissertation, I use multiple methods to assess perspective taking. Similar to operationalizations of power, methods include both individual difference measures of perspective taking as well as two different experimental manipulations: 1) self-reports to measure dispositional perspective taking—the *perspective taking* subscale of the IRI (Davis, 1980; 1983); 2) an experimental perspective taking manipulation based on self-referent manipulations of power (e.g., Galinsky, et al., 2003)—a writing task in which participants are asked to reflect upon a personally relevant experience (a conflict or disagreement with another person), and randomly assigned to take a perspective taking mindset or a self-focused mindset (e.g., Davis, et al., 1996); 3) an experimental manipulation of perspective taking involving a reading and response task, in which

participants are asked to take the role of a manager in an organizational vignette (about a manager and an employee who has made a mistake), and randomly assigned to take a perspective taking mindset (for the employee) or a self-focused mindset (for the manager) (e.g., Davis, et al., 1996; Batson, et al., 2003); and 4) direct questions assessing the participants' perceived engagement in perspective taking behavior while writing about the above scenarios (as manipulation checks).

Current Research: Overview

To the extent that perspective taking increases social attention and moral judgment (Mason & Gibbs, 1993) and decreases aggressive responses and blame (Richardson, et al., 1998; Arriaga & Rusbult, 1998), I suggest that perspective taking may play a key role in the tactics people use to influence others. Previous research demonstrates that manipulated power mindset affects perspective taking (Galinsky, et al., 2006), and the current research reverses the direction of causality to explore how perspective taking affects power—specifically how people recognize and use power.

Additionally, the current research examines power tactics in two different organizational contexts—a business setting, and an academic setting. Hofstede (1980) argues for cultural differences in work-related power values and suggests that power distance, or the extent to which people expect and accept unequal distribution of power, differs across contexts. Given Hofstede's (1980; 1984) speculation that power use may differ depending upon contextual differences in power distance, I explore power tactics across contexts that may carry different power expectations.

Using multiple methodologies, I examine the relationship between perspective taking and behavioral and verbal power tactics. Overall, I hypothesize that perspective

taking is related to soft/relational tactics that express consideration for and affiliation with others. Studies 1 and 2 explore the associations among dispositional perspective taking, power recognition, and behavioral power tactics. Study 3 investigates the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and verbal power tactics in an organizational scenario (a business setting). Studies 4 and 5 examine the direct effects of experimentally manipulated perspective taking on behavioral power tactics in an organizational scenario (an academic setting), and verbal power tactics in the context of email communication (an office simulation), respectively. Below, I provide a brief overview of these studies.

Chapter II and Chapter III. Chapter II of my dissertation explores the relationship between perspective taking, recognition of power, and the exercise of power. Given previous research showing that perspective taking behavior differs for people primed with a high power versus a low power mindset, is perspective taking in turn associated with specific types of power tactics? Study 1 examines the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and recognition of harsh and soft tactics as power. Chapter III consists of two correlational studies. Building upon Chapter II, Study 2 examines this relationship between dispositional perspective taking and power recognition across different levels of status (power tactics of supervisors, peers, and subordinates), and also explores whether dispositional perspective taking is associated with the *use* of specific power tactics—ways of exercising power and influence—in both student and working adult samples.

Chapter IV. Chapter IV of my dissertation consists of a quasi-experimental design that investigates the effects of dispositional perspective taking and experimentally manipulated power on verbal power tactics—the verbal communication of power

decisions—in both student and working adult samples. Although previous research on power has focused on behaviors of the powerful, verbal communication is a very important way, and sometimes the only way, that people exercise power and influence. For example, requests and demands, the exchange of helpful resources, and even sanctions and reprimands are often communicated verbally, as people articulate their decisions through the words they say to others.

Study 3 examines the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and verbal power tactics, or how power decisions are communicated to subordinates in response to a specific organizational scenario (a business setting). I further examine the interaction between dispositional perspective taking and experimentally manipulated power on verbal power tactics. I suggest that the effect of perspective taking on verbal tactics will be stronger for people with a high power mindset relative to those with a low power mindset. In other words, given that low power people are already more likely to engage in perspective taking behavior, dispositional perspective taking may be more influential in the high power condition than in the low power condition.

Chapter V and Chapter VI. Chapter V of my dissertation manipulates perspective taking to explore whether perspective taking directly affects behavioral power tactics. Study 4 examines interactions between experimentally manipulated perspective taking and experimentally manipulated power on sanctioning decisions. Similar to the hypothesized interaction effects of dispositional perspective taking and power (in Study 3), experimentally manipulated perspective taking might have a greater impact on power tactics for those with a high power mindset than those with a low power mindset. Study 4 examines whether experimentally manipulated perspective taking

affects the use of harsh, coercive power tactics used to sanction others, and whether these effects differ for individuals with high power versus low power. Extending Chapter V, Chapter VI manipulates perspective taking in the context of high power to explore whether perspective taking directly affects *verbal* power tactics. Study 5 gives participants high power and examines the effects of experimentally manipulated perspective taking on polite and impolite tactics used in email correspondence.

Chapter VII. Conclusions and a general discussion of these findings are elaborated in Chapter VII. This chapter provides a brief summary of the most important and interesting results from Studies 1 through 5; addresses social and organizational implications of these findings; acknowledges potential strengths and limitations associated with the studies; raises ideas regarding future directions for this line of research; and finally, provides overarching conclusions regarding the key findings and implications.

CHAPTER II

Dispositional Perspective Taking and Power Recognition

The next two chapters of my dissertation consist of correlational studies exploring the relationship between dispositional perspective taking, power recognition, and power tactics. These studies examine the hypothesis that dispositional perspective taking is related to more inclusive power recognition (recognizing both harsh tactics and soft/relational tactics as forms of power) and the use of more relational power tactics. The first study addresses the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and recognition of soft/relational types of power versus harsh types of power. This study examined the following hypothesis:

H1: Dispositional perspective taking is a significant predictor of soft power recognition.

H1a: Perspective taking is positively associated with soft power recognition.

Specifically, people higher on perspective taking are more likely to recognize soft tactics as power.

H1b: Perspective taking is not a significant predictor of harsh power recognition. Perspective taking is not associated with recognizing harsh tactics as power.

Study 1

Method

Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 268 undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory Psychology course at The University of Michigan (92 males, 176 females). Students received partial course credit for their participation. The sample ranged in age from 17-23 (M age = 18.69, SD = 1.04). 175 participants self-identified as White, 45 as Asian American, 14 as African American, 7 as Hispanic/Latino, 14 as mixed race, 12 as other ethnicities, and 1 participant did not identify a specific race/ethnicity. Regarding socio-economic status, participants indicated their parents' educational background. For their mother's highest degree obtained, 36 participants indicated a high school education; 35 participants indicated some college education; 103 participants indicated a bachelor's degree; 64 participants indicated a master's degree; 25 participants indicated a doctoral degree; and 5 participants did not indicate their mother's educational background. For their father's highest degree obtained, 25 participants indicated a high school education; 32 participants indicated some college education; 69 participants indicated a bachelor's degree; 73 participants indicated a master's degree; 60 participants indicated a doctoral degree; and 9 participants did not indicate their father's educational background.

The sample also provided demographic information regarding their work experience. There were 62 participants with part-time work experience including management roles and jobs in the workforce (e.g., supervisor, lifeguard, waiter, barista, cashier); 146 participants had organizational experience, including management roles and work tasks in academic, athletic, or non-profit groups/organizations (e.g., resident

advisor, sports team captain, leadership roles in fraternity/sorority, student council, community service work); 48 participants had no management or work experience in the workforce or other organizations; and 12 participants did not specify their work experience.

Procedures

This study used an online survey format to assess the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and power recognition. Participants were directed to complete an online survey via Qualtrics survey software. They were informed that the study would address “perceptions of social experiences”. After giving informed consent, participants completed items measuring recognition of different types of power, a dispositional perspective taking measure, and demographic information. These measures are described in more detail in the section below. The study took approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Measures

Power recognition across power type. To assess people’s recognition of power—how people define power, specifically which actions are recognized as the exercise of power—I used the Power Behavioral Checklist developed by Sanders, Frantz, and Lee (unpublished manuscript). The scale consists of 25 specific behaviors including: soft/relational power (10 items), independent power (10 items), and controls (5 items) that do not indicate power use (see Appendix A for example items)². For the purposes of the current research, this study used only eight items from the independent power subscale to comprise the *harsh power* subscale—specifically the items pertaining to

² Note that the original Power Behavioral Checklist measure used the terms *independent* and *relational* rather than *harsh* and *soft* to differentiate these two forms of power.

coercive power tactics that tend to emphasize the power differential between the people involved by issuing threats, commands or sanctions (e.g., “A **policeman** pulls over a vehicle going above the speed limit and gives the driver a ticket”). The *soft power* subscale consists of ten items pertaining to relational types of power that tend to deemphasize the power differential and instead establish similarity and affiliation with others (“Jack’s **boss** does him an unsolicited favor and asks for one in return”). Participants rated each item using a forced yes/no answer scale where bolded names in each item represent the agent whose behavior is being rated (see example items above). The checklist presented each item and asked participants whether person X in the item used power, and the participant simply checked “yes” or “no” accordingly.

Prior to creating the soft power and harsh power composites, the 18 relevant subscale items were subjected to a factor analysis. Using maximum likelihood estimation, promax rotation, and constraining the number of factors to two, the initial analysis indicated several problematic items in the subscales. However, after removing three items in the soft power subscale and four items in the harsh power subscale (due to low factor loadings and/or cross-loadings above .25), the analysis indicated a satisfactory two-factor solution (eigenvalues of 2.75 and 1.98, respectively). The rotated factor matrix indicated that the items loaded onto two factors with factor loadings above or around .40 (with the exception of one item in the harsh power subscale), and no cross-loadings above .25. In supplementary factor analyses, I did not constrain the number of factors, and the analysis indicated a similar two-factor solution; I also tested constrained 3-factor and 4-factor solutions, but the constrained 2-factor solution yielded the best results.

The power recognition measure was scored by tallying the number of “yes”

responses to the seven soft/relational tactics (soft power subscale) and the four harsh tactics (harsh power subscale). While the soft/relational power subscale yielded sufficient reliability, $\alpha = .74$, the harsh power subscale yielded substantially lower reliability, $\alpha = .65$, which did not improve with deletion of any items. Thus reliability for the harsh power subscale was lower than desirable, a point I return to in the discussion. The order in which the items pertaining to the two subscales were presented was randomized. The soft power and harsh power subscales will be utilized as the main dependent measures in subsequent regression analyses.

Dispositional perspective taking. Dispositional perspective taking was measured using the *perspective taking* subscale of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) (Davis 1980; 1983). The 28-item IRI scale consists of four, seven-item subscales: 1) *perspective taking*, 2) *fantasy*, 3) *empathic concern*, and 4) *personal distress*. The current study uses only the *perspective taking (PT)* subscale—the tendency to spontaneously adopt the psychological viewpoint of others (e.g., “I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before making a decision”)—see sample items for the other three IRI subscales in Appendix B. Participants responded by indicating the extent to which a list of statements describes them on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all true of me” to 7 = “Very true of me”).

As detailed in the introduction, the perspective taking subscale is most relevant to the current line of research and hypotheses, as it addresses the tendency to consider others’ socio-cognitive and emotional understanding of a situation (e.g., “When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to ‘put myself in his shoes’ for a while”; “Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place”). Therefore, for the

purposes of my dissertation, dispositional perspective taking is measured using only the perspective taking subscale in the current chapter and throughout the remaining chapters addressing dispositional perspective taking (Chapters III, IV, and VI).

Prior to creating the perspective taking composite, the seven subscale items were subjected to a factor analysis. Using maximum likelihood estimation, promax rotation, and an eigenvalue cutoff of one, the analysis indicated a satisfactory one-factor solution (eigenvalue of 3.21). The factor matrix indicated that all seven items loaded onto one factor, with factor loadings above the .40 threshold. The perspective taking subscale was computed by averaging across the seven relevant scale items. The perspective taking subscale yielded sufficient reliability, $\alpha = .80$, which is consistent with previous research employing the IRI scale (Davis 1980; 1983; Bernstein & Davis, 1982), and the reliability did not improve with deletion of any items.

Potential covariates. The SDO scale (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) was used to assess social dominance orientation—a tendency toward endorsement of social hierarchy and oppression. The 16-item scale measure, $\alpha = .90$, instructs participants to consider “which of the following objects or statements you have a positive or negative feeling toward”. Participants then rate each item on a seven-point scale (1 = “very negative” to 7 = “very positive”), indicating the number that best represents the degree of positive or negative feelings toward each statement. Higher ratings on items such as “inferior groups should stay in their place” indicate higher social dominance orientation, while higher ratings on items such as “group equality should be our ideal (reverse-scored)” indicate lower social dominance orientation. The SDO score was computed as the mean of the ratings given to the 16 items (see Appendix R for the SDO scale in its entirety).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive statistics and correlations among primary study variables. Prior to the main analyses, correlations were used to explore associations between dispositional PT and the main dependent measures for power recognition: soft power subscale and harsh power subscale. Descriptive statistics and correlations among the primary study variables are presented in Table 1. As hypothesized, dispositional PT was positively correlated with the soft power subscale, $r = .15, p < .05$. However, contrary to hypotheses, dispositional PT was also marginally positively correlated with the harsh power subscale, $r = .10, p < .10$. The soft power and harsh power subscales were not significantly correlated with one another, $r = .06, p > .30$.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Primary Study Variables

<i>Variable name</i>	M	SD	1	2	3
1) PT	4.61	1.03			
2) Soft power	3.81	2.11	.15*		
3) Harsh power	3.65	.79	.10+	.06	

Note. $N = 268$. + $p \leq 0.10$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Correlations among covariates and primary study variables. Correlations were also used to assess the relationships among dispositional PT, potential covariates of interest (social dominance orientation, gender, age, and work experience), and the main dependent measures. Social dominance orientation (SDO)—beliefs and attitudes about structural hierarchies—was considered as a theoretically appropriate individual difference variable given its relevance to perceptions of social power and its potential to influence participant responses to the power recognition measure. People who score high on social dominance orientation regard structural hierarchies as legitimate and have a preference for maintaining the status quo (i.e., structural inequality in society). Because the power recognition measures in the current study allude to social and organizational hierarchies, it is important to control for the effect of social dominance orientation when considering the relationship between dispositional PT and power recognition. Social dominance orientation was negatively correlated with dispositional PT, $r = -.19, p < .01$, indicating that people who scored higher on social dominance orientation tended to score lower on dispositional perspective taking. There were no significant correlations between social dominance orientation and the power recognition measures or the other covariates, $r's < .10, p's > .15$.

Gender was also considered as a relevant covariate. Gender was positively associated with dispositional PT, $r = .16, p < .01$, and negatively associated with social dominance orientation, $r = -.15, p < .05$, indicating that females scored higher on dispositional perspective taking, and lower on social dominance orientation than males. Additionally, gender was positively correlated with the soft power subscale, $r = .16, p < .01$, indicating that compared to males, females were more likely to recognize soft tactics

as forms of power; however, gender was not significantly correlated with the harsh power subscale, $r < .10, p > .10$. While there were significant correlations with gender in these preliminary analyses, it is important to note that the disproportionate cell sizes for gender may limit the interpretation of gender effects (or lack thereof).

Age was also considered as a covariate. Presumably, age is associated with work experience and exposure to power dynamics in organizations (in addition to life experience), and therefore may influence how people recognize power. Indeed age was positively correlated with work experience, $r = .13, p < .05$, indicating that older participants were more likely to have work experience in this sample. Age was also negatively correlated with gender, $r = -.19, p < .01$, indicating that females tended to be younger than males in this sample. Additionally, age was positively correlated with the soft power subscale, $r = .18, p < .01$, indicating that older participants were more likely to recognize soft tactics as forms of power; however, age was not significantly correlated with the harsh power subscale, $r < .05, p > .50$. Age was not significantly correlated with dispositional PT or social dominance orientation, $r < .02, p > .80$.

Additionally, given that some of the measures pertaining to power recognition allude to workplace relationships (e.g., boss, employee), work experience was also considered as a potential covariate. Work experience was positively correlated with age, $r = .13, p < .05$, as well as gender, $r = .14, p < .05$, indicating that females tended to have more work experience than males in this sample. There were no other significant correlations between work experience and dispositional PT, social dominance orientation, or the power recognition measures, r 's $< .06, p$'s $> .30$. However, given the extremely discrepant cell sizes related to this measure of work experience, these results should be

interpreted with caution.

Given the theoretical relevance of these variables and the significant correlations among these potential covariates, dispositional PT, and the main dependent measures, social dominance orientation, gender, age, and work experience will be included as covariates in subsequent regression analyses.

Main Analyses

Power recognition: Soft power subscale. I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor variables and soft power recognition, and participant gender, age, and social dominance orientation were included as covariates. To examine the unique contributions of the main predictor variable (dispositional PT) and the covariates of interest, I regressed power recognition (soft power scale) on dispositional PT, (dummy-coded) gender, age, and social dominance orientation. This model resulted in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .07$, $F(4, 263) = 5.44$, $p = 0.001$. Consistent with earlier correlation analyses, the hypothesized effect of dispositional PT was significant, $\beta = 0.16$, $p = 0.01$, indicating that higher soft power recognition was observed among participants higher on dispositional perspective taking. In addition, the effect of age was significant, $\beta = 0.15$, $p < 0.05$, indicating that soft power recognition increased with age, and the effect of gender was marginally significant, $\beta = 0.11$, $p = 0.07$, indicating that females had marginally higher soft power recognition compared to males. Social dominance orientation was not a significant predictor of power recognition, $\beta = -0.05$, $p > 0.40$.

In supplementary analyses, adding work experience (dummy coded) to the model as an additional covariate did not result in a significant increase in the amount of variance

explained for soft power recognition, $R^2 \text{ change} = .002$, $F(1, 250) = 0.61$, $p > .40$, and work experience was not a significant predictor of soft power recognition, $\beta = -0.05$, $p > 0.40$. Including work experience in the model did not substantially alter the significance level of the other predictors. The results remained virtually unchanged, and predictors remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction. There were no other significant predictors of power recognition in these analyses.

Power recognition: Harsh power subscale. I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor variables and harsh power recognition, and participant gender, age, and social dominance orientation were included as covariates. To examine the unique contributions of the main predictor variable (dispositional PT) and the covariates of interest, I regressed power recognition (harsh power scale) on dispositional PT, (dummy-coded) gender, age, and social dominance orientation. This model did *not* result in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .02$, $F(4, 263) = 1.32$, $p > 0.25$. Consistent with earlier correlation analyses, the effect of dispositional PT was not significant, $\beta = 0.08$, $p > 0.20$, indicating that perspective taking was not associated with harsh power recognition. Gender, age, and social dominance orientation were not significant predictors of power recognition, β 's $< .07$, $p > 0.30$.

In supplementary analyses, adding work experience (dummy coded) to the model as an additional covariate did not result in a significant increase in the amount of variance explained for harsh power recognition, $R^2 \text{ change} = .004$, $F(1, 250) = 0.90$, $p > .30$, and work experience was not a significant predictor of soft power recognition, $\beta = -0.06$, $p > 0.30$. Including work experience in the model did not substantially alter the significance level of the other predictors. The results remained virtually unchanged, and predictors

remained non-significant in the same direction. There were no other significant predictors of power recognition in these analyses.

Discussion

The results support Hypothesis 1, which proposed a positive association between dispositional perspective taking and soft power recognition, but no association between dispositional perspective taking and harsh power recognition. Consistent with the hypothesis, dispositional perspective taking was a significant predictor of soft power recognition; however, perspective taking was not a significant predictor of harsh power recognition. In other words, higher dispositional perspective taking was associated with greater soft power recognition, or the tendency to acknowledge soft power tactics as forms of power. These effects held even when controlling for the effects of gender, age, work experience, and social dominance orientation. The results suggest that perspective taking may lead to more inclusive power recognition, such that people higher on dispositional perspective taking may have more complex definitions for social power that incorporate multiple types of power.

Although I did not hypothesize gender effects, I also found that female participants were marginally more likely than males to recognize soft power tactics as forms of power (this effect reached significance when controlling for work experience). This finding suggests that females may have a broader understanding of what the concept of social power entails, and which actions constitute exercising power.

However, it is important to note that the harsh power subscale yielded substantially lower reliability than the soft power subscale; thus results for this subscale should be interpreted accordingly. This reliability in the lower range is an important

limitation, given that high measurement error can be an alternative explanation for any non-significant relationships observed for this subscale. In other words, unreliable measures increase the risk of “Type II error,” or the failure to reject a false null hypothesis (i.e., a false positive result), such that a lack of results could be an artifact of low reliability. The discrepancy in psychometric properties across the two power recognition subscales could be due to the range of behaviors subsumed within each category. The harsh power subscale includes multiple forms of harsh power tactics, such as different types of reprimands/punishments, demands, and other coercive tactics that range in severity (e.g., “Jan threatens to fire her employee if he is late again”, “A judge sentences a criminal to 3-5 years in prison”), and therefore items may not cluster together as well as the relational power tactics included in the soft power subscale.

Additionally, there are some noteworthy shortcomings of the current regression analyses. Because these linear regressions include the dependent variables of interest in separate models (soft power recognition vs. harsh power recognition), they suffer from the following limitations: analyses do not include a formal test of whether the beta coefficients are significantly different from one another; they do not take into account and correct for measurement error (such as the scale reliability issue discussed above); and they do not allow for the error terms associated with the two dependent variables to be correlated (Kline, 2011).

Despite these limitations, the current findings have significant implications for power use, as the extent to which people recognize different types of power tactics may correspond to a wider range of power tactics at their disposal. People who are higher in perspective taking appear to incorporate soft power tactics into their understanding of

power, which may lead to the use of more varied forms of power. To test this idea, Study 2 will examine the relationship between perspective taking and power use, or how people exercise power and influence in their social interactions. Study 2 will also extend Study 1 by exploring power recognition across levels of status (the actions of supervisors, peers, and subordinates). This study is an important next step because research questions will address not only whether perspective taking is associated with the extent to which people *recognize* power, but also whether perspective taking is associated with how people *use* power—specifically whether perspective taking is related to the use of more soft/relational power tactics that establish concern for and affiliation with others.

CHAPTER III

Dispositional Perspective Taking and Power Use

While the previous study (Study 1) examined the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and people's recognition of soft/relational and harsh types of power, the current study (Study 2) assesses the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and the *use* of these types of power to influence others across two samples (students and working adults). Study 2 also extends the objectives of Study 1 to assess whether the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and power recognition varies across different levels of status (supervisors, peers, and subordinates). This study examined the following hypotheses:

H2: *Dispositional perspective taking is a significant predictor of power recognition for low and equal status conditions.*

H2a: *Perspective taking is positively associated with power recognition across low and equal status conditions. Specifically, people higher on perspective taking are more likely to recognize the actions of low status and equal status people as power.*

H2b: *Perspective taking is not a significant predictor for the high status condition. Perspective taking is not associated with recognizing the actions of high status people as power.*

H3: *Dispositional perspective taking is a significant predictor of soft and harsh power use.*

H3a: *Perspective taking is positively associated with soft power use.*

Specifically, people higher on perspective taking are more likely to use soft/relational power tactics.

H3b: *Conversely, perspective taking is negatively associated with harsh power use. Specifically, people higher on perspective taking are less likely to use harsh power tactics.*

Study 2A

Method

Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 185 undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory Psychology course at The University of Michigan (60 males, 125 females). Students received partial course credit for their participation. The sample ranged in age from 18-39 (M age = 19.81, SD = 2.13). 123 participants self-identified as White, 50 as Asian American, 5 as mixed race, 3 as African American, 3 as Hispanic/Latino, and 1 participant did not identify a specific race/ethnicity. Regarding socio-economic status, participants indicated family household income as well as their parents' educational background. 20 participants indicated an income below \$50k; 30 indicated the \$50-100k range; 38 indicated the \$100-150k range; 32 indicated the \$150-200k range; 60 indicated an income above \$200k; and 5 participants did not indicate their household income. For their mother's highest degree obtained, 23 participants indicated a high school education;

22 participants indicated some college education; 68 participants indicated a bachelor's degree; 55 participants indicated a master's degree; 14 participants indicated a doctoral degree; and 3 participants did not indicate their mother's educational background. For their father's highest degree obtained, 20 participants indicated a high school education; 20 participants indicated some college education; 46 participants indicated a bachelor's degree; 60 participants indicated a master's degree; 37 participants indicated a doctoral degree; and 2 participants did not indicate their father's educational background.

Procedures

This study used an online survey (Qualtrics survey software) to assess the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and power recognition across different levels of status, and the use of specific power and influence tactics. Like Study 1, participants were directed to complete an online survey and were informed that the study would address "perceptions of social experiences". After giving informed consent, participants completed two individual difference measures of power tactics, items measuring recognition of power across levels of status, a dispositional perspective taking measure, and demographic information. The study took approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Measures

Power and influence measures. Two measures established by Yulk and Falbe (1990; 1991; 1993) were used to assess power and influence tactics. These measures are consistent with the distinction between harsh versus soft bases of power, and they assess individual differences in the tendency to use these power and influence tactics (French & Raven, 1959). For both of the power and influence measures, the items pertaining to the

various subscales were randomized. The first measure distinguishes between two overarching categories of power bases, or specific sources of power, used in power relations (Yukl & Falbe, 1991). After prompting participants to think about how they typically use power and influence (see Appendix C), they responded to items designed to assess different types of power tactics on a five-point scale (1= “Not at all” to 5= “Frequently, if not always”). The 37-item scale consists of six subscales: *persuasive* (3 items), *referent* (3 items), and *charismatic* power (6 items) tactics; and *coercive* (5 items), *reward* (7 items), and *legitimate* (4 items) tactics. The current study uses the *persuasive*, *referent*, and *charismatic* subscales as *soft power* tactics—relational tactics that incorporate the concerns of others when exercising power, and only the *coercive* subscale as *harsh power* tactics—tactics that utilize direct demands, threats, and punishments/reprimands when exercising power (see sample items for subscales in Appendix C).

The persuasive, referent, and charismatic subscales are relevant to the current line of research and hypotheses regarding soft power, as these tactics serve to de-emphasize the power differential by appealing to the needs, values and aspirations of others (e.g., “Interpret events and analyze problems in a way that makes sense to targets”, “Have strong integrity and be a person targets can trust”, “Use your position to provide social mentorship and social support to a target”). The coercive power subscale is most relevant to the hypotheses regarding harsh power, as these tactics directly emphasize the power differential by offering something negative in exchange for compliance without exercising consideration for or affiliation with others (e.g., “Use your position to take disciplinary action against targets if they fail to comply with a request”). The reward and

legitimate subscales employ other tactics when exercising power—offering something positive in exchange for compliance (e.g., “Use your position to increase a target’s chance of getting a pay raise or bonus”), or using one’s legitimate authority or the chain of command to accomplish a task without necessarily offering a positive or negative exchange (e.g., “Use your authority to evaluate a target’s performance”). Reward and legitimate power tactics are less relevant to the current hypotheses; thus they are not included in the harsh power subscale.

In addition to the power tactics measure, the second measure developed by Yukl and Falbe (1990; 1993) distinguishes between two overarching categories of influence tactics, or the specific tactics used to influence others in power relations. After prompting participants to think about how they typically use power and influence (see Appendix D), they responded to items designed to assess different types of influence tactics on a five-point scale (1= “Not at all” to 5= “Frequently, if not always”). This 21-item measure consisted of nine subscales: *pressure* tactics (3 items), *exchange* tactics (2 items), and *legitimizing* tactics (4 items); and *rational persuasion* (2 items), *inspirational appeals* (2 items), *consultation* (2 items), *coalition* (2 items), *ingratiation* (3 items), and one item pertaining to *personal appeals*. The current study uses the *rational persuasion*, *inspirational appeals*, and *consultation* subscales as *soft/relational influence* tactics that de-emphasize the power differential by incorporating the concerns of others; and only the *pressure* subscale as *harsh influence* tactics that utilize direct demands, threats, and punishments/reprimands—see sample items for subscales in Appendix D.³

³ Note that the original influence tactics measure used the terms *positional* and *personal* rather than *harsh* and *soft* to differentiate these two forms of influence.

The rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, and consultation subscales are relevant to the current line of research and hypotheses regarding soft power, as these tactics serve to de-emphasize the power differential by appealing to the positions and aspirations of others, and seeking others' input when attempting to influence them (e.g., "I use logical arguments to persuade the target that a proposal or request is viable", "I make requests or proposals that appeal to the target by increasing his/her self-confidence", "I seek the target's participation in planning a strategy, activity, or change for which I desire his/her support and assistance"). The coalition, ingratiation, and personal appeals subscales are less relevant to this conceptualization of soft/relational influence, as these subscales appeal to connections, friendship/loyalty, and mood to influence others rather than appealing to others' needs and interests per se. Thus these three subscales were not included as forms of soft power.

The pressure, exchange, and legitimating subscales are roughly comparable to the coercive, reward, and legitimate forms of power in the previous measure. Similarly, the pressure subscale is most relevant to the hypotheses regarding harsh power, as these tactics directly emphasize the power differential by pressuring or coercing others to comply (e.g., "I use threats to influence the target to do something"), while the exchange and legitimating subscales employ other types of tactics to influence others (see Appendix D).

Soft and harsh tactics. Prior to creating the soft tactics and harsh tactics composites, the 26 subscale items pertaining to the 8 subscales of interest (from both the power and influence measures above) were subjected to a factor analysis. Using maximum likelihood estimation, promax rotation, and constraining the number of factors

to two, the analysis indicated a satisfactory two-factor solution (eigenvalues of 4.92 and 3.02, respectively). The rotated factor matrix indicated that the items loaded onto two factors with factor loadings above or around .40 (with the exception of one item in the harsh tactics subscale), and no cross-loadings above .25. In supplementary factor analyses, I also tested constrained 3-factor and 4-factor solutions, but the constrained 2-factor solution yielded the best results.

The two-factor solution was used to categorize the subscales as soft tactics or harsh tactics and to create these two aggregated scales from the eight subscales (26 items). Two overarching composites were created from the power tactics and influence tactics subscales: *soft/relational* tactics (18 items)—consisting of the aggregated persuasive, referent, charismatic, rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, and consultation subscales; and *harsh* tactics (8 items)—consisting of the aggregated power and pressure subscales. The two composites were created by averaging across the relevant subscales, and the soft tactics and harsh tactics subscales yielded sufficient reliabilities of $\alpha = .82$ and $\alpha = .72$ respectively, which did not improve with deletion of any items in the eight subscales of interest. Thus these two overarching scales—soft tactics and harsh tactics—were utilized as dependent measures in the remaining analyses.

Power recognition across status. To assess people's recognition of power use across different levels of status (high status, low status, and equal status relative to a target), I used the 21 influence tactics developed by Yukl and Falbe (1990, 1993), and varied the status of the individual (or agent) using those tactics; the agent either has high, equal, or low status relative to the target (or the person the agent is trying to influence). Thus, the influence tactics scale was administered three times in accordance with the

three status conditions. Using a response format similar to the Power Behavioral Checklist in Study 1, participants rated each item using a forced yes/no answer scale to indicate whether the agent was using power (see Appendix E). The power recognition measures were scored by tallying the number of “yes” responses to low status tactics as power use (low status subscale), equal status tactics as power use (equal status subscale), and high status tactics as power use (high status subscale). The three overarching composites of low status (21 items), equal status (21 items), and high status (21 items) yielded sufficient reliabilities, $\alpha = .87$, $\alpha = .85$, and $\alpha = .83$, respectively. The items pertaining to the three status conditions were randomized.

Dispositional perspective taking. Like previous studies, dispositional perspective taking was measured using the *perspective taking* subscale of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis 1980; 1983) (see Appendix B). Participants responded by indicating the extent to which a list of statements describes them on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all true of me” to 7 = “Very true of me”). Prior to creating the perspective taking composite, the seven subscale items were subjected to a factor analysis. Using maximum likelihood estimation, promax rotation, and an eigenvalue cutoff of one, the analysis indicated a satisfactory one-factor solution (eigenvalue of 3.15). The factor matrix indicated that all items loaded onto one factor, with all factor loadings above or around .40. The perspective taking subscale was computed by averaging across the seven relevant scale items. The perspective taking subscale yielded sufficient reliability, $\alpha = .79$, which did not improve with deletion of any items. Thus the standard seven-item subscale will be used in subsequent analyses.

Potential covariates. Schwartz's Values Survey (SVS) (Schwartz, 1992) was used to assess key values, or guiding principles in people's lives. The survey assesses 58 values that are categorized into ten overarching value scales (which vary in number and name depending upon the SVS version). However, for the purposes of the current research, the items corresponding to the universalism subscale—specifically the items pertaining to equality and social justice—were of interest. An *equality values* scale ($\alpha = .75$) was created by averaging across the two relevant items: *social equality* (equal opportunity for all) and *social justice* (correcting injustice, care for the weak). The score for equality values was computed as the mean of the ratings given to the two corresponding items.

The SVS uses a complex response format, in which participants are presented with detailed instructions for how to respond to the survey items. Participants are instructed to ask themselves "What values are important to *me* as guiding principles in *my* life, and what values are less important to me?" Participants are then presented with a list of values, each followed by a brief explanation of the value's definition. Participants rate sets of values in accordance with how important each value is as a guiding principle in their lives. They respond using a nine-point scale of (-1 = "opposed to my values" to 7 = "of supreme importance"), where higher numbers (-1, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7) indicate that the value is more important as a guiding principle in one's life (see Appendix S for detailed SVS instructions).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive statistics and correlations among primary study variables. Prior

to the main analyses, correlations were used to explore associations between dispositional PT and the main dependent measures for power recognition: low status subscale, equal status subscale, and high status subscale; and associations between dispositional PT and the main dependent measures for power and influence tactics: soft tactics subscale and harsh tactics subscale. Descriptive statistics and correlations among the primary study variables are presented in Tables 2 and 3. As hypothesized for power recognition, dispositional PT was positively correlated with low status, $r = .20, p < .01$, and equal status, $r = .16, p < .05$, indicating that people higher on perspective taking were more likely to recognize the actions of low and equal status people as power, but dispositional PT was not significantly correlated with high status, $r = -.08, p > .25$. There were also significant correlations among the three power recognition measures (see Table 2). The particularly high positive correlation between low status and equal status, $r = .74, p < .001$, provides justification for combining these two subscales. Given that dispositional PT was positively associated with both low status and equal status, and low status and equal status were also positively correlated, a combined non-high status subscale (42 items) was created by combining these two subscales (total count for low status and equal status subscales), which yielded sufficient reliability, $\alpha = .92$. The high status subscale and the non-high status subscale (combined low/equal status subscales) will be utilized as the main dependent measures for power recognition in subsequent regression analyses.

As hypothesized for power use, dispositional PT was positively correlated with the soft power tactics subscale, $r = .36, p < .001$, but negatively correlated with the harsh power tactics subscale, $r = -.18, p = .01$, indicating that people higher on perspective taking were more likely to use soft tactics and less likely to use harsh tactics. The soft

power and harsh power subscales were not significantly correlated, $r = -.11, p > .10$. The soft power subscale and the harsh power subscale will be utilized as the main dependent measures for power tactics in subsequent regression analyses.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Primary Study Variables (Power Recognition)

<i>Variable name</i>	M	SD	1	2	3
1) PT	4.26	.89			
2) Low status	9.42	5.21	.20**		
3) Equal status	11.01	4.86	.16*	.74***	
4) High status	13.55	4.42	-.08 <i>ns</i>	.35***	.53***

Note. $N = 185$. * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Primary Study Variables (Power Use)

<i>Variable name</i>	M	SD	1	2
1) PT	4.26	.89		
2) Soft power	4.03	.39	.36***	
3) Harsh power	2.42	.55	-.18**	-.11

Note. $N = 185$. * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Descriptive statistics and correlations among covariates and primary study variables. Correlations were also used to assess the relationships among dispositional PT, potential covariates of interest (gender, and equality values), and the main dependent measures. An equality values measure (SVS)— which consists of guiding principles that reflect the desire for correcting inequality and injustice in society—was considered as a theoretically relevant individual difference variable, as the value people place on universal equality has the potential to influence participant responses to the power tactics measures. Contrary to social dominance orientation (SDO) (see Study 1)—beliefs and attitudes about structural hierarchies—people who score high on equality values have a preference for challenging the status quo (e.g., structural inequality in society) and restoring justice. Because the power tactics measures in the current study allude to social and organizational hierarchies, it is important to control for the effect of equality values when considering the effect of dispositional PT on power use. Equality values (Mean = 6.44; SD = 1.43) was positively correlated with dispositional PT, $r = .29, p < .001$, and soft power tactics, $r = .21, p = .01$, indicating that people who scored higher on equality values tended to score higher on dispositional perspective taking, and were more likely to use soft tactics. However, equality values was not significantly correlated with harsh power tactics, $r = -.07, p > .30$, any of the three power recognition measures, r 's $< .10$, p 's $> .10$, or the other covariates (gender and age), r 's $< .10, p$'s $> .30$.

Gender was also considered as a relevant covariate. Gender was positively associated with dispositional PT, $r = .33, p < .01$, and positively associated with soft power tactics, $r = .22, p < .01$, indicating that females were higher on perspective taking than males and more likely to use soft power tactics than males. However, gender was

not significantly correlated with harsh power tactics, $r < .10$, $p > .10$. Gender was also positively associated with power recognition for low status, $r = .14$, $p = .05$, indicating that females were higher on low status power recognition than males, but was not significantly correlated with the other power recognition measures, r 's $< .10$, p 's $> .25$. Additionally, gender was also negatively associated with age, $r = -.19$, $p = .01$, indicating that females tended to be younger than males in this sample, but was not significantly correlated with equality values, $r < .10$, $p > .50$. While there were significant gender correlations in these preliminary analyses, it is important to note that the disproportionate cell sizes for gender may limit the interpretation of gender effects (or lack thereof).

Additionally, due to the considerably larger age range in the current sample (18-39), which included a number of non-traditional students compared to Study 1 (17-23), age was also considered as a covariate. Presumably, age correlates with work experience and exposure to power dynamics in organizations (in addition to life experience), and therefore may influence how people recognize and use power. Age was (marginally) negatively correlated with soft power tactics, $r = -.14$, $p = .07$, but not significantly correlated with harsh power tactics, $r = .02$, $p > .80$. Age was also negatively correlated with power recognition for low status, $r = -.14$, $p = .05$, but was not significantly correlated with the other power recognition measures, r 's $< .10$, p 's $> .10$. These correlations indicate that older individuals were (marginally) less likely to use soft power tactics and less likely to recognize the actions of low status people as power. As previously indicated, age was negatively associated with gender, $r = -.19$, $p = .01$, but was not significantly correlated with equality values, $r < .10$, $p > .30$.

Given the theoretical relevance of these variables and the significant correlations

among these variables, dispositional PT, and the main dependent measures, gender, age and equality values will be included as covariates in subsequent regression analyses.

Main Analyses

Power recognition: Non-high status subscale (low/equal status combined). I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor variables and the non-high status subscale, and participant gender, age, and equality values were included as covariates. To examine the unique contributions of the main predictor variable (dispositional PT) and the covariates of interest (participant gender, age, and equality values), I regressed the non-high status subscale on dispositional PT, equality values, age, and (dummy-coded) gender. This model resulted in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .07$, $F(4, 155) = 2.89$, $p < 0.05$. Consistent with earlier correlation analyses, the hypothesized effect of dispositional PT was significant, $\beta = 0.21$, $p = 0.02$, indicating that participants higher on dispositional perspective taking were more likely to recognize the actions of low status and equal status individuals (e.g., subordinates and peers) as forms of power. Gender, age and equality values were not significant predictors of power recognition, β 's < 0.12 , p 's > 0.10 . There were no other significant predictors of power recognition in this analysis.

Power recognition: High status subscale. Identical to the regression analysis for the non-high status subscale, I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor variables and the high status subscale. Participant gender, age, and equality values were included as covariates. To examine the unique contributions of the main predictor variable (dispositional PT) and the covariates of interest (participant gender, age, and equality values), I regressed the high status subscale on dispositional PT,

equality values, age, and (dummy-coded) gender. This model did not result in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .01$, $F(4, 155) = 0.26$, $p = 0.90$. Consistent with earlier correlation analyses and hypotheses, dispositional PT was not a significant predictor, $\beta < 0.05$, $p = 0.50$, indicating that participants higher on dispositional perspective taking were not more likely to recognize the actions of high status individuals (e.g., supervisors) as forms of power. Gender, age and equality values were not significant predictors of power recognition, β 's < 0.10 , p 's > 0.40 . There were no other significant predictors of power recognition in this analysis⁴.

Power tactics: Soft subscale. I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor variables and soft power tactics, and participant gender, age, and equality values were included as covariates. To examine the unique contributions of the main predictor variable (dispositional PT) and the covariates of interest (participant gender, age, and equality values), I regressed soft power tactics (combined power and influence scales) on dispositional PT, equality values, age, and (dummy-coded) gender. This model resulted in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .20$, $F(4, 146) = 9.38$, $p < 0.001$. Consistent with earlier correlation analyses, the hypothesized effect of dispositional PT was significant, $\beta = 0.37$, $p < 0.001$, indicating that participants higher on dispositional perspective taking were more likely to use soft power tactics. In addition,

⁴ In supplementary analyses regarding power recognition, I included additional values of interest in the regression models—the 6 items pertaining to the universalism subscale that were not used for the equality subscale, and the 5-item benevolence subscale. Universalism values include guiding principles related to world peace and beauty, unity with nature and environmental protection, and wisdom and broadmindedness. Benevolence values include guiding principles related to loyalty and honesty, helpfulness, responsibility, and forgiveness. Universalism and benevolence were not significant predictors of power recognition, and including them in the models as covariates did not substantially alter the significance level of the other predictors. The results remained virtually unchanged, and predictors remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction.

the effect of gender approached significance, $\beta = 0.14, p = 0.07$, indicating that females were marginally more likely to use soft power tactics than males. Age and equality values were not significant predictors of soft power use, β 's $< 0.11, p$'s > 0.10 . There were no other significant predictors of soft power use in this analysis.

Power tactics: Harsh subscale. Identical to the regression analysis for the soft power subscale, I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor variables and the harsh power subscale. Participant gender, age, and equality values were included as covariates. To examine the unique contributions of the main predictor variable (dispositional PT) and the covariates of interest (participant gender, age, and equality values), I regressed harsh power tactics (combined power and influence scales) on dispositional PT, equality values, age, and (dummy-coded) gender. This model did not result in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .04, F(4, 153) = 1.39, p = 0.24$. However, consistent with earlier correlation analyses, the hypothesized effect of dispositional PT was significant, $\beta = -0.17, p < 0.05$, indicating that participants higher on dispositional perspective taking were less likely to use harsh power tactics. Gender, age and equality values were not significant predictors of harsh power use, β 's $< 0.05, p$'s > 0.50 . When excluding the non-significant predictors (covariates) from the analysis, the model did result in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .03, F(1, 180) = 6.00, p = 0.02$. There were no other significant predictors of harsh power use in this analysis⁵.

⁵ Similar to the power recognition analyses, in supplementary analyses regarding power use, I included additional values of interest in the regression models—the 6 items pertaining to the universalism subscale that were not used for the equality subscale, and the 5-item benevolence subscale. Universalism and benevolence were not significant predictors of harsh power use; however, the benevolence effect for soft power use approached significance, $\beta = 0.18, p = 0.051$. Including these values in the models did not

Study 2B

Similar to Study 2 using a student sample, this study explores the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and power/influence tactics using a sample of working adults. Given that the power and influence measures refer to leadership, organizations, and workplace relationships (e.g., subordinates), it is an important future direction for this line of research to replicate the above findings with a sample of working adults who currently hold positions in the workforce. Determining whether the same relationship between perspective taking and power use holds for both undergraduates and working adults increases the external validity of the current research.

Method

Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 97 working adults recruited via a professional survey company, Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) (47 males, 48 females, 2 unidentified). Amazon Mechanical Turk is a website that contains the major elements required to conduct research: an integrated participant compensation system, a large participant pool, and a streamlined process of study design, participant recruitment, data collection, and subject compensation, which allows researchers to sample a large number of diverse working adults while ensuring them complete anonymity (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). Recent research pertaining to MTurk has justified the use of this method of data collection, suggesting that MTurk can be used to obtain high-quality data relatively inexpensively and rapidly (e.g., Pontin, 2007; Mason & Watts, 2009;

substantially alter the significance level of the other predictors. The results remained virtually unchanged, and predictors remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction.

Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011)⁶. MTurk was used to recruit working adults, distribute the survey, and pay participants for their participation. MTurk charges researchers 10% overhead of what they pay to compensate “workers” (i.e., working adult participants) to complete online surveys. In the current study, 100 participants were recruited, and participants were paid \$0.50 to complete a 15-minute survey. Participants received payment of \$0.50 in the form of Amazon vouchers for their participation.

The sample ranged in age from 18-62 (M age = 35.13, SD = 12.44). 82 participants self-identified as White, 6 as Asian American, 6 as African American, 1 as Hispanic/Latino, 1 as Mixed Race, and 1 participant did not identify a specific race/ethnicity. Additionally, the sample provided demographic information regarding their education, and their income and status in their current job. All participants indicated that they were employed and indeed working, with the exception of five participants—two who identified as students and three who identified part-time employment but did not identify as having work experience (e.g., tutor/teacher, designer, and information technology consultant). Regarding educational background, 2 participants indicated a high school education; 37 participants indicated some college education; 44 participants indicated a bachelor’s degree; 12 participants indicated a master’s degree; and 2 participants indicated a doctoral degree. Regarding current income, 16 participants indicated an income below \$10k; 26 indicated the \$10-30k range; 26 indicated the \$30-50k range; 17 indicated the \$50-70k range; 6 indicated the \$70-100k range; 5 indicated the \$100-200k range; and 1 participant did not indicate their income. Regarding current

⁶ Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling (2011) found that: (a) MTurk participants are slightly more representative of the U.S. population than are standard Internet samples and are significantly more diverse than typical American college samples; (b) participation is affected by compensation rate and task length but participants can still be recruited rapidly and inexpensively; (c) realistic compensation rates do not affect data quality; and (d) the data obtained are at least as reliable as those obtained via traditional methods.

status level (i.e., whether they hold a leader/manager role), 55 participants self-identified as occupying a low status position at work; 8 as occupying a moderate status position; 33 as occupying a high status position; and 1 participant did not identify status level.

Participants came from a diverse range of industries (e.g., banking and finance, law, information/publishing, manufacturing, and zoology); thus the sample consisted of people from various social and occupational classes.

Procedures

This study used an online survey to assess the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and the use of specific power and influence tactics. Like the previous study, participants were directed to complete an online survey (via Qualtrics survey software) and were informed that the study would address “perceptions of social experiences”. After giving informed consent, participants completed two individual difference measures of power tactics, a dispositional perspective taking measure, and demographic information. The study took approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Measures

Power and influence measures. Like the student sample, the two measures established by Yulk and Falbe (1990; 1991; 1993) were used to assess power and influence tactics in the working adult sample. For both of the power and influence measures, the items pertaining to the various subscales were randomized. After prompting participants to think about how they typically use power and influence (see Appendices C and D), they responded to items designed to assess different types of tactics on a five-point scale (1= “Not at all” to 5= “Frequently, if not always”).

The instructions wording for the power tactics measure was modified in this

study. The initial power tactics measure has the potential to conflate what participants “have done” and what participants think they “would do,” which can be considered two different questions. However, for the sample of working adults, the instructions wording in the current power tactics measure was adjusted to simply focus on what participants *have done*. The modified instructions indicate: “While responding to the following questions about management strategies, please consider the times in which you have been in the role of a leader or manager (e.g., a project leader, supervisor, director, etc.). Give your best guess as to your own style.”

Soft and harsh tactics. Like the student sample, prior to creating the soft tactics and harsh tactics composites, the 26 subscale items pertaining to the 8 subscales of interest were subjected to a factor analysis. Using maximum likelihood estimation, promax rotation, and constraining the number of factors to two, the analysis indicated a satisfactory two-factor solution (eigenvalues of 8.94 and 3.49, respectively). The rotated factor matrix indicated that the items loaded onto two factors with factor loadings above or around .40 (with the exception of one item in the soft tactics subscale), and no cross-loadings above .25 (with the exception of two items in the soft tactics subscale, and one item in the harsh tactics subscale). In supplementary factor analyses, I also tested constrained 3-factor and 4-factor solutions, but the constrained 2-factor solution yielded the best results.

The two-factor solution was used to categorize the subscales as soft tactics or harsh tactics and to create these two aggregated scales from the eight subscales (26 items). Two overarching composites were created from the power tactics and influence tactics subscales: *harsh* tactics (8 items)—consisting of the aggregated power and

pressure subscales; and *soft/relational* tactics (18 items)—consisting of the aggregated persuasive, referent, charismatic, rational persuasion, inspirational appeals, and consultation subscales. The two composites were created by averaging across the relevant subscales, and the soft tactics and harsh tactics subscales yielded sufficient reliabilities of $\alpha = .84$ and $\alpha = .93$ respectively, which did not improve with deletion of any items in the eight subscales of interest. Thus these two overarching scales—soft tactics and harsh tactics—were utilized as dependent measures in the remaining analyses.

Dispositional perspective taking. Like previous studies, dispositional perspective taking was measured using the *perspective taking* subscale of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis 1980; 1983) (see Appendix B). Participants responded by indicating the extent to which a list of statements describes them on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all true of me” to 7 = “Very true of me”). Prior to creating the perspective taking composite, the seven subscale items were subjected to a factor analysis. Using maximum likelihood estimation, promax rotation, and an eigenvalue cutoff of one, the analysis indicated a two-factor solution (eigenvalues of 3.43 and 1.22, respectively). The factor matrix indicated that all items loaded onto one factor, with factor loadings above .40 and cross-loadings below .25, with the exception of the two reverse-scored items, which loaded onto a second factor (factor loadings above .40). The perspective taking subscale was computed by averaging across the seven relevant scale items. The perspective taking subscale yielded sufficient reliability, $\alpha = .82$, which did not improve substantially with deletion of any items. As in previous studies, the standard seven-item subscale will be used in subsequent analyses to be consistent with previous research employing the IRI scale (Davis 1980; 1983; Bernstein & Davis, 1982).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive statistics and correlations among primary study variables. Prior to the main analyses, correlations were used to explore associations between dispositional PT and the main dependent measures for power and influence tactics: soft tactics and harsh tactics subscales. Descriptive statistics and correlations among the primary study variables are presented in Table 4. As hypothesized for power use, dispositional PT was positively correlated with the soft power tactics subscale, $r = .34, p < .01$, but negatively correlated with the harsh power tactics subscale, $r = -.24, p = .02$, indicating that people higher on perspective taking were more likely to use soft tactics but less likely to use harsh tactics. The soft power and harsh power subscales were not significantly correlated, $r = .17, p > .10$.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Primary Study Variables (Power Use)

<i>Variable name</i>	M	SD	1	2
1) PT	4.13	1.05		
2) Soft power	3.60	.68	.34**	
3) Harsh power	2.36	.74	-.24*	-.17

Note. $N = 97$. * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Descriptive statistics and correlations among covariates and primary study variables. Correlations were also used to assess the relationships among dispositional PT, potential covariates of interest (gender, age, status level, education, and income), and the main dependent measures (soft and harsh power tactics). Demographic information regarding participants' current socioeconomic status (SES)—including educational background, income, and status level in their current job (i.e., whether they hold a current leader/manager position)—was considered as theoretically relevant to the study, as people's current position within social/structural hierarchies has the potential to influence their beliefs/attitudes about hierarchies and power dynamics and therefore the types of power tactics they utilize. Because the power tactics measures in the current study refer to social and organizational hierarchies and workplace relationships, it is important to control for the effect of SES and formal status level in the workplace when considering the effect of dispositional PT on power use.

Participant status level was positively correlated with dispositional PT, $r = .18, p = .07$, gender, $r = .27, p < .01$, and income, $r = .27, p < .01$, indicating that people higher in status were marginally more likely to score higher on perspective taking, more likely to be female, and more likely to have a higher income compared to those lower in status. Status level was not significantly correlated with the other covariates (age and education), or the main dependent variables (soft and harsh power tactics), $r's < .15, p's > .10$. Income was positively correlated with status level, $r = .27, p < .01$, education, $r = .25, p < .05$, and age, $r = .20, p < .05$, but was not significantly correlated with gender or the main dependent variables, $r's < .15, p's > .10$. Education was positively correlated with

income, $r = .25, p < .05$, but was not significantly correlated with the other covariates or the main dependent variables, $r's < .10, p's > .40$.

Gender was also considered as a relevant covariate. Gender was positively correlated with dispositional PT, $r = .32, p = .001$, and status level, $r = .27, p < .01$, indicating that females scored higher on dispositional perspective taking than males, and were more likely to currently hold a managerial/leadership position at work. Gender was also significantly associated with power use: gender was positively associated with soft power tactics, $r = .29, p = .01$, but negatively associated with harsh power tactics, $r = -.26, p < .05$, indicating that females were more likely to use soft power tactics, but less likely to use harsh power tactics than males. Gender was not significantly correlated with other covariates, $r < .15, p > .10$.

Age was also considered as a covariate, as age presumably relates to work experience and exposure to power dynamics in organizations. Age was negatively correlated with harsh power tactics, $r = -.27, p = .01$, indicating that older individuals were less likely to use harsh tactics. Age was positively correlated with income, $r = .20, p < .05$, but was not significantly correlated with soft power tactics or other covariates, $r's < .15, p's > .10$.

Given the theoretical relevance of these variables and the significant correlations among these variables, dispositional PT, and the main dependent measures, gender, age, education, status level, and income will be included as covariates in subsequent regression analyses.

Main Analyses

Power tactics: Soft subscale. I used linear regressions to explore relationships

between the predictor variables and soft power tactics, and participant gender, age, and status level were included as covariates. To examine the unique contributions of the main predictor variable (dispositional PT) and the covariates of interest, I regressed soft power tactics (combined power and influence scales) on dispositional PT, (dummy coded) gender, (dummy coded) status level, and age. Subsequent analyses will include other covariates of interest in the regression models—income and education. The current model resulted in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .17$, $F(4, 75) = 3.78$, $p < 0.01$. Consistent with earlier correlation analyses, the hypothesized effect of dispositional PT was significant, $\beta = 0.29$, $p = 0.02$, indicating that participants higher on perspective taking were more likely to use soft power tactics. Gender, age, and status level were not significant predictors of soft power use, β 's < 0.20 , p 's > 0.10 .

In supplementary analyses, I replaced the status level covariate with income, and income was not a significant predictor of soft power use, $\beta < 0.15$, $p > 0.20$. Including income in the model did not substantially alter the significance level of the other predictors. The results remained virtually unchanged, and predictors remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction. Additionally, I replaced the status level covariate with education, and education was not a significant predictor of soft power use, $\beta < 0.05$, $p > 0.80$. Including education in the model did not substantially alter the significance level of the other predictors. The results remained virtually unchanged, and predictors remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction. There were no other significant predictors of power use in these analyses.

Power tactics: Harsh subscale. Identical to the regression analysis for the soft power subscale, I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor

variables and the harsh power subscale. Participant gender, age, and status level were included as covariates. To examine the unique contributions of the main predictor variable (dispositional PT) and the covariates of interest, I regressed harsh power tactics (combined power and influence scales) on dispositional PT, (dummy coded) gender, (dummy coded) status level, and age. This model resulted in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .18$, $F(4, 79) = 4.23$, $p < 0.01$. Consistent with earlier correlation analyses, the hypothesized effect of dispositional PT was marginally significant when controlling for the current covariates, $\beta = -0.21$, $p = 0.059$, indicating that participants higher on dispositional perspective taking were marginally less likely to use harsh power tactics. However, this effect reaches significance when non-significant covariates are removed from the analysis, $\beta = -0.24$, $p = 0.02$. Gender and status level were marginally significant in the current model, $\beta = -0.20$, $p = 0.09$, and $\beta = 0.18$, $p = 0.09$ respectively, indicating that females were marginally less likely to use harsh power tactics than males, and participants higher in status were marginally more likely to use harsh power tactics. Additionally, age was a significant predictor of harsh power use, $\beta = -0.22$, $p < 0.05$, indicating that older individuals were less likely to use harsh power tactics.

In supplementary analyses, I replaced the status level covariate with income, and income was not a significant predictor of harsh power use, $\beta < 0.12$, $p > 0.25$. However, gender was no longer a marginally significant predictor when controlling for income, $\beta < 0.15$, $p > 0.20$. Including income in the model did not substantially alter the significance level of the other predictors. The results remained virtually unchanged, and predictors remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction, with the exception of the

gender effect. Additionally, I replaced the status level covariate with education, and education was not a significant predictor of harsh power use, $\beta = 0.01, p > 0.90$. Similar to the results for income, gender was no longer a marginally significant predictor when controlling for education, $\beta = 0.15, p > 0.15$. Including education in the model did not substantially alter the significance level of the other predictors. The results remained virtually unchanged, and predictors remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction, with the exception of the gender effect. There were no other significant predictors of power use in these analyses.

Discussion

The results provide support for Hypothesis 2, which proposed a positive association between dispositional perspective taking and power recognition for low and equal status, or non-high status (Hypothesis 2a), but no significant association between dispositional perspective taking and power recognition for high status (Hypothesis 2b). Consistent with the hypothesis, people higher on dispositional perspective taking were more likely to recognize the actions of low status and equal status individuals (e.g., subordinates and peers) as power, but dispositional perspective taking was not associated with recognizing the actions of high status individuals (e.g., supervisors) as power. These perspective taking effects held even when controlling for gender, age, and values including equality, universalism, and benevolence. The findings suggest that perspective taking may lead to more inclusive power recognition, such that people higher on dispositional perspective taking may have more complex definitions for social power that incorporate the actions of lower status individuals.

Although I did not hypothesize gender effects for power recognition, I found that

females were more likely to recognize the actions of low status individuals (e.g., subordinates) as forms of power. This is consistent with the previous study (Study 1), which found that females are also more likely to recognize multiple power tactics—both soft and harsh power tactics—as forms of power, suggesting that females may have a broader understanding of what the concept of social power entails. However, the effect of gender did not hold when controlling for age and equality values in this study.

The results also provide substantial support for Hypothesis 3, which proposed a positive association between dispositional perspective taking and soft power use (Hypothesis 3a), and a negative association between dispositional perspective taking and harsh power use (Hypothesis 3b). Consistent with the hypothesis, people higher on perspective taking were more likely to use soft power tactics that consider the needs and concerns of others, but less likely to use harsh, coercive power tactics. These results held for the student sample, and were also replicated with a working adult sample. Additionally, these perspective taking effects held even when controlling for the effects of gender, age, and values—including equality, universalism, and benevolence—for the student sample, suggesting there is a unique component to this process of inferring other’s psychological viewpoints above and beyond principles of kindness and social justice.

The perspective taking effects also held when controlling for gender, age, and socio-economic status demographics—including status level at work, education, and income—in the working adult sample (though the effect for harsh tactics was marginally significant when controlling for age). These findings suggest that perspective taking may lead to the use of more relational power tactics that de-emphasize power differentials by

establishing affiliation with others; conversely, perspective taking may minimize the use of harsh power tactics that serve to emphasize power differentials by employing coercion, threats and reprimands.

Although I did not hypothesize gender effects for power use, gender was positively associated with dispositional perspective taking and soft power tactics in both the student and working adult samples, indicating that females were higher on perspective taking than males and more likely to use soft power tactics than males. Gender was also negatively associated with harsh power tactics in the working adult sample, and was a marginally significant predictor of harsh tactics, indicating that females were less likely to use harsh power tactics than males. However, these gender effects on power use did not hold when controlling for age and values in the student sample (though the effect of gender on soft power tactics approached significance), and gender effects did not hold when controlling for income and education in the working adult sample.

While I also did not anticipate age effects, age was negatively associated with harsh power tactics in the working adult sample with a larger age range, suggesting that older adults are less likely to rely on coercive tactics when attempting to influence others. Age was not a significant predictor of power use in the student sample with a more limited age range. Furthermore, status level was a marginally significant predictor of harsh tactics in the working adult sample, indicating that participants higher in status were marginally more likely to use harsh power tactics. However, similar to the marginal gender effect, this status effect did not hold when controlling for income and education.

Similar to the previous chapter (Study 1), there are some noteworthy limitations of the current regression analyses. Because these linear regressions include the dependent variables of interest in separate models (e.g., harsh power tactics vs. soft power tactics), they suffer from specific shortcomings regarding correction for measurement error and formal tests of discrepancies between beta coefficients (Kline, 2011).

However, the current findings have important implications for power dynamics in personal and professional relationships. The extent to which people recognize the influence attempts of lower status individuals, and their propensity to incorporate soft, relational power tactics into their own influence attempts may correspond to a wider range of power tactics at their disposal, and therefore less reliance on harsh, coercive power tactics that neglect to consider the needs and feelings of others. People who are higher on dispositional perspective taking appear to use more soft power tactics and less harsh power tactics when exercising power, which may lead to more beneficial power relations in groups and organizations. Interestingly, given that participants higher in status were marginally more likely to use harsh power tactics, perspective taking may be especially important for mitigating the harsh power tendencies of high power people. The current findings provide evidence for a relationship between perspective taking and behavioral power tactics; however, the current study does not address verbal power tactics, or the communication tactics people utilize to influence others, and it does not fully address whether the effects of perspective taking differ by status level (i.e., high versus low power positions). To test these ideas more specifically, the next chapter (Study 3) will examine the effects of perspective taking and manipulated power on verbal power tactics, or the politeness strategies people use when communicating with others.

CHAPTER IV

The Interactive Effects of Dispositional Perspective Taking and Manipulated Power on Verbal Power Tactics

Chapter IV of my dissertation investigates the effects of dispositional perspective taking and power on verbal communication. While power use is defined as exercising control or influence, this influence is often enacted verbally as well as behaviorally. The previous chapter examined the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and specific behavioral power tactics, and the current study explores whether this relationship extends to verbal tactics. This study addresses verbal power tactics in response to a specific organizational scenario, or the way power is exercised by participants through words. The study manipulates power to explore the interactive effects of dispositional perspective taking and power on verbal tactics, specifically politeness strategies posited by politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The following hypotheses are examined:

H4: Dispositional perspective taking and manipulated power are significant predictors of verbal power tactics.

H4a: Power is negatively associated with polite verbal power tactics and positively associated with impolite verbal power tactics. Specifically, compared to people with low power, people with high power are less

likely to use polite verbal tactics and more likely to use impolite verbal tactics.

H4b: *Perspective taking is positively associated with polite verbal power tactics and negatively associated with impolite verbal power tactics. Specifically, people higher on perspective taking are more likely to use polite verbal tactics and less likely to use impolite verbal tactics.*

H4c: *There is an interaction between perspective taking and power on verbal power tactics; the relationship between perspective taking and politeness is stronger in the high power condition than in the low power condition.*

Pilot Study

Power Manipulation

Because I am developing a new power manipulation, a pilot study was conducted to examine whether people express the same affective response across the different power conditions. Given that power has been shown to affect emotional expression and frequency of speech (Hecht & LaFrance, 1998; Dovidio, et al., 1988), it is especially important to acknowledge mood and emotions when examining the relationship between perspective taking and verbal power tactics—open-ended verbal responses used as the primary outcome variable. Mood is of particular concern in the low power condition, as powerlessness is a negative state, and mood maintenance and status-restoration (i.e., attempts to correct a state of powerlessness by restoring status) may rival the hypothesis that perspective taking is associated with politeness of the verbal responses. Thus I

conducted a brief preliminary study to determine whether this particular power manipulation affects mood in addition to manipulating power. The sample for this study consisted of 96 working adults recruited via a professional survey company, Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) (63 males, 31 females, 2 unidentified). MTurk was used to recruit working adults, distribute the survey, and pay participants for their participation. In the current pilot study, 100 participants were recruited, and participants were paid \$0.25 to complete a 10-minute survey. Participants received payment of \$0.25 in the form of Amazon vouchers for their participation.

Participants were randomly assigned to the high power condition, the equal power condition, or the low power condition in the context of a business vignette intended to prime a specific power mindset—perceived high/equal/low power relative to the target in the scenario (the same power manipulation and vignette as the current study) (see Appendices F-H for the power manipulation). Following the power manipulation and vignette, participants completed the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Lee, & Tellegen, 1988). The purpose of the PANAS measure is to determine the extent to which positive and negative affect are associated with the three power conditions and to address the potential confound that the power manipulation is manipulating mood rather than (or in addition to) power.

One-way ANOVAs were used to test the effect of power condition on the PANAS measure—positive and negative affect. Results showed there were no main effects of power condition on affect, F 's < 1.00, *ns*. In other words, there were no significant differences among the three power conditions with respect to positive affect or negative affect. Additionally, mixed model repeated measures ANOVAs were used to assess

differences between positive and negative affect scores across power conditions.

Independent variables were relative power (high, equal, or low) (between subjects) and affect type (positive, negative) (within subjects). There was only a main effect of affect type, $F(1, 93) = 59.97, p < .001$, such that participants were more likely to report positive affect (Mean = 2.59, SE = .11) than negative affect (Mean = 1.53, SE = .09) across all three power conditions. There was no main effect of power condition, and no affect type by power condition interaction, $F's < 1.00, ns$. These findings address the concerns regarding mood to the extent that the trends for positive and negative affect did not significantly differ across power conditions.

Manipulation Check

The above pilot study was also used to examine whether the power manipulation was effective. Participants were randomly assigned to the high power condition, the equal power condition, or the low power condition in the context of a business vignette (the same power manipulation and vignette as the current study) (see Appendices F-H for the power manipulation). Following the power manipulation and vignette, participants completed one follow-up question designed to assess relative power in the situation, or the degree to which they perceived themselves to be in a higher, equal, or lower power position relative to the other character in the business scenario. Participants were asked “relative to the other character, what position are you in?” and participants indicated their level of relative power (a position of higher power, equal power, or lower power). The purpose of this manipulation check was to ensure that participants’ perceived power position was consistent with the power manipulation they received.

A Chi-square (cross-tabs) analysis was used to test the effect of power condition on perceived relative power. The results of the Pearson chi-square test showed that perceived power (lower, equal, or higher power) differed by power condition, as expected, $\chi^2(4, N = 96) = 163.74, p < .001$. Of the 31 participants in the low power condition, 30 (97%) indicated that they were in a position of lower power relative to the other character in the business scenario; of the 33 participants in the equal power condition, 32 (97%) indicated that they were in a position of equal power relative to the other character; and of the 32 participants in the high power condition, 29 (91%) indicated that they were in a position of higher power relative to the other character. These findings suggest that the manipulation had the intended effect on participants' perceived power in the scenario; participants in the high power condition were more likely to indicate a position of higher relative power, while participants in the low power condition were more likely to indicate a position of lower relative power.

Study 3

Method

Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 89 working adults recruited via a professional survey company, Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) (43 males, 45 females, 1 unidentified). MTurk was used to recruit working adults, distribute the survey, and pay participants. In the current study, 100 participants were recruited, and participants were paid \$0.50 to complete a 15-minute survey. Participants received payment of \$0.50 in the form of Amazon vouchers for their participation.

The sample ranged in age from 18-67 (M age = 32.63, SD = 11.10). 69 participants self-identified as White, 8 as Asian American, 3 as African American, 6 as Hispanic/Latino, 1 as Mixed Race, and 2 participants did not identify a specific race/ethnicity. Additionally, the sample provided demographic information regarding their education, and their income and status in their current job. All participants indicated that they were employed and indeed working, with the exception of two participants who identified as students⁷. Regarding educational background, 10 participants indicated a high school education, 37 participants indicated some college education, 31 participants indicated a bachelor's degree, 10 participants indicated a master's degree, and 1 participant indicated a doctoral degree. Regarding current income, 18 participants indicated an income below \$10k, 24 indicated the \$10-30k range, 16 indicated the \$30-50k range, 17 indicated the \$50-70k range; 9 indicated the \$70-100k range; 2 indicated the \$100-200k range, 1 indicated the above \$200k range, and 2 participants did not indicate their income. Regarding current status level (i.e., whether they hold a leader/manager role), 33 participants self-identified as occupying a low status position at work, 44 as occupying a moderate status position, and 12 as occupying a high status position. Participants came from a diverse range of industries (e.g., education, sales/retail, engineering, software, farming and food service); thus the sample consisted of people from various social and occupational classes.

Overview

The study used a three-cell, between-subjects design, in which participants were randomly assigned into one of three power conditions (high power; low power; equal

⁷ All analyses were run both with and without these two students, and results were unchanged. Excluding these two participants did not substantially alter the significance level of the predictors, and predictors remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction.

power). Participants were directed to complete the online survey via Qualtrics survey software. They were informed that the study would address “perceptions of social experiences”. The study consisted of a dispositional perspective taking measure and a power manipulation where participants took the role of a supervisor, a subordinate, or a peer relative to a colleague (in a business setting). Then, participants read a hypothetical scenario in which the colleague makes a mistake. Participants were then asked to provide verbal responses to the colleague. Last, participants completed demographic items. The survey took approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Procedures and Measures

Dispositional perspective taking. Like previous studies, dispositional perspective taking was measured using the *perspective taking* subscale of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis 1980; 1983) (see Appendix B). Prior to creating the perspective taking composite, the seven subscale items were subjected to a factor analysis. Using maximum likelihood estimation, promax rotation, and an eigenvalue cutoff of one, the analysis indicated a satisfactory one-factor solution (eigenvalue of 3.65). The factor matrix indicated that all items loaded onto one factor, with all factor loadings above or around .40. The perspective taking subscale was computed by averaging across the seven relevant scale items. The perspective taking subscale yielded sufficient reliability, $\alpha = .84$, which did not improve substantially with deletion of any items. I therefore used the full seven-item subscale, consistent with previous research employing the IRI scale (Davis 1980; 1983; Bernstein & Davis, 1982).

Organizational vignettes. Participants were asked to read a hypothetical scenario about a consulting firm. The scenario described a situation in which two characters are

working on a joint project together, and one of the characters does not fulfill his/her responsibilities for the project (see Appendix F). Prior to reading the vignette, participants were instructed to take the role of the character that did *not* commit the offense and therefore had to complete the presentation alone and decide how to respond to this offense.

Power manipulation. The two characters in the organizational vignette varied with respect to relative power—the participant had higher/equal/lower power compared to the hypothetical colleague who committed the offense. After reading the vignette, participants indicated their power relative to the colleague as a manipulation check (see Appendices F-H for the three vignettes in their entirety).

Affect. Immediately following the vignette and power manipulation, participants completed the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Lee, & Tellegen, 1988). This 20-item scale consists of adjectives that describe different feelings and emotions associated with positive and negative affect. The items are intended to assess current affective state, or how participants feel in the moment. Participants responded to each item by indicating the extent to which they agree or disagree with it as it reflects their current feelings using a 5-point scale (1= “Very slightly” to 5= “Extremely”). The order in which the items were presented was randomized. Appendix T includes the specific instructions and the PANAS measure in its entirety.

Verbal power tactics: Open-ended responses to the vignette. After the vignette, participants were asked to respond to the open-ended question: “How would you address the problem, and what would you say to the character? *Please describe exactly what you would say in dealing with the situation.*” Verbal tactics were measured

using these open-ended responses, which were coded for the presence of politeness strategies intended to comprise harsh versus soft verbal tactics. Responses were coded for politeness using a socio-linguistic coding scheme developed by Brown and Levinson (1987).

Two undergraduate research assistants who were blind to experimental condition coded the open-ended responses for the presence of the four politeness strategies, in ascending order of politeness, or softness: (a) *on-record* strategy addresses the issue directly and places the blame on the other person (e.g., “I would confront [him] on the spot and express my extreme disappointment. You failed to show up and this behavior is unacceptable. You’ve let the company down”); (b) *positive politeness* strategy approaches the issue by placing the blame on external causes or mitigating factors rather than directly blaming the other person (i.e., “Are you ok, is something wrong? Maybe something happened that prevented you from attending the presentation”); (c) *negative politeness* strategy tempers the criticism by minimizing the threat or placing some of the blame on oneself (e.g., “Did I do something? Or maybe I indicated the wrong time for the presentation. We can get past this, but I cannot do this project alone”); and (d) *off-record* strategy does not communicate any criticism directly or blame the other person (e.g., “I really need your help. How can we move forward so we are both contributing to this project?”).

The on-record strategy was considered to be a harsh verbal tactic, as this is an impolite strategy that does not allow the recipient of the information to “save face”; therefore, perspective taking was expected to be negatively associated with this particular strategy, while power was expected to be positively associated with this strategy. By

comparison, the remaining strategies (positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record) were considered to be soft verbal tactics, as these are polite strategies that utilize various techniques to soften the blow of negative information, or allow the recipient to “save face” to some extent (Brown & Levinson, 1987); therefore, perspective taking was expected to be positively associated with these strategies, while power was expected to be negatively associated with these strategies.

The two coders independently coded each participant’s response. As a global measure of politeness, the coders rated the overall politeness of the response by assigning a specific politeness strategy that best fits the response in its entirety—a code from 1 to 4, ranging in ascending order of politeness (from on-record to off-record). The Spearman-Brown estimated inter-rater reliability for the global politeness rating was excellent at .84. After the coders completed the independent coding of the responses, they met to resolve any inconsistencies in the coding, and the final agreed-upon codes were used in the analysis. The global politeness rating was used as the main dependent variable in subsequent regression analyses.

Verbal power tactics: Closed-ended responses to the vignette. Following the open-ended question, participants rated four responses to the organizational scenario. Participants were asked to take the point of view consistent with the power manipulation (higher/equal/lower power compared to the hypothetical colleague who committed the offense) and respond to the following question: “Reflecting on everything you’ve read about this situation, please rate each of the following options. The options refer to potential responses to this situation. What would you do?” Participants rated their

agreement with the items using a 5-point scale (1 = "Disagree strongly" to 5 = "Agree strongly").

These four items were designed to assess the extent to which participants advocated the four main politeness strategies corresponding to politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Open-ended responses generated in the pilot study were used to reflect standard examples of the four politeness strategies. The four options ranged in ascending order of politeness: (a) *on-record* strategy which addresses the issue directly and places the blame on the other person ("You missing the presentation caused a problem..."); (b) *positive politeness* strategy approaches the issue by acknowledging the role of external causes or mitigating factors rather than directly blaming the other person ("Maybe something happened that caused you to miss the presentation..."); (c) the *negative politeness* strategy tempers the criticism by minimizing the threat or placing some of the blame on oneself ("It wasn't that big of a deal that you missed the presentation, but next time..."); and (d) the *off-record* strategy does not communicate any criticism directly or blame the other person, but indirectly implies the other person's role in the problem ("The presentation would have gone better if I would have had help with..."). In addition to the (coded) global politeness rating, these four politeness strategies were used as dependent variables in subsequent regression analyses.

Like the global politeness rating for the open-ended responses, the on-record strategy was considered to be a harsh verbal tactic, as this is an impolite strategy that does not allow the recipient of the information to "save face"; therefore, perspective taking was expected to be negatively associated with this particular strategy, while power was expected to be positively associated with this strategy. By comparison, the remaining

strategies (positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record) were considered to be soft verbal tactics, as these are polite strategies that utilize various techniques to soften the blow of negative information, or allow the recipient to “save face” to some extent (Brown & Levinson, 1987); therefore, perspective taking was expected to be positively associated with these strategies, while power was expected to be negatively associated with these strategies.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive statistics and correlations among primary study variables. Prior to the main analyses, correlations were used to explore associations among dispositional PT, power condition, and the main dependent measures for verbal power tactics: the global politeness rating and the four politeness strategies. Descriptive statistics and correlations for the primary study variables are presented in Table 5. As hypothesized, dispositional PT was positively correlated with positive politeness (a polite verbal tactic), $r = .23, p < .05$, indicating that people higher on perspective taking were more likely to advocate this particular politeness strategy. However, contrary to hypotheses, dispositional PT was not significantly correlated with the negative politeness strategy (a polite verbal tactic), and dispositional PT was not significantly associated with the on-record politeness strategy (an impolite verbal tactic), $r's < .15, p's > .10$. Interestingly, and inconsistent with hypotheses, dispositional PT was negatively correlated with the off-record politeness strategy, $r = -.23, p < .05$, indicating that people higher on perspective taking were less likely to advocate this politeness strategy that does not directly mention the issue at hand, a point I address in the discussion. There was no significant correlation

between dispositional PT and the global politeness rating, $r = .05, p > .10$.

Consistent with hypotheses, power was positively correlated with the on-record politeness strategy, $r = .37, p < .001$, indicating that participants in the high power condition were more likely to advocate this impolite verbal tactic; power was negatively correlated with the negative politeness strategy, $r = -.29, p < .01$, indicating that participants in the high power condition were less likely to advocate this particular polite verbal tactic. However, contrary to hypotheses, power was not significantly correlated with the positive politeness strategy or the off-record politeness strategy (both polite verbal tactics), r 's $< .15, p$'s $> .10$. Additionally, and consistent with hypotheses, power was negatively correlated with the global politeness rating, $r = -.26, p < .05$, indicating that participants in the high power condition were less likely to use polite verbal tactics than participants in the low power condition.

There were also significant correlations among the dependent measures. The global politeness rating was positively correlated with negative politeness, $r = .25, p < .05$, and off-record politeness, $r = .36, p < .001$, indicating that people who scored higher on the global politeness rating were more likely to advocate these polite verbal tactics; the global politeness rating was negatively correlated with on-record politeness, $r = -.34, p < .01$, indicating that people who scored higher on the global politeness rating were less likely to advocate this impolite verbal power tactic. The on-record politeness strategy was negatively correlated with both positive politeness, $r = -.30, p < .01$, and negative politeness strategies, $r = -.26, p < .05$, indicating that people who advocated this impolite verbal tactic were less likely to advocate polite verbal tactics. Positive politeness and off-record politeness were negatively correlated, $r = -.22, p < .05$, indicating that people who

advocate the positive politeness strategy are less likely to advocate the indirect verbal tactic that does not explicitly address the issue.

Descriptive statistics and correlations among covariates and primary study variables. Correlations were also used to assess the relationships among dispositional PT, power condition, the main covariates of interest (affect and gender), and the main dependent measures for verbal power tactics: the global politeness rating and the four politeness strategies. Descriptive statistics and correlations for the primary study variables are presented in Table 5. Gender was included as a covariate based on its association with power recognition and power tactics in previous studies (Study 1 and Study 2). Affect was considered as a covariate given its potential relevance to the power manipulation (i.e., a state of higher vs. lower relative power could yield differences in mood).

Dispositional PT was positively associated with positive affect, $r = .23, p < .05$, but marginally negatively associated with negative affect, $r = -.20, p < .10$, indicating that people higher on perspective taking were more likely to exhibit positive affect, but less likely to exhibit negative affect following the business scenario. Dispositional PT was not significantly correlated with gender, $r = .14, p > .10$. Power condition was not significantly correlated with affect or gender, r 's $< .20, p$'s $> .10$. Negative affect was positively correlated with off-record politeness, r 's $< .26, p$'s $< .05$, indicating that people higher on negative affect following the scenario were more likely to advocate the indirect verbal tactic that avoids addressing the issue. Gender was positively associated with positive politeness, $r = .23, p < .05$, indicating that females were more likely to advocate this polite verbal tactic, but gender was negatively associated with off-record politeness, r

= $-.23, p < .05$, indicating that females were less likely to advocate the indirect verbal tactic that does not address the issue. There was also a significant negative correlation between gender and positive affect, $r = -.24, p < .05$, indicating that females were less likely than males to exhibit positive affect following the business scenario. There were no other significant correlations among dispositional PT, power, the main covariates, and the politeness measures.

Age was also considered as a covariate, as age presumably relates to work experience and exposure to power dynamics in organizations. Furthermore, age was associated with the use of harsh power tactics in the previous study (Study 2). Similar to Study 2, demographic information regarding participants' current socioeconomic status (SES)—including educational background and status level in their current job (i.e., whether they hold a high, medium, or low power position)—was also considered as theoretically relevant to the study, as people's current position within social/structural hierarchies has the potential to influence their beliefs/attitudes about hierarchies and power dynamics and therefore the types of verbal power tactics they utilize. Additionally, because the business scenario in the current study alludes to social and organizational hierarchies and workplace relationships, it is important to control for the effect of SES and formal status level in the workplace when considering the effects of dispositional PT and power on verbal power tactics.

Age was positively correlated with positive affect, $r = .23, p < .05$, and negatively correlated with negative affect, $r = -.29, p < .01$, indicating that older adults in this sample were more likely to exhibit positive affect and less likely to exhibit negative affect following the scenario. Age was also negatively correlated with negative

politeness, $r = -.23$, $p = .03$, indicating that older adults were less likely to advocate this polite verbal tactic. There was a marginally significant correlation between education and status level, $r = .20$, $p = .06$, indicating that people with more education were marginally more likely to have high status in their current job. There were no other significant correlations between these potential covariates and the main dependent measures, and no significant correlations among dispositional PT, power, and these covariates. Given the theoretical relevance of these variables and the significant correlations among them, dispositional PT, and the main dependent measures, these additional variables (gender, affect, age, education, and status level) will be considered as covariates in subsequent regression analyses.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Primary Study Variables

<i>Variable name</i>	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1) PT	4.35	.93									
2) Power	2.01	.80	.14								
3) Sex	1.51	.50	.14	.06							
4) PANAS Pos	3.05	.89	.23*	-.16	-.24*						
5) PANAS Neg	1.65	.84	-.20 ⁺	-.09	-.13	.05					
6) Global Pol	2.08	1.12	-.05	-.26*	-.06	.16	.18				
7) On-record Pol	2.46	.93	-.12	.37***	-.07	-.07	.11	-.34**			
8) Positive Pol	3.74	1.02	.23*	-.15	.23*	.04	-.09	.14	-.30**		
9) Negative Pol	2.76	1.17	.02	-.29**	.03	.14	-.05	.25*	-.26*	.16	
10) Off-record Pol	1.65	.90	-.23*	-.13	-.23*	.13	.26*	.36***	.08	-.22*	.11

Note. Sex was coded such that 1 = Male, 2 = Female. Power was coded such that 1 = Low Power, 2 = Equal Power, 3 = High Power. $N=89$. + $p \leq 0.10$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Main Analyses

Global politeness rating. I used multiple linear regression to explore relationships between the predictor variables (dispositional PT and power condition) and the global politeness rating. The continuous predictor variable (dispositional PT) was centered prior to analysis, and participant gender was included as a covariate. Subsequent analyses will include other covariates of interest in the regression models—*affect*, *age*, *education*, and (dummy-coded) *status level*. To examine the unique contributions of and interactions among the main predictor variables, I regressed the global politeness rating on dispositional PT, (dummy-coded) power condition, and (dummy-coded) gender. All main effects were included in model one, and the dispositional PT by power condition interaction was included in model two. Model one did not result in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .07$, $F(3, 75) = 1.77$, $p = 0.16$. However, model two including the interaction term resulted in a significant increase in the amount of variance explained, $R^2 \text{ change} = .05$, $F(1, 74) = 4.09$, $p < 0.05$.

Consistent with hypothesis 4a, power was a significant predictor of politeness, $\beta = -0.24$, $p < .05$, indicating that participants in the high power condition were less likely to use polite verbal tactics. Consistent with hypothesis 4b, perspective taking was a marginally significant predictor of politeness, $\beta = 0.58$, $p = 0.059$, indicating that participants higher on perspective taking were marginally more likely to use polite verbal tactics. Additionally, there was a significant perspective taking by power interaction, as expected (Hypothesis 4c), $\beta = 0.61$, $p < .05$, such that the effect of perspective taking on politeness differed across the power conditions. Gender was not a significant predictor of politeness, $\beta = 0.06$, $p = .58$. There were no other significant predictors of politeness in

this analysis. The two-way interaction between perspective taking and power condition on politeness is depicted in Figure 1.

I used simple slopes analysis as a post-hoc analysis to further probe the nature of the significant two-way interaction between perspective taking and power (Aiken & West, 1991; Gelman & Hill, 2007; Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008). In order to interpret the extent to which the effect of perspective taking on politeness varies as a function of power, I estimated the simple slopes of perspective taking under various conditions of power (high, equal, and low relative power) (see Figure 1). The interaction plot (produced by STATA statistical software) shows the effect of perspective taking on politeness for the three power conditions (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008, pp. 26-36). Perspective taking was a significant predictor of politeness under conditions of high power, $\beta = 0.49, p < 0.05$, indicating that higher perspective taking was associated with greater politeness in the high power condition, as expected. However, perspective taking was not a significant predictor of politeness under conditions of equal power, $\beta = -0.23, p = 0.36$, or low power, $\beta = -0.19, p = 0.39$; the effect of perspective taking on politeness was not significantly different from zero in the equal power or low power conditions.

When comparing the slopes associated with the three power conditions to determine whether they significantly differed from one another, the change in the effect of perspective taking on politeness for the high power condition compared to the equal power condition was significant, $\beta_{high-equal} = -0.72, p < 0.05$, as was the change in the effect of perspective taking on politeness for the high power condition compared to the low power condition, $\beta_{high-low} = -0.68, p < 0.05$. However, the change in the effect of perspective taking on politeness for the low power condition compared to the equal

power condition was not significant, $\beta_{equal-low} = 0.04$, $p = 0.90$. In other words, the slope for the high power condition (i.e., the effect of perspective taking on politeness in the high power condition) significantly differed from the slope for the equal power condition (i.e., the effect of perspective taking on politeness in the equal power condition), and the slope for the low power condition (i.e., the effect of perspective taking on politeness in the low power condition), while the slopes for the equal power and low power conditions did not significantly differ from one another.

The perspective taking by power condition interaction indicates that the effect of perspective taking differed based on group membership. As depicted in Figure 1, perspective taking was positively associated with politeness in the high power condition, providing support for hypothesis 4c. Inconsistent with hypotheses, perspective taking was not significantly associated with politeness in the equal power and low power conditions (I return to this point in the discussion section). However, politeness was highest among participants with high perspective taking scores in the high power condition; thus the relationship between perspective taking and politeness was stronger in the high power condition than in the low and equal power conditions, as hypothesized (Hypothesis 4c).

In supplementary analyses regarding the global politeness rating, I replaced the gender covariate with other covariates of interest in the regression models—affect, age, education, and (dummy-coded) status level. Affect, age, education, and status level were not significant predictors of politeness, and including them in the models did not substantially alter the significance level of the other predictors. The results remained virtually unchanged, and predictors remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction.

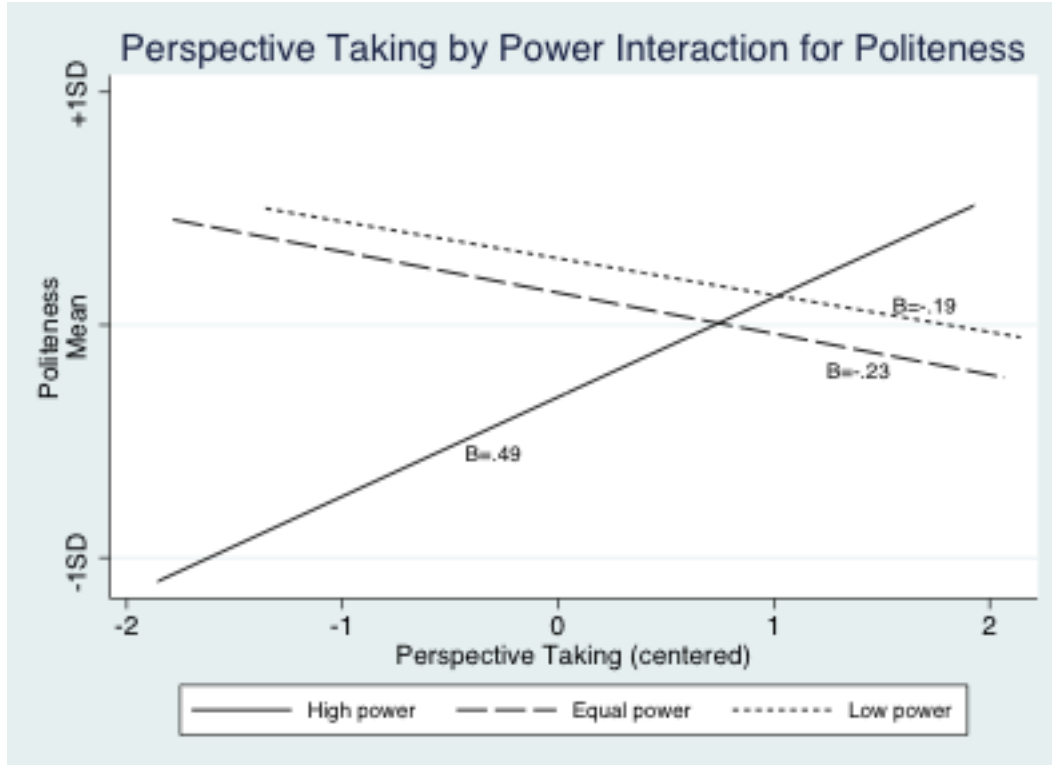


Figure 1. Two-way interaction between perspective taking and power predicting politeness. Politeness was coded such that higher scores indicate greater politeness (1 = least impolite, to 4 = most polite); Mean = 2.08, SD = 1.12.

Politeness strategies: On-record politeness. In addition to the global politeness rating, I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor variables (dispositional PT and power condition) and the four main politeness strategies. The continuous predictor variable (dispositional PT) was centered prior to analysis, and participant gender was included as a covariate in all analyses. To examine the unique contributions of and interactions among the main predictor variables, I regressed on-record politeness on dispositional PT, (dummy-coded) power condition, and (dummy-coded) gender. All main effects were included in model one, and the dispositional PT by power condition interaction was included in model two. Model one resulted in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .17$, $F(3, 84) = 5.84$, $p = 0.001$. However, model two including the interaction term did not result in a significant increase in the amount of variance explained, $R^2 \text{ change} = .02$, $F(1, 83) = 1.58$, $p = 0.21$.

Consistent with hypothesis 4a, power was a significant predictor of politeness, $\beta = 0.40$, $p < .001$, indicating that participants in the high power condition were more likely to advocate the on-record strategy. Consistent with hypothesis 4b, perspective taking was a marginally significant predictor of politeness, $\beta = -0.17$, $p < 0.10$, indicating that participants higher on perspective taking were marginally less likely to advocate the on-record politeness strategy. The perspective taking by power interaction was not significant, $\beta = -0.35$, $p = .21$, and gender was not a significant predictor of politeness, $\beta = -0.07$, $p = .48$. Thus there were no post-hoc tests needed to further probe the interaction effect.

Politeness strategies: Positive politeness. I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor variables (dispositional PT and power condition) and

the positive politeness strategy. The continuous predictor variable (dispositional PT) was centered prior to analysis, and participant gender was included as a covariate. To examine the unique contributions of and interactions among the main predictor variables, I regressed positive politeness on dispositional PT, (dummy-coded) power condition, and (dummy-coded) gender. All main effects were included in model one, and the dispositional PT by power condition interaction was included in model two. Model one resulted in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .13$, $F(3, 81) = 4.13$, $p < 0.01$. However, model two including the interaction term did not result in a significant increase in the amount of variance explained, $R^2 \text{ change} < .001$, $F(1, 80) = 0.01$, $p = 0.93$.

Consistent with hypothesis 4a, power was a marginally significant predictor of politeness, $\beta = -0.20$, $p = .059$, indicating that participants in the high power condition were marginally less likely to advocate the positive politeness strategy. Consistent with hypothesis 4b, perspective taking was a significant predictor of positive politeness, $\beta = 0.24$, $p = 0.03$, indicating that participants higher on perspective taking were more likely to advocate this particular politeness strategy. Gender was also a significant predictor of politeness, $\beta = 0.21$, $p = .05$, indicating that females were more likely to advocate the positive politeness strategy than males. The perspective taking by power interaction was not significant, $\beta = -0.03$, $p = .93$. Thus there were no post-hoc tests needed to further probe the interaction effect.

Politeness strategies: Negative politeness. I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor variables (dispositional PT and power condition) and the negative politeness strategy. The continuous predictor variable (dispositional PT) was

centered prior to analysis, and participant gender was included as a covariate. To examine the unique contributions of and interactions among the main predictor variables, I regressed negative politeness on dispositional PT, (dummy-coded) power condition, and (dummy-coded) gender. All main effects were included in model one, and the dispositional PT by power condition interaction was included in model two. Model one resulted in a marginally significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .08$, $F(3, 83) = 2.55$, $p = 0.06$. However, model two including the interaction term did not result in a significant increase in the amount of variance explained, $R^2 \text{ change} = .02$, $F(1, 82) = 1.34$, $p = 0.25$.

Consistent with hypothesis 4a, power was a significant predictor of politeness, $\beta = -0.29$, $p < .01$, indicating that participants in the high power condition were less likely to advocate the negative politeness strategy. Contrary to hypothesis 4b, perspective taking was not a significant predictor of this particular politeness strategy, $\beta = 0.05$, $p = .62$. Additionally, the perspective taking by power interaction was not significant, $\beta = -0.34$, $p = .25$, and gender was not a significant predictor of negative politeness, $\beta = 0.04$, $p = .70$. Thus there were no post-hoc tests needed to further probe the interaction effect.

Politeness strategies: Off-record politeness. I used linear regressions to explore relationships between the predictor variables (dispositional PT and power condition) and the off-record politeness strategy. The continuous predictor variable (dispositional PT) was centered prior to analysis, and participant gender was included as a covariate. To examine the unique contributions of and interactions among the main predictor variables, I regressed off-record politeness on dispositional PT, (dummy-coded) power condition, and (dummy-coded) gender. All main effects were included in model one, and the

dispositional PT by power condition interaction was included in model two. Model one resulted in a significant amount of variance explained, $R^2 = .10$, $F(3, 83) = 3.13$, $p = 0.03$. However, model two including the interaction term did not result in a significant increase in the amount of variance explained, $R^2 \text{ change} = .01$, $F(1, 82) = 1.18$, $p = 0.28$.

Inconsistent with hypotheses, power was not a significant predictor of off-record politeness (Hypothesis 4a), $\beta = -0.11$, $p = .32$, and perspective taking was a marginally significant predictor of off-record politeness in the opposite direction (Hypothesis 4b), $\beta = -0.19$, $p < 0.08$, indicating that participants higher on perspective taking were marginally less likely to advocate this politeness strategy that does not explicitly address the issue. I return to this point in the discussion section. The perspective taking by power interaction was not significant, $\beta = 0.32$, $p = .28$. Thus there were no post-hoc tests needed to further probe the interaction effect. Gender was a marginally significant predictor of off-record politeness, $\beta = -0.20$, $p = .06$, indicating that females were less likely to advocate the off-record strategy than males.

In supplementary analyses regarding the four politeness strategies, I replaced the gender covariate with other covariates of interest in the regression models—*affect*, *age*, *education*, and (dummy-coded) *status level*. *Affect*, *age*, *education*, and *status level* were not significant predictors of the four politeness strategies, with the exception that *age* was a significant predictor of negative politeness, $\beta = -.27$, $p = .01$. Including these additional covariates in the models did not substantially alter the significance level of the other predictors. The results remained virtually unchanged, and predictors remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction, with the exception that controlling for positive

affect, age, education, or status level, the effect of dispositional PT on off-record politeness reaches significance, $\beta = -.23, p < .05$.

Discussion

The results provide support for the overarching Hypothesis 4, which proposed that dispositional perspective taking and power are significant predictors of verbal power tactics. Consistent with hypothesis 4a, power was negatively associated with the global politeness rating (Hypothesis 4a), indicating that people in the high power condition were rated as less polite in their open-ended verbal tactics compared to low power people. Additionally, power was positively associated with the impolite verbal tactic (on-record) that addresses the problem directly and places blame on others, but negatively associated with polite verbal tactics (positive politeness and negative politeness) that incorporate face-saving strategies to avoid placing blame on others.

Compared to people in the low power condition, people in the high power condition were more likely to advocate the on-record strategy that uses a direct, unforgiving tone and does not employ any face-saving techniques. Conversely, people in the high power condition were less likely to advocate the politeness strategy that employs a positive, friendly tone and acknowledges the role of external factors to allow others to save some face. People in the high power condition were also less likely to advocate the negative politeness strategy that employs softening techniques to minimize the threat of the situation. However, contrary to hypotheses, power was not associated with the off-record politeness strategy that addresses the situation indirectly without placing blame. These power manipulation effects held even when controlling for affect, gender, age, and socio-economic status demographics—including education and status level at work.

Consistent with hypothesis 4b, dispositional perspective taking was positively associated with polite verbal tactics (positive politeness and negative politeness) that incorporate polite, face-saving strategies to avoid placing blame on others, but negatively associated with the impolite verbal tactic (on record) that addresses the problem directly and places blame on others. People higher on perspective taking were more likely to advocate the positive politeness strategy that employs a positive, friendly tone and allows others to save some face. Conversely, people higher on perspective taking were less likely to advocate the on-record strategy that uses a direct, unforgiving tone and does not employ any face-saving techniques. Contrary to hypotheses, dispositional perspective taking was not associated with the negative politeness strategy that tempers the threat of the situation.

Similar to the findings for power, these perspective taking effects held even when controlling for affect, gender, age, and socio-economic status demographics—including education and status level at work. Interestingly, and inconsistent with hypotheses, people higher on perspective taking were less likely to advocate the off-record politeness strategy that indirectly addresses the issue and avoids explicitly placing any blame. This strategy is considered to be the most polite verbal strategy according to politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987), as it allows the target of the message to completely save face and only implicitly addresses the issue at hand. This particular finding suggests that perspective taking is associated with specific politeness strategies that allow others to save face, while still addressing the situation. In other words, high perspective takers were not avoiding the issue entirely; they were instead addressing others in a way that

acknowledges a problem (and considers factors that may have contributed to a problem) without directly placing blame on others.

In addition to dispositional perspective taking effects on politeness, interactive effects of perspective taking and power also provide support for hypothesis 4c, as the effects of perspective taking on verbal power tactics differed across power conditions. There was a significant perspective taking by power interaction for the global politeness rating, indicating that perspective taking was associated with greater politeness in the high power condition compared to the low power condition, as expected. In the high power condition, people higher on perspective taking were rated as more polite in their open-ended verbal tactics. However, inconsistent with hypotheses, perspective taking was not significantly associated with politeness in the low power and equal power conditions. In other words, perspective taking influences verbal power tactics (increasing politeness), but only under conditions of high power. This interaction effect on the global politeness rating was replicated with a student sample consisting of 171 participants (70% female; 66% White; Mean age = 19.92, SD = 1.72).

The lack of perspective taking effects in the low and equal power conditions could be due to the baseline tendency for people in the low power and equal power conditions to use more polite verbal tactics than those in the high power condition, as observed in the main effect of power on politeness described above. Because low power people are more polite than high power people overall, perspective taking may not influence their politeness above and beyond the effects of power. However, this is just one possible interpretation for these non-significant findings. Overall, politeness was highest among participants with high perspective taking scores in the high power

condition, further suggesting that perspective taking may be especially influential in a high power context. This interaction effect was observed for the global politeness rating of participants' open-ended responses, but not for the four separate politeness strategies.

Although I did not hypothesize gender effects for verbal power tactics, I found that females were more likely than males to advocate the positive politeness strategy. This finding is consistent with the results of the previous study (Study 2), which found that females were more likely than males to use soft power tactics. The current study also found that females were less likely than males to advocate the indirect, off-record politeness strategy that avoids explicitly raising the issue. Similar to the results for perspective taking, this finding suggests that females were more likely than males to employ specific politeness strategies that allow others to save face, while still addressing the situation at hand. While I also did not anticipate age effects, age was a significant predictor of negative politeness, indicating that older adults were less likely to use this particular strategy that serves to minimize the threat of a negative message.

These findings for perspective taking are consistent with my previous studies showing that people higher on perspective taking were more likely to use soft power tactics that consider the needs and concerns of others, but less likely to use harsh, coercive power tactics. The findings suggest that perspective taking may lead to the use of more relational verbal power tactics in addition to more relational behavioral power tactics. People higher on perspective taking may be more likely to de-emphasize power differentials by establishing affiliation with others when attempting to influence them through specific behavioral and verbal tactics. Conversely, perspective taking may minimize the use of harsh tactics that serve to emphasize power differentials by

employing direct demands, blame, and reprimands. These findings have important implications for power dynamics and communication in relationships. People who are higher in perspective taking appear to use more politeness strategies when communicating negative information to others, which may lead to more beneficial relations that allow others to save face, while addressing problematic situations in a more personable manner. Furthermore, given that perspective taking was associated with greater politeness in the high power condition, perspective taking may be especially important for mitigating the harsh communication tendencies of high power people.

The findings from Studies 2 and 3 provide evidence for a relationship between perspective taking and both behavioral and verbal power tactics. However, these studies have important limitations regarding causation, as they do not address the direction of causality. While these findings establish a relationship between dispositional perspective taking and power tendencies, I cannot infer whether perspective taking causes specific power tactics, or whether the use of specific power tactics causes specific perspective taking tendencies. Specifically, the studies do not examine whether perspective taking directly affects behavioral and verbal power tactics when attempting to influence others. To test these ideas, the next two chapters (Study 4 and Study 5) will manipulate perspective taking to examine the effects of perspective taking on specific behavioral power tactics (e.g., sanctions) and verbal power tactics (e.g., politeness strategies).

CHAPTER V

The Interactive Effects of Manipulated Perspective Taking and Power on Behavioral Power Tactics

Chapter V of my dissertation examines how manipulations of perspective taking and power impact power decisions. Extending Chapter III, which explores the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and behavioral power tactics (both harsh power tactics and soft power tactics), in the current chapter I explore whether perspective taking directly affects harsh power tactics—specifically coercive power tactics (i.e., sanctions). The following chapter (Chapter VI) will explore the effects of perspective taking on both harsh and soft tactics. Extending Chapter IV, which found an interaction between dispositional perspective taking and manipulated power on verbal power tactics, here I explore interactions between manipulated perspective taking and manipulated power on behavioral power tactics, specifically the use of harsh power tactics to sanction others.

In the current chapter, I will operationalize harsh (vs. soft) power tactics in a different way than in Studies 1, 2, and 3. In previous studies, I operationalized harsh/soft as the extent to which power tactics emphasize power differentials and express consideration for others. Soft, or relational power tactics serve to de-emphasize the power differential by incorporating the concerns of others when exercising power, while harsh power tactics directly emphasize the power differential without exercising consideration for or affiliation with others. Similar to my previous studies, the current study operationalizes harsh power tactics as coercive tactics that utilize direct demands, threats, and punishments/reprimands when exercising power. However, in this study I focus on a

specific type of coercive tactic: reprimands, or sanctions. This is an important extension of Chapter III, which found that perspective taking is related to the use of coercive power tactics, because this study more explicitly addresses the *types* of sanctions people use to reprimand others and *how* people choose to administer those sanctions. Specifically, I first operationalize harshness in terms of the length of sanctions—sanctions with temporary consequences (less harsh) vs. sanctions with more long-lasting/permanent consequences (more harsh). Second, I operationalize harshness in terms of severity—how severely sanctions are administered, ranging from minimal consequences (less harsh) to maximal consequences (more harsh).

I argue that perspective taking will affect the type of sanctions people use; perspective taking will affect how those sanctions are administered; and these effects will be stronger under conditions of high power. To test these predictions, I experimentally manipulated both perspective taking and power to examine the following hypotheses:

H5: *Perspective taking and power affect the type of sanctions people use.*

H5a: *There is a main effect of perspective taking on sanctions. Individuals in the high perspective taking condition are less likely to choose long-lasting sanctions compared to those in the low perspective taking condition.*

Conversely, individuals in the high perspective taking condition are more likely to choose temporary sanctions compared to those in the low perspective taking condition.

H5b: *There is a main effect of power on sanctions. Individuals in the high power condition are more likely to choose long-lasting sanctions compared to those in the low power condition.*

Conversely, individuals in the high power condition are less likely to choose temporary sanctions compared to those in the low power condition.

H5c: *Perspective taking and power interact to affect the type of sanctions people use. Specifically, individuals in the high perspective taking condition are less likely to choose long-lasting sanctions compared to those in the low perspective taking condition, and this effect is stronger in the high power than in the low power condition.*

Conversely, individuals in the high perspective taking condition are more likely to choose temporary sanctions compared to those in the low perspective taking condition, and this effect is stronger in the high power than in the low power condition.

H6: *Perspective taking and power affect how severely sanctions are administered.*

H6a: *There is a main effect of perspective taking on sanction severity.*

Individuals in the high perspective taking condition administer sanctions (both long-lasting and temporary sanctions) less severely compared to those in the low perspective taking condition.

H6b: *There is a main effect of power on sanction severity. Individuals in the high power condition administer sanctions (both long-lasting and temporary sanctions) more severely compared to those in the low*

power condition.

H6c: *Perspective taking and power interact to affect sanction severity.*

Specifically, individuals in the high perspective taking condition administer sanctions (both long-lasting and temporary sanctions) less severely compared to those in the low perspective taking condition, and this effect is stronger in the high power than in the low power condition.

Pilot Studies

Sanctions

Because the procedure for the sanctioning options is new, a pilot study was used to develop the stimuli. Pilot Study A was conducted to generate the list of potential sanctions for the accused party. Eighteen participants read case file materials for an academic scenario in which a student is accused of plagiarism and then generated a list of potential options for sanctioning the student. The ten options that appeared most frequently across lists were used as the ten sanctions. The pilot study was also used to determine how harsh people perceived the internal (temporary) sanctions and external (long-lasting) sanctions to be. Using the list of ten sanctions, participants provided ratings of the sanctions on a seven-point scale (1 = “Extremely lenient” to 7 = “Extremely harsh”) as well as rankings of the sanctions (1 = “Least harsh” to 10 = “Most harsh”). Two paired-sample t-tests comparing the average ratings and rankings of internal sanctions and external sanctions showed significant mean differences in both ratings and rankings, $t(16) = 12.15, p < .001$, and $t(16) = 26.75, p < .001$, respectively, indicating

that external sanctions were rated and ranked as more harsh than internal sanctions.

Perspective Taking Manipulation

Because the perspective taking manipulation is also new, a second pilot study—Pilot Study B, was conducted to examine whether the perspective taking manipulation was effective. 56 undergraduate students (21 males, 35 females) enrolled in an Introductory Psychology course at the University of Michigan were randomly assigned to the high perspective taking condition or the low perspective taking condition (see Appendix J for the perspective taking manipulation). As a manipulation check, participants then completed seven questions designed to assess state perspective taking, or the degree to which they engaged in perspective taking during the writing task (see Appendix U for manipulation check questions).

One-way ANOVAs testing the effect of perspective taking condition on the state perspective taking items found that, as expected, participants in the high perspective taking condition were more likely to report focusing on the other person's perspective ($M = 5.54$, $SD = .26$) than participants in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 3.64$, $SD = .26$), $F(1, 55) = 27.52$, $p < .001$; more likely to report considering what the other person was thinking ($M = 5.68$, $SD = .25$) than participants in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 4.10$, $SD = .25$), $F(1, 55) = 19.70$, $p < .001$; and more likely to report considering what the other person was feeling ($M = 5.64$, $SD = .25$) compared to participants in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 3.39$, $SD = .25$), $F(1, 55) = 40.24$, $p < .001$.

Conversely, participants in the low perspective taking condition were more likely to report focusing on their own perspective ($M = 5.93$, $SD = .27$) than participants in

the high perspective taking condition ($M = 3.54, SD = .27$), $F(1, 55) = 39.06, p < .001$; more likely to report considering their own thoughts ($M = 5.89, SD = .23$) than participants in the high perspective taking condition ($M = 4.32, SD = .23$), $F(1, 55) = 23.70, p < .001$; and more likely to report considering their own feelings ($M = 5.54, SD = .28$) than participants in the high perspective taking condition ($M = 4.46, SD = .28$), $F(1, 55) = 7.24, p < .01$. There was no significant effect of the perspective taking manipulation on perceived objectivity (the extent to which participants believed they remained “objective” during the task), $F < 1$.

These findings suggest that the perspective taking manipulation had the intended effect on participants’ perspective taking mindset; participants in the high perspective taking condition were more likely to focus on the other party’s perspective, while participants in the low perspective taking condition were more likely to focus on their own perspective.

Study 4

Method

Participants

Participants were 158 undergraduate students enrolled in an Introductory Psychology course at a small liberal arts college in the Midwest (60 males, 95 females, 3 did not identify). Students received partial course credit for their participation. The sample ranged in age from 18-22, ($M \text{ age} = 18.98, SD = 1.03$). 117 participants identified as White, 13 as Asian American, 9 as African American, 13 as mixed race, 3 as Hispanic/Latino, 2 as “other” race/ethnicity, and 1 participant did not identify a specific

race/ethnicity. Regarding socio-economic status, participants indicated their parents' educational background. For their mother's highest degree obtained, 7 participants indicated a high school education; 10 participants indicated some college education; 50 participants indicated a bachelor's degree; 60 participants indicated a master's degree; and 31 participants indicated a doctoral degree. For their father's highest degree obtained, 10 participants indicated a high school education; 5 participants indicated some college education; 40 participants indicated a bachelor's degree; 56 participants indicated a master's degree; 46 participants indicated a doctoral degree; and 1 participant did not indicate his/her father's educational background.

Overview

Using an in-person lab study, the current study explored the effects of experimentally manipulated perspective taking and manipulated power in the context of an academic setting (specifically, using a vignette in which a student is accused of plagiarism), which is of special relevance to a student sample. The study experimentally manipulated power using a writing task in which participants write about a personal experience with power (Galinsky, et al., 2003). I developed a similar perspective taking manipulation—with a writing task about a personal experience with a conflict/disagreement. I explored the effects of experimentally manipulated perspective taking and power on the coercive power tactics, or sanctions, used to punish the alleged actions of an accused student.

Using a four-cell, 2 (high power; low power) x 2 (high perspective taking; low perspective taking), between-subjects experimental design, participants read a vignette about a student accused of academic dishonesty, and were asked to determine how the student should be sanctioned. This is a highly realistic scenario for the participants. At this particular liberal arts

college, a Student Honor Committee consisting of faculty and students determines sanctions against students who violate the honor code; thus these students are often involved in these sanctioning decisions, and the study procedures simulate a context in which these students have real power. The study took approximately 60 minutes to complete.

Procedures and Measures

Power and perspective taking manipulations. Participants arrived in a laboratory room, and were informed that the study would address “perceptions of social experiences and decision-making.” After giving informed consent, participants were directed to a cubicle with a computer and asked to complete an online survey via Qualtrics survey software. The survey consisted of two writing tasks. The first task instructed them to complete a five-minute writing task about a specific experience from their life in which they had either high power or low power relative to someone else (See Appendix I for the power manipulation). The second task instructed them to complete a five-minute writing task about a specific experience from their life in which they had a conflict or disagreement with someone else, and participants were instructed to either describe the conflict/disagreement from their own perspective (low perspective taking) or from the perspective of the other person(s) involved (high perspective taking) (See Appendix J for the perspective taking manipulation). The order in which the two tasks were presented was counter-balanced.

To ensure that participants were sufficiently engaged in the writing tasks, these two sections of the survey were timed, such that participants could not move on to the next portion of the study until they had been writing for a minimum of five minutes. Once the five-minute time period had elapsed, a “next arrow” appeared at the bottom of

the screen, and participants were instructed to finish their current thought before proceeding to the next section.

Organizational vignette. Next, participants received a hard copy “case file” and read about an academic scenario in which a student is accused of committing plagiarism. In order to make the scenario task realistic, I designed the materials to mirror the documents students on an academic honor committee would actually use when reviewing a case of academic dishonesty. The materials included a training guide—a description of the processes involved in a typical hearing (before the hearing, during the hearing, and after the hearing) (Appendix K shows the training guide in its entirety); a case file in which a student was accused of committing plagiarism in the context of a paper assignment (Appendices L-O show the four documents comprising the case materials); and a sanctioning guide that consisted of a brief overview of example violations and potential sanctions (Appendix P shows the sanctioning guide in its entirety). The guide was intentionally vague in its sanctioning instructions and did not advocate any specific sanctions for given offenses.

The case file materials included excerpts from a Student Honor Committee plagiarism case consisting of descriptions of the specific Honor Code violation and the correspondence pertaining to the alleged violation: a letter from the accusing faculty member to the Student Honor Committee alerting them to the alleged Honor Code violation (see Appendix L); a letter from the Student Honor Committee to the accused student alerting the student to the alleged violation (see Appendix M); a letter from the accused student to the Student Honor Committee responding to the violation and providing an explanation of mitigating circumstances (see Appendix N); and an eight-

page copy of the student’s assignment, with markings and notes from the professor and copies of site pages from which material was supposedly lifted (see Appendix O for an excerpt from this marked-up version of the assignment). The purpose of these materials was to give participants specific and realistic details about this plagiarism incident.

Responses to the vignette. Participants were instructed to imagine that they were on the Student Honor Committee. First, participants determined a verdict by choosing one the following options—guilty, not guilty, unsure, or not enough evidence. Next, participants responded to questions regarding how to handle the situation by rating the extent to which they would choose different types of potential sanctioning options (temporary sanctions vs. long-lasting sanctions), and how severely they would administer those sanctions (ranging from minimal to maximal consequences).

Sanction type. Participants rated the effectiveness of the ten potential sanctions generated from Pilot Study A, by indicating “the extent to which you, as a student Honor Committee member, think each option will be an effective way of dealing with the situation and the student” on a five-point scale (1 = “not at all effective” to 5 = “extremely effective”). Table 6 shows a list of the ten main sanctioning options. The list included two types of sanctions for the accused student: internal sanctions and external sanctions. While the first five options constituted internal sanctions, in which the record of the offense is temporary and does not leave the institution, the last five options constituted external sanctions, in which the offense remains on the student’s academic record permanently. Thus the internal sanctions with temporary consequences were considered to be *less harsh* tactics, and the external sanctions with more long-lasting/permanent consequences for the student were considered to be *more harsh* tactics.

Table 6

List of Potential Sanctions

Internal Sanctions

- 1) Paper “The assignment of a *paper* with a thesis decided by the committee”
- 2) Assignment consequences “The student receives consequences for the particular course *assignment* associated with the violation”
- 3) Course consequences “The student receives consequences for the particular *course* associated with the violation”
- 4) Internal file “The student receives a letter detailing the academic violation in his/her *internal file*. This file is internal in that it does not leave the institution (only administrators can view the file, but professors cannot)”
- 5) Unofficial transcript “The student receives a report of the academic violation on his/her *unofficial transcript*. The unofficial transcript is internal in that it does not leave the institution (only administrators and professors can view the transcript, but not external sources)”

External Sanctions

- 6) Community service “The assignment of *community service hours* to be decided by the committee”
 - 7) Official transcript “The student receives a report of the academic violation on his/her *official transcript*. The official transcript is external in that it does leave the institution (the report remains on the student’s record permanently—after graduation and beyond—and external sources have access)”
 - 8) Academic Probation “The student is placed on *academic probation* for the academic violation. This means that the student can remain at the institution, but any other violations during the probation period would carry more severe consequences”
 - 9) Suspension “The student receives a *suspension* from the institution for the academic violation. This means that the student is suspended from the institution, but can return to the institution after the assigned length of time”
 - 10) Expulsion “The student receives an *expulsion* from the institution for the academic violation. This means that the student is expelled from the institution, and cannot return to the institution at any point in time”
-

Sanction severity. In addition to rating the ten sanctions, participants also responded to follow-up questions in which they indicated their specific recommendations for how the sanctions (both internal sanctions and external sanctions) should be administered. These follow-up options ranged in severity (e.g., from short-term to long term consequences; from minimal to maximal consequences). The order in which the items were presented was randomized (see Appendix Q for the list of sanctions and corresponding follow-up questions arranged in order of severity). Similar to sanction type, minimal consequences were considered to be *less harsh*, and maximal consequences for the student were considered to be *more harsh*.

Control variables. Perceived difficulty of the academic scenario was measured using a single item: “For the Honor Committee, this is an easy situation to manage”. Liking for the student was measured using three items in response to the prompt “Based on what I know about the situation”: 1) “I find the student to be a likable person”; 2) “The student and I have similar qualities”; 3) “I would enjoy having the student as a friend.” Participants indicated their agreement with each of the above items using a seven-point scale (1 = “Strongly disagree” to 7 = “Strongly agree”). A liking composite was computed by averaging across the three scale items.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive statistics and correlations among covariates and primary study variables. For the main study, I used correlations to assess the relationships between potential covariates of interest (gender, perceived difficulty of the scenario, and liking for the accused student) and the main dependent measures: sanction type (sanction

effectiveness ratings for the ten sanctions), and sanction severity (how severely sanctions were administered). Descriptive statistics and correlations for the primary study variables are presented in Table 7 (sanction type) and Table 8 (sanction severity). Gender was considered as a covariate based on its association with behavioral and verbal power tactics in previous studies; perceived difficulty of the situation and liking for the accused student were considered as covariates given their potential relevance to participants' responses to the academic scenario. The perspective taking and power manipulations were not significantly correlated with any of the covariates, r 's $< .10$, p 's $> .20$, and there were no significant correlations among the three covariates, r 's $< .15$, p 's $> .10$.

For sanction severity measures, the perspective taking manipulation was negatively correlated with academic probation time, $r = -.17$, $p < .05$, indicating that people in the high perspective taking condition were less likely to administer this sanction severely (i.e., by advocating a longer probationary period) compared to people in the low perspective taking condition. The power manipulation was positively correlated with assignment grade, $r = .20$, $p = .01$, and (marginally) positively correlated with academic probation time, $r = .13$, $p < .10$, indicating that people in the high power condition were more likely to administer these sanctions severely compared to people in the low power condition. However, the perspective taking and power manipulations were not significantly correlated with the other sanction severity measures, r 's $< .15$, p 's $> .20$, or with sanction effectiveness ratings, r 's $< .13$, p 's $> .12$.

Perceived difficulty of the scenario was positively correlated with effectiveness ratings for internal (temporary) sanctions including assignment consequences, $r = .20$, $p < .05$, and course consequences, $r = .20$, $p < .05$, indicating that participants who perceived

the scenario to be more difficult were more likely to advocate these internal sanctions. Perceived difficulty was marginally negatively correlated with effectiveness ratings for community service, $r = -.14, p = .08$, indicating that participants who perceived the scenario to be more difficult were (marginally) less likely to advocate this particular external (long-lasting) sanction. Perceived difficulty was not significantly correlated with any of the other sanctions, $r's < .15, p's > .10$, or with sanction severity measures, $r's < .10, p's > .20$.

Liking for the accused student was positively correlated with effectiveness ratings for community service, $r = .16, p < .05$, but negatively correlated with effectiveness ratings for suspension, $r = -.16, p < .05$, indicating that people who had greater liking for the student were more like to advocate community service, but less likely to advocate suspension as a sanction. Liking was not significantly correlated with any of the other sanctions, $r's < .15, p's > .10$. For sanction severity, liking for the accused student was negatively correlated with internal file time, $r = -.22, p < .01$, and unofficial transcript time, $r = -.17, p < .05$, and marginally negatively correlated with assignment grade, $r = -.14, p = .09$, and probation time, $r = -.14, p = .08$, indicating that participants who had greater liking for the student were less likely to administer these sanctions severely. Liking for the student was not significantly correlated with the other measures of sanction severity, $r's < .15, p's > .10$.

Gender was positively correlated with effectiveness ratings for internal sanctions including assignment consequences, $r = .20, p < .05$, and internal file (marginal), $r = .14, p = .08$, and marginally negatively correlated with the external sanction academic probation, $r = -.14, p = .08$, indicating that females were more likely to advocate

assignment consequences and (marginally) more likely to advocate internal file consequences as sanctions, but (marginally) less likely to advocate academic probation as a sanction. Gender was not significantly associated with the other sanctions, $r's < .15$, $p's > .10$, or sanction severity measures, $r's < .10$, $p's > .20$.

There were also significant correlations among the dependent measures for sanction effectiveness ratings and sanction severity (see Tables 7 and 8). Given the theoretical relevance of the potential covariates and the significant correlations among these variables and the main dependent measures, perceived difficulty of the scenario, liking for the student, and gender will be included as covariates in subsequent analyses.

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Primary Study Variables (Sanction Effectiveness Ratings)

<i>Variable name</i>	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1) Sex	1.61	.49												
2) PT	1.49	.50	-.04											
3) Power	1.51	.50	-.09	-.03										
4) Paper on Plagiarism	3.24	1.15	.13	.12	-.12									
5) Assignment Conseq.	4.58	.73	.20*	-.07	-.10	.09								
6) Course Conseq.	4.17	1.10	.06	-.08	.01	-.04	.35**							
7) Internal File	3.82	1.03	.14+	.10	.10	.03	.08	.08						
8) Unofficial Transcript	3.80	1.03	.06	-.03	-.01	-.08	.15+	.25**	.35***					
9) Community Service	3.47	1.06	-.07	-.04	.01	.02	-.18*	-.06	-.04	-.03				
10) Official Transcript	2.73	1.44	-.10	-.08	.06	-.23**	-.05	.33***	-.09	.29***	.04			
11) Academic Probation	4.13	1.26	-.14+	-.09	.03	-.09	-.04	.26***	.01	.21**	.02	.40***		
12) Suspension	2.17	1.40	-.08	-.10	.01	-.21**	-.04	.30***	-.09	.18*	.14+	.66***	.40***	
13) Expulsion	1.51	1.16	-.02	.01	.02	-.14**	-.11	.15+	-.04	.14+	.19*	.52***	.21**	.66***

Note. Sex was coded such that 1 = Male, 2 = Female. PT was coded such that 1 = Low PT, 2 = High PT. Power was coded such that 1 = Low Power, 2 = High Power. $N=158$. + $p \leq 0.10$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Primary Study Variables (Sanction Severity)

<i>Variable name</i>	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1) Sex	4.35	.93										
2) PT	1.49	.50	-.04									
3) Power	1.51	.50	-.09	-.03								
4) Paper Pages	26.52	72.94	-.10	-.10	-.08							
5) Assignment Grade	2.15	.76	.01	.10	.20**	-.06						
6) Course Grade	1.75	1.05	-.04	-.04	.02	-.19*	.29***					
7) Internal File Time	2.77	1.01	-.03	.09	.05	-.01	.30***	.11				
8) Unofficial Trans Time	2.37	1.02	-.06	.02	-.01	.09	.21**	.07	.53***			
9) Comm Service Hours	27.66	28.47	.04	.02	.04	-.08	.30***	.10	.27***	.28***		
10) Probation Time	1.80	.90	-.07	-.17*	.13+	-.07	.29***	.13	.28***	.38***	.32***	
11) Suspension Time	1.13	.55	.09	-.06	.01	-.03	.09	.20*	.05	.03	.30***	-.02

Note. Sex was coded such that 1 = Male, 2 = Female. PT was coded such that 1 = Low PT, 2 = High PT. Power was coded such that 1 = Low Power, 2 = High Power. $N=158$. + $p \leq 0.10$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Main Analyses

The main analyses used a series of two-factor ANCOVAs to test the effects of manipulated perspective taking (high perspective taking; low perspective taking) and manipulated power (high power; low power) on harsh power tactics (i.e., sanctions). Power and perspective taking were fixed factors in the analyses; difficulty of the scenario and liking for the student were included as covariates; and the dependent measures included sanction type (effectiveness ratings for the ten sanctioning options) and their accompanying follow-up questions regarding sanction severity (how sanctions were administered). Post-hoc Bonferroni (one-tailed) t-tests were used to determine where the significant differences lie among the four conditions.

Sanction type (effectiveness ratings for sanctioning options). After controlling for perceived difficulty and liking, the effects of perspective taking and power on the internal (temporary) sanctions were as follows. Consistent with Hypothesis 5a, there was a main effect of perspective taking on paper assignment (on a topic related to plagiarism), $F(1, 154) = 3.88, p < .05$, indicating that participants in the high perspective taking condition were more likely to advocate the assigned paper sanction ($M = 3.43, SE = .13$) than those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 3.07, SE = .13$). Consistent with Hypothesis 5b, there was a main effect of power on assignment consequences, $F(1, 154) = 4.56, p < .05$, indicating that participants in the high power condition were less likely to advocate assignment consequences as a sanction ($M = 4.49, SE = .08$) than those in the low power condition ($M = 4.72, SE = .08$). Consistent with Hypothesis 5c, there was a significant perspective taking by power interaction for internal file, $F(1, 154) = 3.82, p = .05$, indicating that the effect of perspective taking differed by power condition. Post-hoc

t tests indicated that in the high power condition, participants in the high perspective taking condition were more likely to advocate the internal file sanction ($M = 4.19, SE = .16$) than those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 3.63, SE = .16$), $t(157) = 3.50, p < .001$, while the difference between high and low perspective taking was not significant in the low power condition ($t < 1.00$). Thus the perspective taking effect was more pronounced in the high power condition, as hypothesized. There were no significant main effects of power or perspective taking on internal file (F 's < 2.50), and there were no other significant effects for the internal sanctions (F 's < 2.00). Figure 2 shows the perspective taking by power interaction for internal file.

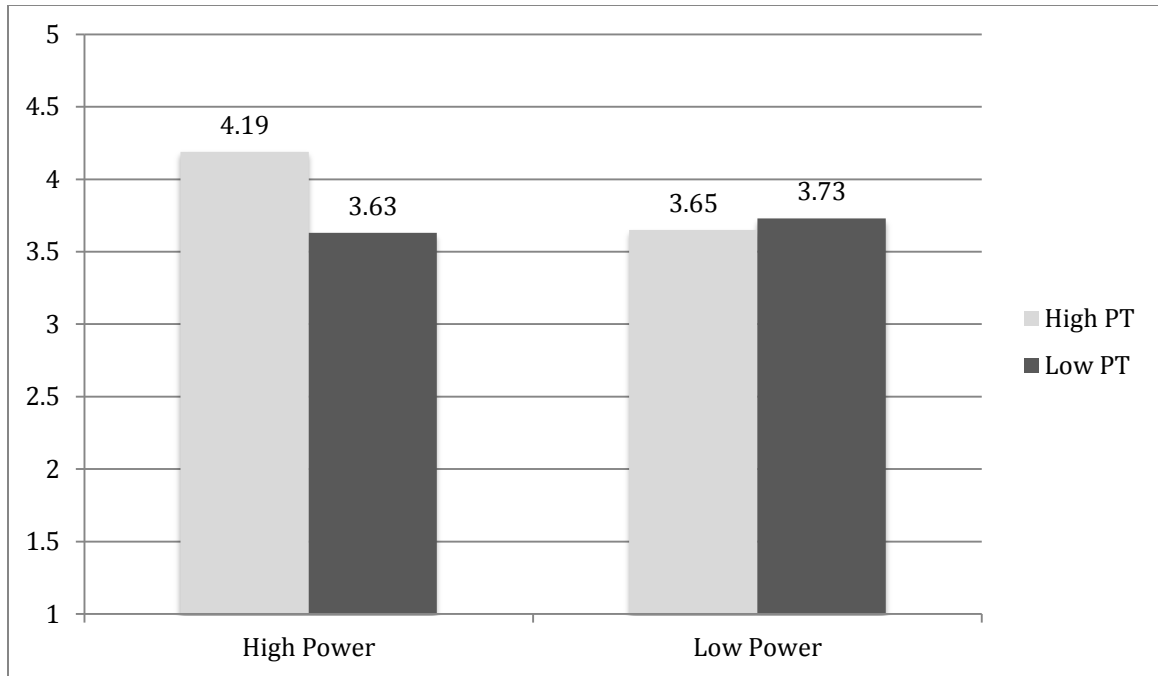


Figure 2. Two-way interaction between perspective taking and power on internal file. Y-axis indicates sanction effectiveness ratings (1 = “Not at all effective” to 5 = Extremely Effective”).

After controlling for perceived difficulty and liking, the effects of perspective taking and power on the external (long-lasting) sanctions were as follows. Consistent with Hypothesis 5c, there was a significant perspective taking by power interaction for community service, $F(1, 153) = 4.03, p < .05$, indicating that the effect of perspective taking differed by power condition. Post-hoc t tests indicated that in the high power condition, participants in the high perspective taking condition were less likely to advocate the community service sanction ($M = 3.33, SE = .16$) than those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 3.67, SE = .16$), $t(157) = 2.13, p < .05$. Conversely, the reverse trend was observed for the low power condition; participants in the high perspective taking condition were marginally more likely to advocate community service

($M = 3.62$, $SE = .16$) than those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 3.31$, $SE = .17$), $t(157) = 1.87$, $p < .10$. There were no significant main effects of power or perspective taking on community service (F 's < 1.00), and there were no other significant effects for the external sanctions (F 's < 2.00). Figure 3 shows the perspective taking by power interaction for community service.

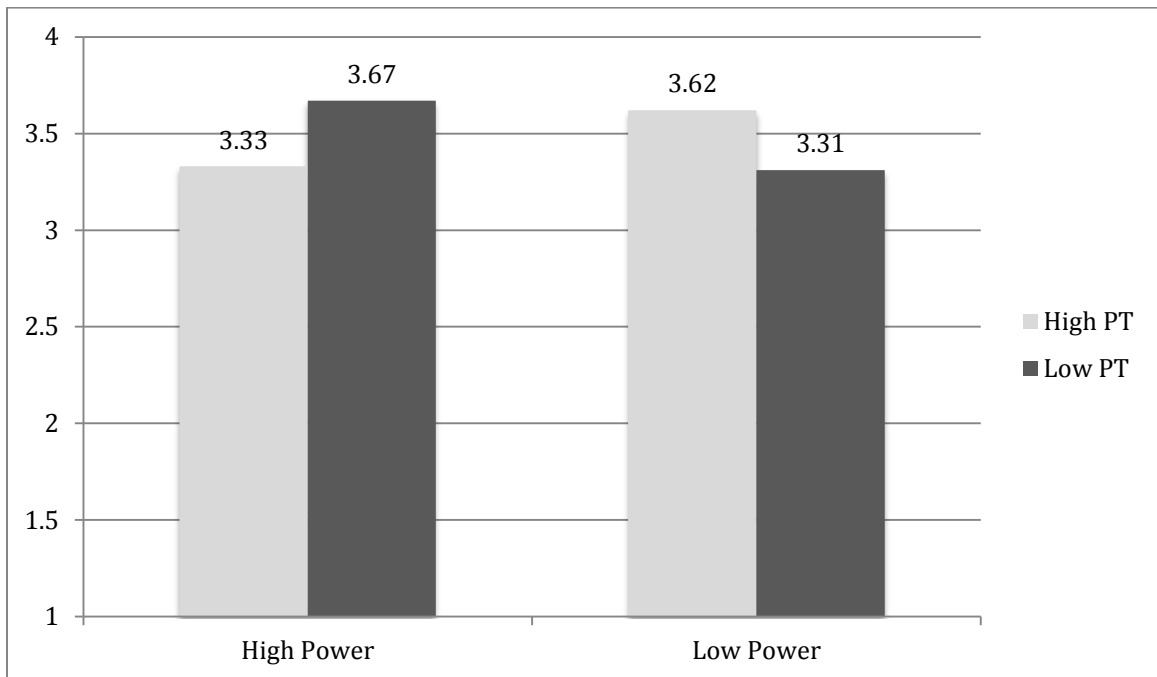


Figure 3. Two-way interaction between perspective taking and power on community service. Y-axis indicates sanction effectiveness ratings (1 = “Not at all effective” to 5 = Extremely Effective”).

Sanction severity (how sanctions were administered). For the paper pages sanction (i.e., the page limit for the paper assignment sanction), consistent with Hypothesis 6c, there was a marginally significant perspective taking by power interaction, $F(1, 135) = 3.31$, $p = .07$, indicating that the effect of perspective taking on

paper pages differed by power condition. Post-hoc *t* tests indicated that in the high power condition, participants in the high perspective taking condition administered a lower page limit ($M = 12.67, SE = .12.58$) than those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 46.86, SE = .12.38$), $t(142) = 22.08, p < .001$, while the difference between high and low perspective taking was not significant in the low power condition ($t < 1.00$). There were no significant main effects of power or perspective taking on paper pages (F 's < 1.00).

Figure 4 shows the perspective taking by power interaction for paper pages.

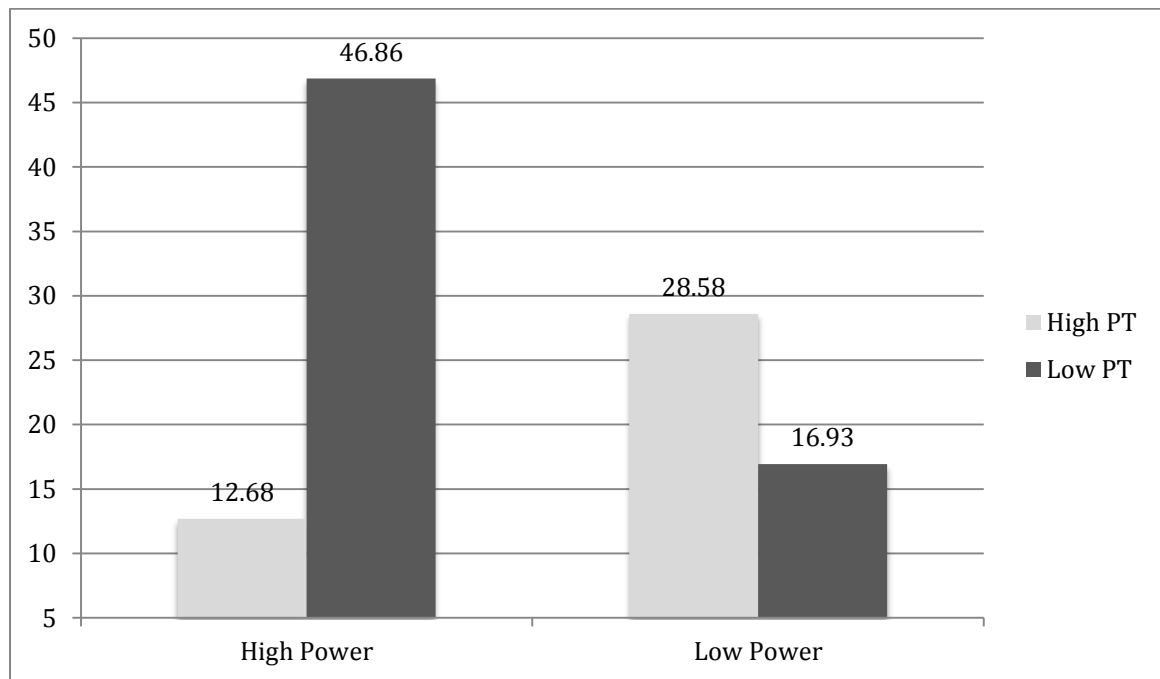


Figure 4. Two-way interaction between perspective taking and power on paper pages. Y-axis indicates page limit for the paper assignment (assigned number of pages).

For assignment grade (the grade associated with the assignment consequences sanction), consistent with Hypothesis 6b, there was a main effect of power, $F(1, 154) = 6.53, p < .05$. Participants in the high power condition advocated more severe grade

consequences ($M = 2.31$, $SE = .09$) than those in the low power condition ($M = 2.00$, $SE = .09$).

For probation time, consistent with Hypothesis 6a and Hypothesis 6b, respectively, there were significant main effects of perspective taking, $F(1, 154) = 9.01$, $p < .01$, and power (marginal), $F(1, 154) = 3.46$, $p = .065$, indicating that participants in the high perspective taking condition administered a shorter probationary period ($M = 1.59$, $SE = .10$) than those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 2.01$, $SE = .10$), and participants in the high power condition administered a (marginally) longer probationary period ($M = 1.93$, $SE = .10$) than those in the low power condition ($M = 1.67$, $SE = .10$). There was no significant interaction effect on probation time ($F < 1.00$).

Participants also had the opportunity to administer additional probation years beyond the maximal severity option of three years (see Appendix Q for the open-ended prompt). There were significant main effects of perspective taking, $F(1, 19) = 11.48$, $p < .01$, and power, $F(1, 19) = 10.08$, $p < .01$, as well as a significant perspective taking by power interaction, $F(1, 19) = 10.31$, $p < .01$, on additional probation time. Consistent with Hypothesis 6a and Hypothesis 6b, respectively, participants in the high perspective taking condition administered fewer additional probation years ($M = .61$, $SE = .18$) than those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 1.67$, $SE = .26$), and participants in the high power condition administered a greater number of additional probation years ($M = 1.63$, $SE = .23$) than those in the low power condition ($M = .64$, $SE = .21$). Consistent with Hypothesis 6c, the effect of perspective taking differed by power condition. Post-hoc *t* tests indicated that in the high power condition, participants in the high perspective taking condition administered fewer additional probation years ($M = .60$, $SE = .28$) than

those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 2.67, SE = .37$), $t(22) = 6.46, p < .001$, while the difference between high and low perspective taking was not significant in the low power condition ($t < 1.00$). Figure 5 shows the perspective taking by power interaction for additional probation time. However, given that only 23 participants advocated additional probation years, the small sample size substantially limited the power in this analysis. Thus covariates were not included in this particular ANOVA⁸.

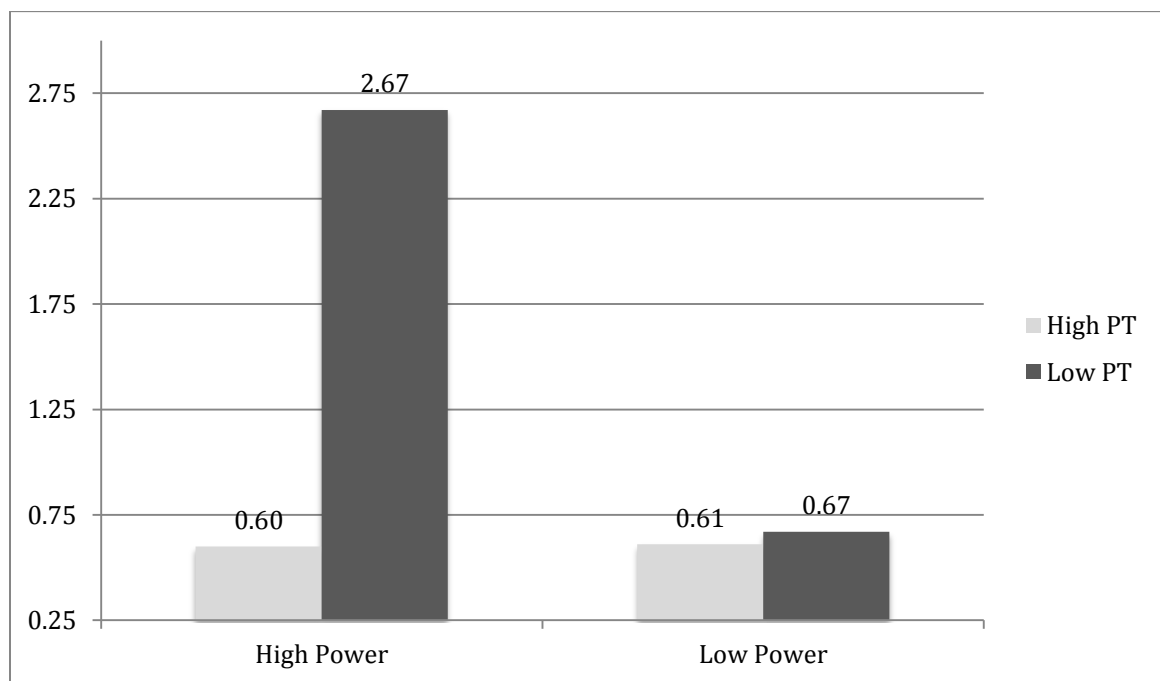


Figure 5. Two-way interaction between perspective taking and power on additional probation time. Y-axis indicates additional probation years (.50 years to 3 years).

⁸ In supplementary analyses regarding additional probation years, I added the covariates of interest to the model—perceived difficulty and liking for the student. Including these covariates did not substantially alter the other effects. The results remained virtually unchanged, and effects remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction.

For suspension time, consistent with Hypothesis 6c, there was a significant perspective taking by power interaction, $F(1, 125) = 4.36, p < .05$. The effect of perspective taking differed by power condition, and post-hoc t tests indicated that in the high power condition, participants in the high perspective taking condition administered a shorter suspension period ($M = 1.00, SE = .10$) than those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 1.27, SE = .10$), $t(131) = 2.70, p < .01$, while the difference between high and low perspective taking was not significant in the low power condition ($t < 1.00$). There were no main effects of perspective taking or power on suspension time, (F 's < 1.00). Figure 6 shows the perspective taking by power interaction for suspension time. Additionally, while participants also had the opportunity to administer additional suspension years beyond the maximal severity option of three years (see Appendix Q for the open-ended prompt), there were no significant main effects or interaction effects on additional suspension time (F 's < 2.50). However, similar to the above sample size for additional probation time, given that only 53 participants advocated additional suspension years, the small sample size substantially limited the power in this analysis. Thus covariates were not included in this particular ANOVA, and low power may have precluded detecting significant effects⁹.

⁹ In supplementary analyses regarding additional suspension years, I added the covariates of interest to the model—perceived difficulty and liking for the student. Including these covariates did not substantially alter the other effects. The results remained virtually unchanged, and effects remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction.

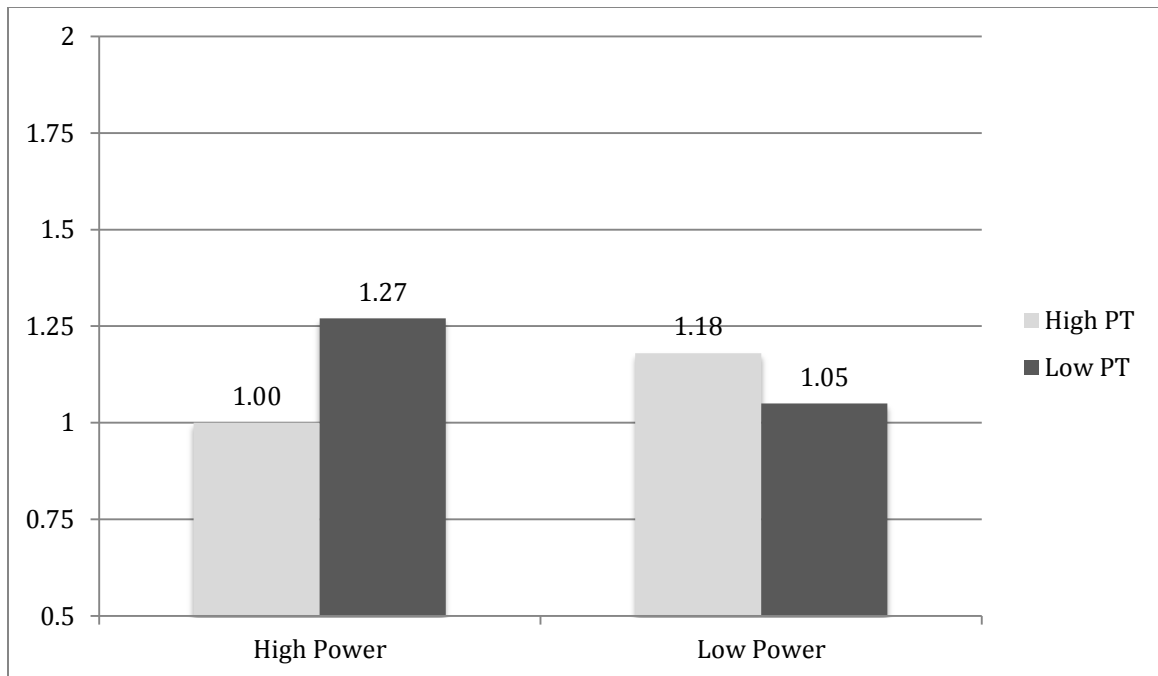


Figure 6. Two-way interaction between perspective taking and power on suspension time. Y-axis indicates suspension length (.50 years to 3 years).

There were no other significant main effects or interaction effects for the other sanction severity measures, including assignment grade, course grade, internal file time, unofficial file time, and community service hours (F 's < 2.00).

Gender effects. In supplementary ANCOVA analyses regarding the sanction effectiveness ratings and sanction severity, I included gender as an additional covariate. There was a main effect of gender on internal file, $F(1, 150) = 3.43, p = .07$, and a (marginal) main effect on assignment consequences, $F(1, 148) = 2.89, p = .09$, indicating that females were more likely than males to advocate these two internal sanctions. There were no other significant effects of gender, and gender composition did not differ by the perspective taking and power conditions (F 's < 1.00). Including gender as a covariate did not substantially alter the significance level of the other fixed factors

(perspective taking, power, and the perspective taking by power interaction). The results remained virtually unchanged, and main effects and interaction effects remained significant (or non-significant) in the same direction. Therefore gender will not be discussed further.

Verdict. A Chi-square (cross-tabs) analysis was used to test the effects of manipulated perspective taking (high perspective taking; low perspective taking) and manipulated power (high power; low power) on the verdict. The results of the Pearson chi-square test showed there was no significant effect of condition on verdict, $\chi^2(9, N = 158) = 4.53, p = .87$. Of the 41 participants in the high power/high perspective taking condition, 39 (95%) indicated that the student was “guilty”; of the 37 participants in the high power/low perspective taking condition, 33 (89%) indicated “guilty”; of the 40 participants in the low power/high perspective taking condition, 38 (95%) indicated “guilty”; and of the 40 participants in the low power/low perspective taking condition, 37 (93%) indicated “guilty.” Only one participant in each of the four conditions indicated “not guilty,” and 0-2 participants in each condition indicated “unsure” or “not enough evidence.” These findings suggest a ceiling effect, such that most participants viewed the student as guilty regardless of condition. Thus verdict did not differ across the four conditions.

Discussion

The results provide substantial support for overarching Hypotheses 5 and 6, which proposed that perspective taking and power affect the use of harsh power tactics to sanction others. Consistent with hypotheses for perspective taking, compared to people in the low perspective taking condition, people in the high perspective taking condition

were more likely to advocate an internal (temporary) sanction—the paper assignment sanction (Hypothesis 5a). In other words, participants who had engaged in perspective taking were more likely to advocate this internal sanction, which is less harsh and involves temporary consequences for the accused student (as opposed to permanent consequences for the student’s academic record). People in the high perspective taking condition were also less likely to administer sanctions severely (or harshly) with respect to probation time and additional probation years (Hypothesis 6a). In other words, participants who had engaged in perspective taking were less likely to administer the maximum penalty (more harsh) when sanctioning others.

Consistent with hypotheses for power, compared to people in the low power condition, people in the high power condition were less likely to advocate an internal (temporary) sanction—the assignment consequences sanction (Hypothesis 5b). In other words, participants who had engaged in the high power writing task were less likely to advocate this internal sanction, which is less harsh and involves temporary consequences for the accused student. People in the high power condition were also more likely to administer sanctions severely (or harshly) with respect to assignment grade (the grade associated with the assignment consequences sanction), probation time, and additional probation years (Hypothesis 6b). In other words, participants in the high power condition were more likely to administer the maximum penalty (more harsh) when sanctioning others.

In addition to the main effects of perspective taking and power on sanctions, interactive effects of perspective taking and power provided support for Hypotheses 5c and 6c, as the effects of perspective taking on sanction type (sanction effectiveness

ratings) and sanction severity (how sanctions were administered) differed across power conditions. There was a significant perspective taking by power interaction for the internal file sanction and the community service sanction, indicating that the discrepancy between high and low perspective taking conditions was more pronounced in the high power condition. People in the high perspective taking condition were more likely to advocate an internal sanction (internal file) that involved temporary consequences for the accused student; less likely to advocate an external sanction (community service) that involved more considerable consequences for the student's academic record; and less likely to severely (or harshly) administer sanctions including paper pages (the page limit for the paper assignment sanction), suspension time, and additional probation years. These perspective taking effects were more pronounced in the high power condition, as expected. Overall, people who had engaged in perspective taking following a high power task administered sanctions less severely. Similar to the interaction effects of dispositional perspective taking and power on verbal power tactics in Study 3, the current study suggests that perspective taking may be especially influential in a high power context.

Inconsistent with Hypotheses 5a-5c, there were no other main effects or interaction effects for the external sanctions, or the remaining internal sanctions, including grade consequences and unofficial transcript consequences. Inconsistent with Hypotheses 6a-6c, there were no other main effects or interaction effects for the other sanction severity measures, including assignment grade, course grade, internal file time, unofficial file time, and community service hours. A potential limitation regarding the non-significant findings for some of the external sanctions concerns deviations from

normality, as suspension and expulsion (the most extreme, long-lasting sanctions) were positively skewed toward an effectiveness rating of 1 (i.e., “Not at all effective”). In other words, these particular sanctions yielded a low base rate, such that people did not strongly advocate them under any conditions. In preliminary analyses I inspected the data for abnormality, and these sanctions did not exceed common criteria for “extreme” skewness/kurtosis (Kline, 2011, pp. 62-63); thus they were still included in the main regression analyses. However, it is important to note that abnormality is one possible explanation for the lack of perspective taking effects on these particular outcomes.

Additionally, although I did not hypothesize gender effects for sanctions, I found that females were more likely than males to advocate internal sanctions (which are less harsh, with temporary consequences), including assignment consequences and internal file consequences. This finding is consistent with the results of Study 2, which found that females were more likely than males to use soft behavioral power tactics.

The effects of perspective taking and power held even when controlling for gender, perceived difficulty of the academic scenario, and liking for the accused student. Interestingly, there were also no significant effects of perspective taking and power on the verdict or the control variables. These findings demonstrate that observed effects are not due to differences in overall perceptions of the student’s guilt/innocence, perceived difficulty of the situation, or liking for the accused party. Rather, findings suggest that discrepancies in the sanctions people chose and how they administered those sanctions were due to differences in perspective taking and power mindset. In other words, people who engaged in perspective taking were not simply more likely to favor the student, or

less likely to believe the student was guilty; there was a unique effect of perspective taking on sanctioning decisions above and beyond these perceptions.

The findings for perspective taking are consistent with my previous study examining the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and behavioral power tactics (Study 2), which found that people higher on perspective taking were less likely to use harsh, coercive power tactics. The current findings provide further evidence that perspective taking may minimize the use of harsh power tactics that employ blame and severe reprimands. Furthermore, given that perspective taking was associated with greater leniency in the high power condition, perspective taking may be especially important for mitigating the harsh sanctioning tendencies of high power people. The findings from the current experiment suggest a causal relationship between perspective taking and behavioral power tactics, such that perspective taking directly affects the tactics used to sanction others. However, this study does not examine whether perspective taking directly affects *verbal* power tactics when attempting to influence others. While the previous study (Study 3) found that dispositional perspective taking is associated with more soft/relational verbal power tactics when communicating negative information to others, those results did not imply causality.

To address these remaining questions, the next chapter (Study 5) will experimentally manipulate perspective taking to examine the effects of perspective taking on specific verbal power tactics (e.g., politeness strategies) in an email communication study. Given the more pronounced effects of perspective taking under conditions of high power (as evidenced in Study 3 and the current Study 4), this next study manipulates perspective taking in the context of high power.

CHAPTER VI

The Effects of Manipulated Perspective Taking on Verbal Power Tactics

Chapter VI of my dissertation examines how perspective taking affects verbal communication. Extending Chapter IV, which explores the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and verbal power tactics, here I explore whether manipulated perspective taking directly affects verbal power tactics, specifically politeness strategies used when communicating with others. Extending Chapter V, which found that manipulated perspective taking affects behavioral power tactics, here I examine whether these effects extend to verbal power tactics. Furthermore, building on Chapter IV and Chapter V findings that perspective taking effects were more pronounced in the high power condition, this study explores the effects of manipulated perspective taking in the context of high power. In the current chapter, I argue that perspective taking will affect how high power people use verbal power tactics when attempting to influence others (via email communication). To test these predictions, I gave all participants high power and experimentally manipulated perspective taking to examine the following hypotheses:

H7: Perspective taking affects the verbal power tactics people use.

H7a: There is a main effect of perspective taking on impolite verbal power tactics. Individuals in the high perspective taking condition are less

likely to use impolite tactics than those in the low perspective taking condition.

H7b: There is a main effect of perspective taking on polite verbal power tactics. Individuals in the high perspective taking condition are more likely to use polite tactics than those in the low perspective taking condition.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 73 undergraduate students enrolled in an Introductory Psychology course (31 male; 38 female) at a small liberal arts college in the Midwest. Students received partial course credit for their participation. Participants were also made aware of a raffle for a \$100 performance reward prior to their participation. The reward was intended to engage participants in the study. At the conclusion of the study, one participant was chosen at random to receive the award. Four participants experienced technical difficulties during the email communication portion of the study, and were therefore removed from the analyses due to missing data. Thus the analyses were performed on the remaining 69 participants (35 participants in low perspective taking condition; 34 participants in high perspective taking condition).

Overview

Using a two-cell (high perspective taking; low perspective taking), between-subjects experimental design, the current lab study explored the effects of experimentally manipulated perspective taking in the context of high power (using a workplace simulation). I developed a perspective taking manipulation similar to the previous study

(Study 4)—with varying instructions on a writing task about a particular conflict scenario. Part I of the study experimentally manipulated perspective taking using a writing task that instructed participants to read and respond to an organizational scenario in which an employee commits an offense (arriving late to work). Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: high perspective taking or low perspective taking.

Part II of the study involved an interactive email communication task. There were three participants per study session. Participants were informed of the study structure—that one participant in the group would be assigned to the role of “supervisor”, while the other two participants would be assigned to the role of “workers.” The experimenter separately assigned each of the three participants to the “supervisor” role (the two “workers” were hypothetical)—thus all participants had high power over the two hypothetical subordinates, and there was no low power condition. In other words, all participants were assigned to be supervisors who believed they were working with two subordinates. Participants then completed a 30-minute crossword puzzle task while engaging in email correspondence with the subordinates. The hypothetical subordinates sent standardized emails (controlled by the experimenter) to the participant. Participants replied freely to the emails, and their replies were coded for politeness. This study explored the effects of experimentally manipulated perspective taking on verbal power tactics—both impolite tactics and polite tactics—used in email correspondence with others. This two-part study took 60-90 minutes to complete.

Procedures

Part I. The experimenter greeted the participants in a group of three, and informed them that the study investigated “leadership, supervisor/subordinate relationships, and productivity in the workplace”. After giving consent, each of the three participants were told in private that they had been assigned to the role of “supervisor,” while the other two people were “workers,” based on their performance on a measure of leadership taken earlier in the semester (in fact, there was no such measure in the earlier questionnaire). Thus participants’ power was made salient by linking their roles to their intrinsic characteristics. They were told that their subordinates’ performance indicated low leadership abilities and more cooperative abilities.

To make their power even more salient, “supervisors” were taken to a room full of cubicles in a cramped working space and were informed that the “workers” would be assigned to cubicles within that room to complete the task. They were then escorted to their offices, which were relatively spacious, visually appealing, and professional in comparison to the cubicles. These three offices were organized as similarly as possible, with a “supervisor” sign on the desk, identical decorative posters, office supplies, plants, candy in a glass dish, and one window.

Once in their offices, participants were randomly assigned to condition (the experimenter was blind to condition). Participants were asked to complete an organizational scenario task to help them get into the mindset of a leader. Participants were instructed to either engage in perspective taking for another or to focus on their own perspective during this task. Participants then read and responded to an organizational vignette, in which a subordinate commits an offense, and evaluated the subordinate’s

behavior (see Measures for further details). This task was designed to induce a high perspective taking or a low perspective taking mindset prior to participation in the second portion of the study.

Part II. Following the perspective taking manipulation, participants received instructions for a 30-minute productivity task. They were told that the three-person task would consist of difficult crossword puzzles; the two “workers” had the same difficult crossword, while the “supervisor” had a different crossword of the same difficulty level. Participants were given sole access to resources such as Google and a thesaurus, and they were given a copy of the worker crossword puzzle so they could aid the workers in their task if they so chose. Participants were then told that they could initiate and/or respond to emails “at their own discretion.” Their entry into the lottery for the \$100 reward was based on both the successful completion of their own task as well as the completion of the other puzzle by the workers. Furthermore, they were told that the workers would be involved in a completely separate lottery, in which their ability to win the \$100 reward was based on their successful completion of their crossword task. In other words, participants were made aware that the workers depended upon the supervisor to maximize their own chances of winning the reward. I did not expect that undergraduates given power for a short period of time in a Psychology study would spontaneously use power with the subordinates, specifically impolite verbal tactics. Thus this lottery component of the situation created the incentive to make workers complete their crossword tasks.

Participants then engaged in the 30-minute crossword task while communicating with the two hypothetical workers via email (in fact, the experimenter controlled all email

from the workers). Both workers sent an equal number of emails asking standardized crossword questions; therefore the supervisor had equal opportunities to respond to both workers. Two different versions of five email questions were randomized between the workers (e.g., “What’s a 5 letter Chicago airport?”, “Can you tell me a 6 letter Ford model?”). Table 9 shows the two sets of randomized email questions in their entirety.

Table 9

Automated Worker Emails

<i>Email number</i>	<i>Email time</i>	<i>Email question</i>
<i>Automated Emails for Worker 1</i>		
Question 1	7 min.	what is Montana's neighbor (it's 5 letters)
Question 2	12 min.	can you tell me a 6 letter Ford model
Question 3	17 min.	I don't know the ___ in Berlin (3 letters)
Question 4	22 min.	can you help with a 5 letter word for written composition
Question 5	28 min.	what's a 5 letter Chicago airport?
<i>Automated Emails for Worker 2</i>		
Question 1	7 min.	do you know a postage paid mailer abbr. – 4 letters
Question 2	12 min.	do you know a biblical ship – 3 letters
Question 3	17 min.	what's a 3 letter word for lyric verse
Question 4	22 min.	do you know a 3 letter word for Spanish Mrs.
Question 5	28 min.	what is the Coyote State – 6 letters

Following the 30-minute task, participants completed performance evaluation measures and other questionnaires for each worker. Finally, they had a brief exit interview with the experimenter. Participants were debriefed, with all deception being thoroughly revealed and explained, before being dismissed from the study.

Measures

Prescreen measures. Prior to conducting this study, potential covariate measures were administered via the Introductory Psychology prescreen. This wave of data was collected six months prior to the current study. The prescreen measures included two personality variables of interest: dispositional perspective taking and social dominance orientation. Participants' scores on these measures were obtained, and their college mailroom identification number was used to match data from the prescreen survey and the current study.

Like previous studies, dispositional perspective taking was measured using the *perspective taking* subscale of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis 1980; 1983) (see Appendix B). The perspective taking subscale was computed by averaging across the seven relevant scale items, and the subscale yielded sufficient reliability, $\alpha = .70$ (which did not improve substantially with deletion of any items). I therefore used the full 7-item subscale, consistent with previous research employing the IRI scale (Davis 1980; 1983; Bernstein & Davis, 1982).

The SDO scale (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) was used to assess social dominance orientation—a tendency toward endorsement of social hierarchy and oppression. The 16-item scale, $\alpha = .90$, instructs participants to consider “which of the following objects or statements you have a positive or negative feeling toward”. Participants then rate each

item on a seven-point scale (1 = “Very negative” to 7 = “Very positive”), indicating the number that best represents the degree of positive or negative feeling toward each statement. Higher ratings on items such as “inferior groups should stay in their place” indicate higher social dominance orientation, while higher ratings on items such as “group equality should be our ideal (reverse-scored)” indicate lower social dominance orientation. The SDO score was computed as the mean of the ratings given to the 16 items (see Appendix R for the SDO scale in its entirety).

Perspective taking manipulation. The manipulation served as a perspective taking intervention that consisted of a reading and response task designed to establish different managerial norms regarding perspective taking. In this preliminary task, participants read a fictitious organizational vignette about a manager and an employee and evaluated the subordinate character prior to engaging in the second, interactive portion of the study. Participants were randomly assigned to receive one of two sets of instructions for this vignette task. The high perspective taking condition was instructed to “develop an impression of the employee and the situation from the employee’s perspective”, while the low perspective taking condition was instructed to “develop an impression of the employee and the situation from the manager’s perspective.” The perspective taking condition was encouraged to consider the cognitive and emotional viewpoint of the subordinate in the scenario. Participants were instructed to “try to view the situation not just as a manager, but also as the employee.” They were asked to “think about the circumstances that might have influenced the employee’s actions and imagine how the employee thinks and feels about what has happened.” The low perspective taking condition was not encouraged to engage in perspective taking for the employee. Instead,

these participants were instructed to strictly “view the situation through the manager’s eyes” and “attempt to reflect the manager’s point of view” (see Appendix V for the perspective taking manipulation in its entirety).

Both perspective-taking conditions were then placed in the hypothetical role of office manager and read the organizational vignette. In the vignette, a subordinate fails to show up for work on an exceptionally busy day, and to the knowledge of the manager, has not contacted the office regarding the absence (see Appendix V for the organizational vignette in its entirety). The workplace scenario was created to be ambiguous to allow for subjective interpretation of the seriousness of the offense. After reading the vignette, participants in both conditions then spent several minutes writing about their impressions of the employee and the situation, and describing the action they would take in response to the subordinate’s behavior.

Manipulation check. Toward the conclusion of the study, participants responded to a question designed to assess the degree to which they tried to engage in perspective taking behavior (during the interactive task) consistent with the instructions they received for the writing task. In response to the prompt “while interacting with the worker during the task,” participants responded to the following question for each worker on a 9-point scale (1 = “Not at all; 9 = “A lot”): “to what extent did you try to imagine how the worker was thinking and feeling?” This question provided a self-reported, state perspective taking measure (i.e., attempting to understand the subordinates’ psychological viewpoint), and therefore served as a manipulation check.

Verbal power tactics. Verbal tactics were measured using the supervisor emails, which were coded for the presence of politeness strategies intended to comprise harsh

versus soft verbal tactics. Similar to Chapter IV (Study 3), participant responses were coded for politeness using a socio-linguistic coding scheme developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). The current study focused on two specific politeness strategies: the *on-record (impolite)* strategy and the *positive politeness (polite)* strategy.

Two undergraduate research assistants who were blind to subject condition coded the emails for the presence of these two politeness strategies, in ascending order of politeness: (a) *on-record* strategy, which addresses the issue directly and places the blame on the other person. This strategy uses a formal, demanding tone and tends to issue orders to influence others (e.g., “You have an assignment, so do it”; “I’m the supervisor, and I told you to do this”; “You need to stop fooling around and get to work”); (b) *positive politeness* strategy, which approaches the issue less directly, by placing the blame on external causes or mitigating factors rather than directly blaming the other person. This strategy uses a more informal, friendly, and cooperative tone and tends to offer encouragement and support to influence others (e.g., “Everything going well? Let me know if I can help out with this!”; “These puzzles are tough! I’m having trouble myself”; “Keep up the good work on the puzzles! We’re a great team 😊”). This particular politeness strategy was of special interest to the current study because it allows others to save face, while still addressing the situation at hand. In other words, this strategy does not avoid the issue entirely; instead, it addresses others in a way that acknowledges a problem or goal (and considers factors that may have contributed to a problem) without directly placing blame on others.

There were multiple emails per participant, and each of the two coders independently coded all of the participant emails. They coded each statement within all

participant emails (on average, emails ranged from 1 to 5 statements). As such, each email can be coded for the presence of more than one politeness strategy if applicable, and each of the two categories can be scored more than once per email. Therefore, coders indicated the *number* of on-record and positive politeness statements present in each participant's email correspondence. Coders also indicated the total number of emails sent by each participant. The Spearman-Brown estimated inter-rater reliability was excellent for both politeness categories: *on-record* (.94) and *positive politeness* (.95). After the two coders completed the independent coding of the emails for the presence of these attributes, they then met to resolve any inconsistencies in the coding. The final, agreed-upon codes were used in the analyses.

On-record strategies were considered to be a harsh, impolite verbal tactic; therefore, the low perspective taking condition was expected to yield a greater number of these emails. Conversely, positive politeness strategies were considered to be a soft, polite verbal tactic; therefore, the high perspective taking condition was expected to yield a greater number of these emails. These two categories, on-record and positive politeness, comprised impolite verbal tactics and polite verbal tactics, respectively. The counts for these politeness categories—impolite and polite—were used as dependent variables in the remaining analyses.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Correlations among covariates and primary study variables. Correlations were used to assess the relationships among potential covariates of interest (dispositional PT, social dominance orientation, number of sent emails, and gender), and the main

dependent measures. Descriptive statistics and correlations for the primary study variables are presented in Table 10. Dispositional perspective taking was considered as a relevant individual difference variable given its association with both behavioral and verbal power tactics in my previous studies. Dispositional perspective taking was associated with power recognition (Study 1 and Study 2), harsh and soft behavioral power tactics (Study 2), and verbal power tactics (Study 3). Furthermore, the inclusion of both dispositional perspective taking and manipulated perspective taking allows me to test for interaction effects between these trait and state measures of perspective taking. In the current study, there were no significant correlations between dispositional PT and the verbal power measures or the other covariates, r 's < .15, p 's > .10, with the exception of social dominance orientation. Consistent with Study 1 findings, dispositional PT was marginally negatively correlated with social dominance orientation, $r = -.24, p = .057$, indicating that people who scored higher on perspective taking tended to score lower on social dominance orientation.

Similar to Chapter II (Study 1), social dominance orientation (SDO)—beliefs and attitudes about structural hierarchies—was considered as a theoretically relevant individual difference variable given its potential relevance to how people perceive and use power. People who score high on social dominance orientation regard structural hierarchies as legitimate and have a preference for maintaining the status quo (i.e., structural inequality in society). Because the workplace simulation in the current study enacts social and organizational hierarchies, it is important to control for the effect of social dominance orientation when considering the effects of perspective taking on power tactics. However, there were no significant correlations between social dominance

orientation and the verbal power tactics or the other covariates, $r's < .15$, $p's > .10$, with the exception of dispositional PT.

Gender was also considered as a relevant covariate, given its relationship with behavioral and verbal power tactics in my previous studies. However, there were no significant correlations between gender and the verbal power measures or the other covariates, $r's < .15$, $p's > .10$. Lastly, the number of emails sent was included as a covariate given its relevance to the verbal power tactics—the count of impolite tactics and polite tactics. Not surprisingly, sent emails was positively correlated with both impolite tactics, $r = .25$, $p < .05$, and polite tactics, $r = .35$, $p < .01$, indicating that people who sent more emails were more likely to have higher counts for impolite and polite tactics. There were no significant correlations between sent emails and the other covariates, $r's < .15$, $p's > .10$.

Table 10

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations among Primary Study Variables

<i>Variable name</i>	M	SD	1	2	3	4
1) Sex	1.55	.50				
2) PT	1.49	.50	.19			
3) Sent Emails	6.30	1.86	.09	-.18		
4) Polite Tactics	4.49	4.05	.07	.20+	.35**	
5) Impolite Tactics	1.43	2.29	-.09	-.27*	.25*	.19

Note. Sex was coded such that 1 = Male, 2 = Female. PT was coded such that 1 = Low PT, 2 = High PT. $N = 69$. + $p \leq 0.10$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$.

Gender effects. Prior to the main analyses examining the effects of perspective taking on verbal power tactics, I used two-factor (condition x gender) analyses of variance (ANOVAs) to determine whether there were any significant gender effects on

the main dependent measures—verbal power tactics. Gender and manipulated perspective taking (high perspective taking; low perspective taking) were fixed factors in the analyses; and the dependent measures included impolite tactics and polite tactics. There were no significant gender effects or interactions, and gender composition did not differ by perspective taking condition (F 's < 1.00). Therefore gender will not be discussed further.

Manipulation check. To ensure that the participants in the high perspective taking condition did indeed engage in more perspective taking than the low perspective taking condition, a 2 (condition: high perspective taking vs. low perspective taking) x 2 (worker: worker 1 vs. worker 2) mixed model ANOVA was used to test the effect of perspective taking condition on subsequent, self-reported perspective taking behavior. There was a main effect of condition, $F(1, 55) = 8.90, p < .01$. The high perspective taking condition reported engaging in more perspective taking overall ($M = 8.56, SD = 2.56$), relative to the low perspective taking condition ($M = 6.47, SD = 3.10$); people in the high perspective taking condition reported that they “imagined the worker’s thoughts and feelings during the interaction” to a greater extent (for both workers). There were no other significant effects (F 's < 2.00).

Main Analyses

Verbal power tactics. One-way analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) were used to analyze the effect of manipulation perspective taking (high perspective taking; low perspective taking) on verbal tactics. Perspective taking was the fixed factor in the analyses; number of sent emails was included as a covariate; and the dependent measures included counts for on-record strategies (impolite tactics) and positive politeness

strategies (polite tactics). The analyses assessed main effects of perspective taking—mean differences in the dependent variables across the two perspective taking conditions. There was no main effect of perspective taking on sent emails ($F < 2.50$); thus the number of sent emails did not significantly differ by condition. Supplementary analyses will include the other covariates of interest—dispositional perspective taking and social dominance orientation.

Consistent with Hypothesis 7a, there was a main effect of perspective taking on impolite verbal tactics, $F(1, 68) = 5.06, p < .05$, indicating that participants in the high perspective taking condition used fewer on-record (impolite) strategies ($M = .82, SE = .38$) compared to those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 2.03, SE = .38$). There was also a marginally significant main effect of the sent emails covariate, $F(1, 68) = 3.23, p = .08$. Consistent with Hypothesis 7b, there was a main effect of perspective taking on polite verbal tactics, $F(1, 68) = 5.82, p < .05$, indicating that participants in the high perspective taking condition used more positive politeness (polite) strategies ($M = 5.70, SE = .64$) compared to those in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 3.52, SE = .63$). There was also a significant main effect of the sent emails covariate, $F(1, 68) = 12.49, p = .001$.

Additionally, mixed model repeated measures ANOVAs were used to assess differences between the number of polite verbal tactics and impolite verbal tactics across perspective taking conditions. Independent variables were perspective taking (high, low) (between subjects) and type of verbal tactics (polite, impolite) (within subjects), and number of sent emails was included as a covariate. There was a significant perspective taking by type of verbal tactics interaction, $F(1, 66) = 11.25, p = .001$, such that the

trends for polite and impolite verbal tactics differed by perspective taking condition. Post-hoc *t* tests indicated that participants were less likely to use impolite tactics ($M = 1.43, SE = .26$) than polite tactics ($M = 4.61, SE = .45$) in both the high perspective taking condition, $t(68) = 9.41, p < .001$, and in the low perspective taking condition, $t(68) = 3.15, p < .01$; however, this discrepancy between verbal tactics was greater in the high perspective taking condition ($M = 4.79, SE = .51$) than in the low perspective taking condition ($M = 1.58, SE = .50$), $t(68) = 3.18, p < .01$. There was no main effect of perspective taking condition in this analysis ($F < 1.50$); overall, one condition did not use more verbal tactics (average number of coded verbal statements) than the other condition. Figure 7 shows the perspective taking by type of verbal tactics interaction.

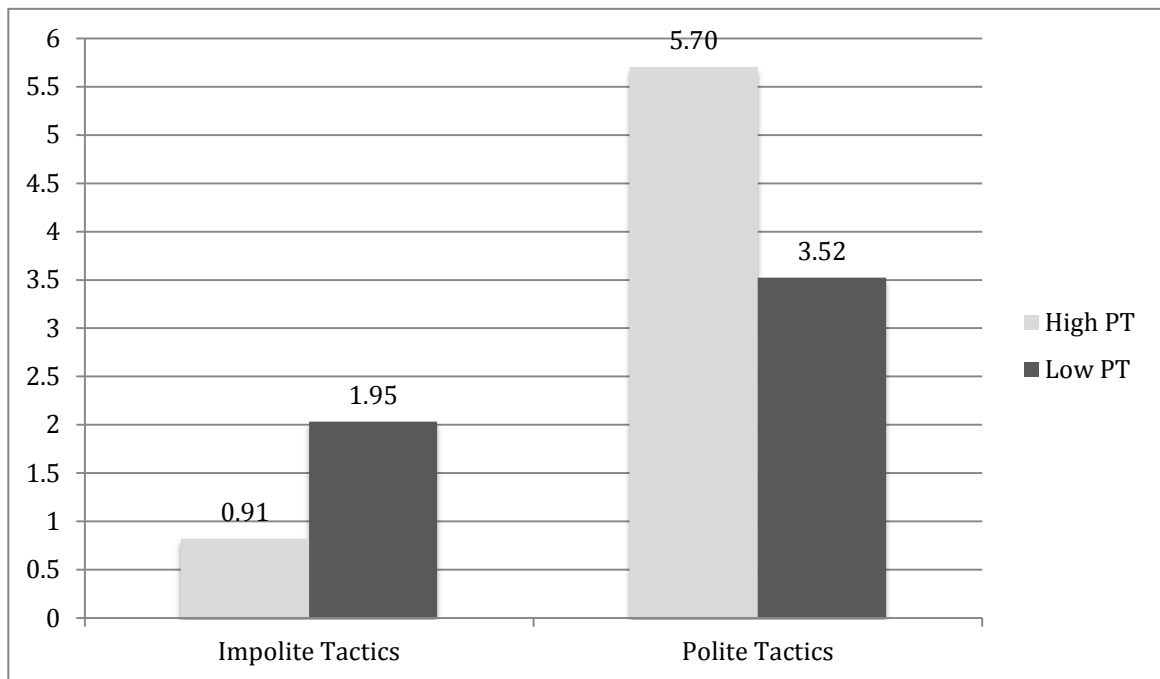


Figure 7. Two-way interaction between perspective taking and type of verbal tactics.

Y-axis indicates counts for the verbal tactics; higher scores indicate more statements.

In supplementary analyses regarding the verbal power tactics, I replaced the sent emails covariate with other covariates of interest—dispositional perspective taking and social dominance orientation. There were no significant main effects or interaction effects for these covariates (F 's < 1.00), and including them did not substantially alter the significance level of other effects. The results remained virtually unchanged, and perspective taking effects remained significant in the same direction.

Discussion

The results strongly support Hypothesis 7, which proposed that perspective taking affects the verbal power tactics people use when communicating with others. Consistent with hypotheses, relative to people in the low perspective taking condition, people in the high perspective taking condition were less likely to use impolite verbal tactics that address the problem directly and place blame on others (Hypothesis 7a), but more likely to use polite verbal tactics that incorporate face-saving strategies to address the problem more indirectly and informally and avoid placing blame on others (Hypothesis 7b).

In other words, people in the high perspective taking condition were less likely to use the on-record strategy, which employs a formal, unforgiving tone and does not employ any face-saving techniques. Conversely, people in the high perspective taking condition were more likely to use the positive politeness strategy that employs a friendly tone and allows others to save some face. This polite strategy indicates a more positive, encouraging use of authority. These emails tended to have a motivational, supportive, and/or cooperative message or tone. Rather than stressing or implying that the supervisor had influence or authority over the subordinates, the supervisor provided encouragement, commended performance, or offered assistance in a helpful, non-positional manner rather

than authoritative manner. These polite strategies comprise soft verbal power tactics, while the impolite strategies comprise harsh verbal power tactics.

The perspective taking effects held even when controlling for gender, dispositional perspective taking, social dominance orientation, and sent emails. Interestingly, there were no significant effects of dispositional perspective taking or social dominance orientation on verbal power tactics. These results demonstrate that observed effects are not due to differences in dispositional perspective taking attributes, overall perceptions of power and social hierarchies, or a simple tendency to send a greater number of emails overall. Rather, findings suggest that discrepancies in the verbal power tactics people used were due to differences in state perspective taking mindset induced by the manipulation. In other words, encouraging people to engage in perspective taking behavior in the moment had a unique effect on verbal power tactics above and beyond these dispositional tendencies toward social dominance and perspective taking (or lack thereof).

However, it is important to note a potential limitation of the current perspective taking manipulation. The mean for self-reported perspective taking behavior (the manipulation check) was above the scale mid-point in both the high and low perspective taking conditions, though the mean was significantly higher in the high perspective taking condition. While the high perspective taking condition reported engaging in more perspective taking relative to the low perspective taking conditions (or “imagining the worker’s thoughts and feelings during the interaction”), people in the low perspective taking condition did not report “low” levels of perspective taking per se. This is a potential limitation of the current study, given the possibility that this perspective taking

manipulation induced *lower* perspective taking in the “low” perspective taking condition compared to the “high” perspective taking condition, and not necessarily “low” levels of perspective taking. This limitation is one possible explanation for the finding that both perspective taking conditions were less likely to use impolite than polite verbal tactics, though this discrepancy between verbal tactics was more pronounced in the high perspective taking condition. Therefore a manipulation that more effectively induces “low” perspective taking may yield even greater discrepancies between high and low perspective taking conditions with respect to the verbal power tactics observed here. As is the case with all self-report measures, it is also possible that high power participants in this sample overestimated the extent to which they actually engaged in perspective taking, especially given that high power has been associated with unrealistically enhanced self-perceptions and the tendency to self-ascribe positive attributes and outcomes (Kipnis, 1972, 1976; O’Neal, Kipnis, & Craig, 1994; Rind & Kipnis, 1999).

Despite potential limitations associated with the manipulation, the high perspective taking condition did indeed report engaging in higher levels of perspective taking than the low perspective taking condition, and perspective taking directly affected verbal power tactics, as hypothesized. These findings are consistent with my previous studies showing that people higher on perspective taking are more likely to use soft power tactics that consider the needs and concerns of others, but less likely to use harsh, coercive power tactics (Study 2). Similar to Study 3, the findings suggest that perspective taking may lead to the use of more soft, polite verbal power tactics in addition to more relational behavioral power tactics. People higher on perspective taking may be more likely to de-emphasize power differentials by establishing affiliation with others when

attempting to influence them through communication. Conversely, perspective taking may minimize the use of harsh, impolite verbal tactics that serve to emphasize power differentials by employing direct demands and blame. Again, these findings have important implications for power dynamics in interpersonal relationships, and more specifically, how people with high power communicate negative or difficult information to others. High power people who are encouraged to perspective take appear to use more relational strategies to influence subordinates. This may lead to more beneficial power relations that allow others to save face, while addressing problematic situations in a more personable manner.

Building on Study 4 findings that manipulated perspective taking affects behavioral power tactics (specifically sanctions), the current study demonstrates that the effects of manipulated perspective taking extend to verbal power tactics, specifically the politeness strategies people use when communicating with others. Collectively, the findings from experimental Studies 4 and 5 provide evidence for a relationship between perspective taking, behavioral power tactics, and verbal power tactics. These studies provide evidence that perspective taking *directly* affects the tactics people use when attempting to influence others. Additionally, given that perspective taking was manipulated in the context of high power, the current study further suggests that perspective taking may be especially important under conditions of high power. Perspective taking may mitigate the harsh power tendencies—both behavioral and verbal—of high power people.

CHAPTER VII

General Discussion

Overall, my primary hypothesis that perspective taking affects behavioral and verbal power tactics was strongly supported by the data. Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated a relationship between dispositional perspective taking and behavioral power tactics, or specific ways of exercising power, and Study 3 demonstrated a relationship between dispositional perspective taking and verbal power tactics, or specific politeness strategies used when communicating with others. Extending these correlational findings, Studies 4 and 5 manipulated perspective taking and demonstrated that perspective taking *directly* affects both behavioral power tactics (sanctions) and verbal power tactics (specific politeness strategies)—suggesting a causal relationship between perspective taking and power tendencies. Additionally, two studies demonstrated interactions between perspective taking and power, such that perspective taking is especially influential in a high power context. In support of my overarching hypothesis that perspective taking affects people’s understanding of social power and the specific power tactics they use, these studies found that perspective taking is associated with the recognition and use of more relational power tactics that incorporate consideration for and affiliation with others. Collectively, my dissertation studies suggest that perspective taking may play a key role in attenuating the negative outcomes of power.

Summary of Results

Chapter II consisted of two correlational studies exploring the relationship between dispositional perspective taking, power recognition, and power tactics. As expected, Study 1 demonstrated that dispositional perspective taking was related to more inclusive power recognition (recognizing both harsh tactics and soft tactics as forms of power). Building on these findings, Study 2 examined the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and the *use* of these types of power to influence others. Consistent with hypotheses, Study 2 found that perspective taking is associated with specific power tendencies: compared to people lower on dispositional perspective taking, people higher on perspective taking were more likely to use soft power tactics, which serve to de-emphasize the power differential by exhibiting consideration for others and appealing to their need and positions; conversely, people higher on dispositional perspective taking were less likely to use harsh power tactics that directly emphasize the power differential by pressuring or coercing others to comply without exhibiting consideration for others. These findings were consistent across both student and working adult samples.

Study 2 also extended findings regarding the relationship between dispositional perspective taking and power recognition, demonstrating that perspective taking is associated with more inclusive power recognition across different levels of status, as people higher on perspective taking were more likely to recognize the actions of lower status individuals (i.e., peers and subordinates) as power.

Building on Study 2 findings that dispositional perspective taking is associated with specific behavioral power tactics, Study 3 explored whether this relationship extends

to verbal power tactics—the politeness strategies people utilize when attempting to influence others through words. Examining the effects of perspective taking and manipulated power in the context of an organizational scenario (a business setting), this study demonstrated interactive effects of dispositional perspective taking and power on verbal power tactics. As hypothesized, people higher on dispositional perspective taking were more polite, and this relationship between perspective taking and politeness was most prominent for people in the high power condition. In other words, perspective taking influences verbal power tactics (increasing politeness), but only under conditions of high power. This interaction between perspective taking and power on politeness was also consistent across both student and working adult samples.

Extending correlational findings that dispositional perspective taking is associated with the use of specific power tactics, Studies 4 and 5 addressed the extent to which perspective taking can be manipulated to directly affect behavioral and verbal power tactics. Study 4 manipulated both perspective taking and power in the context of an organizational scenario (an academic setting) to examine whether perspective taking directly affects harsh power tactics, specifically coercive power tactics used to sanction others. Results demonstrated that people in the high perspective taking condition chose less harsh sanctions compared to people in the low perspective taking condition, and these effects were more pronounced under conditions of high power, as expected. In other words, perspective taking effects were only significant in the high power condition, such that people who had engaged in perspective taking following a high power task administered sanctions less severely.

Building on Study 4 findings that manipulated perspective taking directly affects

behavioral power tactics, Study 5 explored whether this relationship extends to verbal power tactics, specifically politeness strategies used in email communication. Given the more pronounced effects of perspective taking under conditions of high power (as evidenced in Studies 3 and 4), Study 5 manipulated perspective taking in the context of high power. As hypothesized, this study demonstrated that relative to people in the low perspective taking condition, people in the high perspective taking condition were less likely to use impolite verbal tactics, which address the issue at hand directly and place blame on others, but more likely to use polite verbal tactics, which incorporate face-saving strategies to address the problem more informally and avoid placing blame on others.

The experimental findings from Studies 4 and 5 extend the correlational findings from Studies 1-3, demonstrating a causal relationship between perspective taking and power tactics, such that perspective taking *directly* affects the behavioral and verbal tactics people used to influence others. Together, my dissertation studies provide substantial evidence that perspective taking leads to the use of more relational power tactics that consider the needs and feelings of others.

Additional considerations. These perspective taking effects held even when controlling for the effects of other individual difference variables, such as social dominance orientation (Studies 1 and 5), and universalism and benevolence values (Study 2), suggesting there is a unique component to the process of perspective taking above and beyond overall perceptions of power and social hierarchies, and principles of kindness or social justice. The effects also held when controlling for demographic variables including gender, age, and work experience in student samples (Studies 1 and 2), and gender, age,

and socio-economic status demographics (e.g., status level at work, education, and income) in working adult samples (Studies 2 and 3). Perspective taking effects on politeness held even when controlling for state affect (Study 3), indicating that perspective taking is a significant predictor of verbal power tactics above and beyond the effects of mood. Additionally, while there were some unanticipated effects of gender and age throughout the studies, these effects pertained to mean differences in the dependent variables—*not* differences in the relationship between perspective taking and power tactics. For example, females were more likely than males to engage in dispositional perspective taking and to recognize/use soft power tactics; however, the effects of perspective taking on power tactics did not differ by gender.

Furthermore, in experimental studies, the effects of manipulated perspective taking on behavioral power tactics held when controlling for perceived difficulty of the task, liking for and perceived guilt of the accused party (Study 4); and effects of manipulated perspective taking on verbal power tactics held even when controlling for a prescreen measure of dispositional perspective taking (Study 5). These findings suggest that observed perspective taking effects on behavioral power tactics were not due to differences in liking, perceived guilt/innocence, or perceived difficulty of the situation, and observed perspective taking effects on verbal power tactics were not merely due to differences in dispositional perspective taking attributes, but rather to differences in state perspective taking mindset induced by the perspective taking manipulations. In other words, encouraging people to engage in perspective taking behavior in the moment—inferring other’s psychological viewpoints—had a unique effect on power tactics above and beyond dispositional tendencies toward perspective taking (or lack thereof).

Implications

These findings extend the power and perspective taking literatures in important theoretical and practical ways. Findings suggest that the positive implications of perspective taking can be extended to power use in addition to other prosocial outcomes, such as moral judgment (Mason & Gibbs, 1993) and altruistic behavior (Batson, et al., 2003). In addition to establishing an association between dispositional perspective taking and power tactics, two studies manipulated perspective taking and demonstrated direct effects on both behavioral and verbal tactics. Thus the construct of perspective taking seems to be malleable.

The power literature supports the notion that high power people are less likely to engage in perspective taking behaviors, providing evidence that high power people are less motivated to pay attention to low power people (e.g., Snodgrass, 1985; Fiske, 1993; Galinsky, et al, 2006). I argue that this failure to infer the psychological viewpoint of others paves the way for negative power outcomes, such as those observed in previous research on the effects of power on those who possess it (e.g., Kipnis, 1972; Haney, et al., 1973; Goodwin, et al., 1998; and Woike, 1994). My dissertation turns this causal relationship between power and perspective taking around to examine how perspective taking affects power, and the extent to which perspective taking might be *changed* to facilitate more positive power outcomes. Given that powerful people tend to be self-interested and “think *of* rather than *about* acting” (Galinsky, et al., 2003), a high perspective taking mindset should encourage consideration of others’ perspectives before acting, and ultimately result in less automatic, uninhibited responses. My dissertation findings demonstrate that perspective taking has the potential to be manipulated to yield

different power tactics, specifically the use of more soft, relational tactics that incorporate the needs and positions of others, rather than relying solely upon harsh tactics that serve to reinforce the power differential.

Galinsky and colleagues' (2006) found that those primed with a high-power mindset are less likely to engage in processes related to perspective taking. The current experimental research extends these findings by beginning to explore the direct consequences for power-holders who do not engage in perspective taking: Relative to those who are encouraged to perspective take, people in high power contexts who are *not* encouraged to perspective take are more likely to use harsh power in their behavioral tactics, advocating more severe punishments/sanctions. In addition to perspective taking effects on behavioral power tactics, perspective taking also influences verbal power tactics, specifically the politeness strategies people use when communicating with others in the context of power relationships, or supervisor-subordinate dynamics. Compared to those who are encouraged to perspective take, people in high power contexts who are *not* encouraged to perspective take are more likely to use impolite verbal tactics, which reinforce the power differential by using direct demands and placing blame. Conversely, people in high power contexts who are encouraged to perspective take are more likely to use polite verbal tactics that serve to minimize existing power differentials between the power-holder and subordinate by addressing problems more indirectly, avoiding blame, and providing the subordinate with motivation, assistance, and support. The use of such relational, other-oriented communication strategies has been shown to increase feelings of perceived respect among employees (Apker, et al, 2005).

Rather than addressing a single medium of power use, the current studies serve to

demonstrate the potential mitigating effects of perspective taking on two means of exercising power, both behavioral power tactics—specific ways of exercising power, as well as verbal power tactics—specific politeness strategies used when communicating with others. Additionally, rather than conceptualizing perspective taking as the process of accurately identifying the visual perspective of others, the information available to others, and/or the facial expressions of others (Galinsky, et al., 2006), these studies encompassed more underlying elements of this process, encouraging participants to engage in perspective taking for another party’s internal, psychological state (e.g., another’s thoughts and feelings). Perspective taking emerges as an important determinant of how power is utilized through both actions and words. High perspective taking may tame power and influence tactics, yielding more relational outcomes.

The results provide support for potential perspective taking interventions. These perspective taking effects have substantial ramifications for authoritative relationships and organizational dynamics. Interventions can aim to instill high perspective taking ideals and to train individuals to consider other people’s psychological perspectives and circumstances before acting. The current findings suggest that training is fairly easy—simply telling people to perspective take affects power tactics. However, it is important to note that while training may be simple, the effects of training may be short term. More in-depth, nuanced interventions that aim to establish managerial norms to support these ideas may encourage softer, more relational power tactics and therefore more mutually respectful employee relations. Further, educating employees on the advantages and disadvantages associated with various behavioral and verbal power tactics would provide them with an arsenal for managing others in the workplace. Future field research is

needed to investigate these intervention possibilities further.

Limitations and Future Directions

Mechanisms and measures. The mechanisms through which perspective taking has these attenuating effects on power have not been established. I do not know from the current data whether the results are due to increases in empathy (consistent with Batson et al.'s 1997 work), increases in situational attributions (as Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003, found), increases in interdependent self-construal—perceptions of the self as interdependent on others as opposed to independent from others (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) and self-other overlap (as in Davis et al., 2004), or through some other mechanism. Perspective taking effects could be attributed to cognitive processes, such as cognitive complexity (as in Woike, 2004), or to psycho-social processes, such as interpersonal concerns, which have been shown to affect high-power people's judgment processes (Overbeck & Park, 2001, 2006).

For example, the current research (Studies 1 and 2) showed that high perspective takers were more likely to recognize soft, relational power tactics as forms of power. If dispositional perspective taking is associated with more complex perceptions and definitions of power, and high perspective takers acknowledge a wider range of power options at their disposal, power recognition could be implicated in how people choose to wield power and influence. Future research should include measures of perspective taking, power recognition, and power use in the context of the same study to explore power recognition as a potential process variable. These studies suggest that power recognition may play an important role in the perspective taking-power relationship; however, further research will be needed to clarify these questions of process.

The current research also sought to investigate both behavioral and verbal power tactics. However, while the experimental studies explored both harsh and soft verbal tactics, they addressed only harsh behavioral power tactics, as Study 4 focused specifically upon coercive tactics—the type of sanctions people use, and how they administer those sanctions. Future work should continue to address multiple means of exercising power, namely the inclusion of both action strategies and communication strategies, while including measures of both harsh and soft power tactics in each domain.

Similarly, future research should assess multiple components of perspective taking—both cognitive and affective—to explore whether the perspective taking-power relationship holds across different components of the perspective taking process. While current perspective taking measures address attempts to acknowledge and understand another's thoughts and feelings, these perspective taking elements are conflated in the same measure; the dispositional perspective taking measure (i.e., the perspective taking subscale of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index) consists of items pertaining to imagining another's viewpoint *as well as* their feelings surrounding it, and perspective taking manipulations encourage participants to imagine how others “think *and* feel” about a situation. However, these may not always be intrinsically linked processes, or co-occurring elements of interpersonal reactivity (Davis, 1983). Recent research by Bagozzi and colleagues (in press) has shown a decoupling of theory of mind (related to perspective taking) and affect (related to empathic reactions) with respect to a specific personality style—Machiavellianism. Machiavellianism is associated with the use of deception and manipulation of others for personal gain, specifically when striving to attain power or status. Thus measuring and manipulating these cognitive and affective

processes separately is an important future direction for research on perspective taking in the context of power. Rather than treating perspective taking as a unitary phenomenon, future research should continue to tease apart these cognitive and affective perspective taking processes, as they may yield different power outcomes. Additionally, the quasi-experimental and experimental designs also intended to explore the effects of perspective taking as a function of different levels of power. However, while interaction effects demonstrated that perspective taking leads to increased politeness and decreased use of harsh sanctions, perspective taking effects were only prominent under conditions of high power. Further research will be needed to identify factors fueling power and influence tactics for low and equal power people.

Furthermore, while perspective taking is associated with the use of soft, relational power tactics, the effect of perspective taking is unlikely to be a panacea under all circumstances. For example, perspective taking may make power-holders feel inclined to rely *too* heavily on soft tactics, which could be ineffective with a repeat-offender or problem employee. The polite response may not always be the *right* response, as there may be instances in which direct demands and blame are in order. This research does not address the advantages and disadvantages of harsh vs. soft behavioral and verbal tactics. Further, given that these power tactics are not mutually exclusive, most people use a mix of multiple tactics to influence others. However, this research does not address the consequences of using both harsh and soft tactics simultaneously, or in combination with one another. The effectiveness and consequences of different power tactics likely depend upon the specific relationships, the given circumstances surrounding a situation, other contextual factors such as organizational norms and power dynamics, and cultural

differences in work-related power values (Hofstede, 1980). Again, further research will be needed to clarify the role of cultural and organizational contexts and the boundary conditions of when soft, relational tactics are more beneficial for supervisor-subordinate dynamics than harsh tactics.

Sample characteristics. The samples introduce other potential limitations, as the majority of these studies consisted of undergraduate participants. It is important to note that undergraduate students who have little experience with power may be more malleable in terms of these perspective taking manipulations than working adults who negotiate power dynamics on a frequent basis, as working adults have presumably established default strategies for managing and influencing others. However, controlling for students' work experience in Study 1 did not change the regression results for power recognition. Furthermore, two of the studies were conducted with samples of working adults, and results were consistent across student and working adult samples. While these studies were not conducted in the context of specific organizations, previous research has shown that online studies using MTurk can be used to obtain high-quality data relatively inexpensively and rapidly (e.g., Pontin, 2007; Mason & Watts, 2009; Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011).

Additionally, two of the experimental studies were conducted in controlled lab settings with a specific population; thus the results obtained for introductory psychology students might not generalize to organizational populations. With a rather liberal, politically correct, and socially conscious atmosphere at this institution, developing a design that would make hypothetical power salient for students was extremely challenging. Undergraduate students are not prone to feel power over one another, let

alone utilize this power and authority. However, I tailored the experimental designs to these particular student samples by using self-relevant manipulations of power and perspective taking based on participants' own experiences (e.g., writing tasks pertaining to their own relationships, a simulated Honor Committee scenario in which undergraduates have very real power), and their intrinsic characteristics (e.g., their own leadership abilities) to create meaningful experiences and engagement in the studies.

Furthermore, I argue that this potential weakness of an undergraduate sample can be considered an advantage of the design. While the majority of such students are most likely hesitant to use authority against other students, the results for Studies 4 and 5 indicate that the designs effectively created situations in which students did feel power and status over their hypothetical subordinates, and they expressed that power in a variety of ways. These results were obtained using an undergraduate sample of students with limited power experience, who were submersed in a socially conscious environment. If perspective taking mitigated power decisions under these conditions, results may be even more pronounced if the study were conducted with an organizational sample of people who experience real social power over others and are most likely less hesitant to use this power in a harsh manner. However, a field study utilizing organizational authority figures who actually manage others would facilitate greater external validity. Measuring and manipulating perspective taking ideals for organizational authority figures and employees may reveal findings that further increase the applicability to real-world organizational settings and outcomes.

Study design. There are also limitations associated with both correlational and experimental designs. While the correlational studies establish a relationship between

dispositional perspective taking and power tendencies, these designs preclude causal inferences because they do not address the direction of causality. As mentioned previously, linear regression analyses in Studies 1 and 2 also suffered from noteworthy shortcomings due to including the dependent variables of interest in separate models (e.g., harsh power tactics vs. soft power tactics). Additionally, four of the five studies utilize self-report responses rather than behavioral observations, and these responses might differ substantially in a real-world setting. For example, what we say we would do does not always reflect what we would actually do—it is easier to use power against a fictional target when there are no real-life consequences. Using in-person lab studies to explore the direct effects of perspective taking on subsequent behavior, the experimental studies complement the correlational and quasi-experimental designs by establishing evidence for a causal relationship between perspective taking and power.

While these experimental designs introduce limitations of their own (e.g., external validity), these paradigms also introduce some unique advantages. The perspective taking manipulations (or potential interventions) seem to have adequately created meaningful differences between the two conditions (Studies 4 and 5), and this distinction between the groups presumably caused the participants to utilize their power very differently. Because Study 4 used self-referent perspective taking and power manipulations, and Study 5 linked the power granted to students to their intrinsic leadership abilities, the assignment to condition was meaningful to students rather than random and inconsequential. The performance reward also provided motivation and engagement in Study 5. Hence, the students were quite committed to performing their respective roles. The designs for Studies 4 and 5 also attempted to simulate a realistic academic scenario and a typical

office atmosphere, respectively, and created authoritative relationships between a power-holder (i.e., Honor Committee member in Study 4, and supervisor in Study 5) and subordinate(s). Additionally, the Study 5 time constraints, paired with the incentive to complete a task while responding to additional requests and issues, mimicked the pressure of competing priorities, which are an integral part of the workplace. While the setting was not equivalent to real-world office dynamics, a real-world workplace setting that involves face-to-face interactions and multiple tasks with more severe implications than a simple crossword task would only increase the potential for harsh power use and the consequences of power decisions.

Conclusion

Triangulating the data across multiple studies (each with distinct advantages) creates a more cohesive picture of the relationship between perspective taking and power—both dispositional and manipulated perspective taking are associated with more relational power tactics. The real world implications of these findings for organizational settings are substantial. Extending these findings to the workplace, I would predict that high power people may be engaging in less worker perspective taking and therefore more willing to engage in various harsh power tactics, both behavioral and verbal. Those who neglect to engage in perspective taking and remain psychologically detached from their subordinates may be more impulsive and less inhibited in their power decisions, while those with high perspective taking ideals may experience increased inhibition and contemplation in power decisions. If higher levels of perspective taking decrease the likelihood that authority figures will use power by harshly exerting their control over others' outcomes, perspective taking could be implicated in pro-social power decisions.

Research in actual organizations will be necessary to confirm these predictions, as undergraduate samples differ greatly from those who typically hold power over others in the workplace. The effect of perspective taking may be more pronounced with participants who regularly hold power over others; on the other hand, the effect could be weaker when the consequences of harsh power tactics are more real. Interventions that teach and encourage perspective taking to improve the treatment of employees and overall workplace dynamics are another fruitful direction for further research. As Fiske (1993) suggests, organizations can encourage individuating attention to subordinates by the structures they create. Organizations can establish managerial norms that make the viewpoints of others more salient, promote fair, unbiased treatment of subordinates, and create guidelines and policies to serve as internal checks on the power of authority figures within the organization. Conversely, organizations can neglect such issues and allow the powerful to utilize the control and influence at their disposal however they see fit, without any occupational or social consequences for their power decisions. In today's society, in which the powerful and the powerless are becomingly increasingly differentiated, understanding the psychology of power is critical. The current research sheds light on this domain by identifying perspective taking as one factor that has the potential to tame power and channel it into more socially constructive actions.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Power Recognition: Behavioral Checklist

Please read the following sentences and indicate whether or not the person in the example used power. You will rate each item using a forced yes/no answer scale where bolded names in each sentence represent the person whose behavior is being rated. After each sentence is presented, you will be asked whether person X in the sentence used power. Then simply check “yes” or “no” accordingly.

Example: “Tom’s **football coach** makes him run extra laps”

Did Tom’s football coach use power?

Yes
No

<i>Item #</i>	<i>Power type</i>	<i>Item</i>
1	(Relational)	Jack’s boss does him an unsolicited favor and asks for one in return.
2	(Control)	A college freshman begs her parents for money to buy books.
3	(Relational)	An admissions officer at a prestigious college accepts Brian, whose parents attended that college.
4	(Independent)	After her car malfunctioned and seriously injured her, Julie sues Ford for compensation.
5	(Independent)	Helen tells her son to mow the lawn.
6	(Control)	Jim goes to the movies with his three good friends.
7	(Independent)	Sheila works slowly through her job assignments in order to avoid being given a heavier work load.
8	(Independent)	A wealthy country places economic sanctions on an unstable state.
9	(Independent)	Jan threatens to fire her employee if he is late again.

10	(Independent)	A judge sentences a criminal to 3-5 years in prison.
11	(Control)	Brandon leaves work early to go to a doctor's appointment.
12	(Relational)	A teenager argues that he needs a car because he can then pick up his younger sister at soccer practice even though he wants it for other reasons.
13	(Control)	A student asks her professor for help finding a particular reference.
14	(Independent)	A policeman pulls over a vehicle going well above the speed limit and gives the driver a ticket.
15	(Relational)	John asks his uncle for a job because they are family, even though his store has no openings.
16	(Relational)	During a job interview, Michael compliments his prospective employer on his office and his clothing in order to increase his chances of getting the job.
17	(Relational)	Sean mentions to his girlfriend several times how much he appreciated her last gift in the hopes that she'll buy him something else.
18	(Independent)	After being sexually harassed, Jackie files an official complaint against the perpetrator.
19	(Relational)	Mike asks his subordinate to get lunch for him because they are friends.
20	(Relational)	Sandra agrees to fly to Phoenix on business because she can then visit her mother, who recently moved there.
21	(Relational)	In order to get out of a particular work assignment, Dan tells his boss that he thinks she should do it because she would do a better job and would therefore gain more prestige through it.
22	(Independent)	A judge overturns Affirmative Action policies because he believes them to be unconstitutional.
23	(Relational)	In order to make her more comfortable with a particular decision already made, Rachel's supervisor asks for her opinion, even though she knows it will not influence the decision in any way.
24	(Control)	A family doctor refers her patient to a specialist because she believes he needs further testing.
25	(Independent)	Tom's football coach makes him run extra laps.

APPENDIX B

Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI)

Please indicate the extent to which each of the following statements describes you. Respond to the following items on a 7-point scale (1 = "Not at all true of me" to 7 = "Very true of me").

Perspective Taking:

I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view. (R)

I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.

I try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.

If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments. (R)

I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.

When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while.

Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.

Fantasy:

I daydream and fantasize, with some regularity, about things that might happen to me.

I really get involved with the feelings of the characters in a novel.

I am usually objective when I watch a movie or play, and don't get completely caught up in it. (R)

Becoming extremely involved in a good book or movie is somewhat rare for me. (R)

After seeing a play or movie, I have felt as though I were one of the characters.

When I watch a good movie, I can very easily put myself in the place of a leading character.

When I am reading an interesting story or novel, I imagine how I would feel if the events in the story were happening to me.

Empathic Concern:

I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.

Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems. (R)

When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.

Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal. (R)

When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them. (R)

I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.
I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.

Personal Distress:

In emergency situations, I feel apprehensive and ill-at-ease.
I sometimes feel helpless when I am in the middle of a very emotional situation.
When I see someone get hurt, I tend to remain calm. (R)
Being in a tense emotional situation scares me.
I am usually pretty effective in dealing with emergencies. (R)
I tend to lose control during emergencies.
When I see someone who badly needs help in an emergency, I go to pieces.

APPENDIX C

Power Tactics

While responding to the following questions about management tactics, please consider the times in which you have been in the role of a leader or manager (e.g., a project leader, supervisor, director, etc.). If you can't think of times when you were in a such a position, simply consider what you WOULD do if you were in such a position. Give your best guess as to your own style and what you would do. In these statements, the “*target*” refers to the target of the management strategy, or whomever you are attempting to manage. Respond to the following items on a 5-point scale (1= “Not at all” to 5= “Frequently, if not always”).

Soft/relational Power:

Persuasive

Make clear and persuasive oral presentations to targets.

Use facts and logic to support a position or proposal.

Interpret events and analyze problems in a way that makes sense to targets.

Referent

Be the type of person people enjoy working with.

Have an attitude of enthusiasm and optimism that is contagious.

Have strong integrity and be a person targets can trust.

Charisma

Use your ability to appeal to a target's emotions and values.

Use your position to provide social mentorship and social support to a target.

Use your position to provide emotional mentorship and emotional support to a target.

Use your position to provide career mentorship and career support to a target.

Be the type of person targets would like to have as a close friend.

Use your ability to communicate a clear vision of what the organizational unit/group could accomplish or become.

Harsh Power:

Reward

Use your position to help a target obtain resources.

Use your position to prevent a target from obtaining resources.

Use your position to increase a target's chance of getting a pay raise or bonus.

Use your position to decrease a target's chance of getting a pay raise or bonus.

Use your control over resources as an incentive to get people to do their work effectively (e.g., your access to funds, supplies, equipment, facilities, personnel).
Use your position to help a target get ahead in an organization.
Use your position to prevent a target from getting ahead in an organization.

Coercive

Use your position to take disciplinary action against targets if they fail to comply with a request.
Use your position to dismiss a target from a task or project if he/she neglects responsibilities
Use your position to dismiss a target from a job if he/she neglects duties.
Use your position to prevent a target from accomplishing a task.
Use your position to coerce a target to accomplish a certain task.

Legitimate

Use your authority to give people tasks or assignments.
Use your authority to specify how a target should do a task.
Use your authority to determine whether a task someone does is acceptable or not.
Use your authority to evaluate a target's performance.

APPENDIX D

Influence Tactics

While responding to the following questions, please consider the times in which you have attempted to persuade one or more people (through words, actions, etc.). Give your best guess as to your own persuasive tactics. In these statements, the “*target*” refers to the target of persuasion, or whomever you are attempting to persuade. Respond to the following items on a 5-point scale (1= “Not at all” to 5= “Frequently, if not always”).

Soft-relational Influence:

Inspirational appeals

I make requests or proposals that arouse target enthusiasm by appealing to target values, ideals, or aspirations

I make requests or proposals that appeal to the target by increasing his/her self-confidence

Consultation

I seek the target’s participation in planning a strategy, activity, or change for which I desire his/her support and assistance

I indicate that I am willing to modify requests or proposals to address the target’s concerns and suggestions

Coalition tactics

I seek the assistance of others to help persuade the target to do something

I use the support of others (e.g., my connections) as a reason for the target to do something

Ingratiation

I use praise and flattery to get the target to think favorably of himself/herself before I ask for something

I use friendly behavior to get the target in a good mood before I ask for something

I use helpful behavior to get the target in a good mood before I ask for something

Personal appeals

I appeal to a target’s feelings of loyalty and friendship toward me when I ask for something

Rational persuasion

I use logical arguments to persuade the target that a proposal or request is viable
I use factual evidence to persuade the target that a proposal or request is likely to result in the attainment of task objectives

Harsh Influence:

Exchange

I offer an exchange of favors, indicating a willingness to reciprocate at a later time (e.g., the target helps me now, and I help the target later, or vice versa).

I promise to share the benefits if the target helps me accomplish a task

Pressure

I use direct orders and demands to influence the target to do something

I use threats to influence the target to do something

I use frequent checking and persistent reminders to influence the target to do something

Legitimizing tactics

I seek to establish the legitimacy of a request by claiming the authority or right to make it.

I seek to establish the legitimacy of a request by verifying that it is consistent with organizational policies or rules

I seek to establish the legitimacy of a request by verifying that it is consistent with organizational norms, traditions or culture

I use my position of authority or refer to the "chain of command" to establish the legitimacy of a request.

APPENDIX E

Power Recognition Across Status: Behavioral Checklist

Please read the following sentences and indicate whether or not the person in the example used power. You will rate each item using a forced yes/no answer scale where bolded names in each sentence represent the person whose behavior is being rated. In these sentences, the “*target*” refers to the target of the person’s behavior (the person at whom the behavior is directed). After each sentence is presented, you will be given further information about the people involved in the example, and you will be asked whether person X in the example used power. Then simply check “yes” or “no” accordingly.

Example: “**Jaime** used direct orders and/or demands to influence the target to do something.”

Please consider the following scenarios, and indicate whether or not you think Jaime used power.

Three Versions of Each Item

<i>Question prompt</i>	Yes	No
If Jamie is a supervisor, and the target is a subordinate- did Jamie use power?		
If Jamie is a colleague or peer and the target is a colleague or peer of equal status- did Jamie use power?		
If Jamie is a subordinate, and the target is a supervisor- did Jamie use power?		

Influence Tactics:

Jaime used logical arguments to persuade a target that a proposal or request was viable.

Jaime used factual evidence to persuade the target that a proposal or request was likely to result in the attainment of task objectives.

Jaime made requests or proposals that aroused the target's enthusiasm by appealing to the target's values, ideals, and aspirations.

Jaime made requests or proposals that appealed to the target by increasing the target's self-confidence.

Jaime sought the target's participation in planning a strategy or change for which Jaime desired the target's support and assistance.

In making a request from the target, **Jaime** indicated a willingness to modify the request or proposal to address the target's concerns and suggestions.

Jaime used praise and flattery to get the target to think favorably of himself/herself before Jaime asked for something.

Jaime used friendly behavior to get the target in a good mood before Jaime asked for something.

Jaime used helpful behavior to get the target in a good mood before Jaime asked for something.

Jaime appealed to a target's feelings of loyalty and friendship when Jaime asked for something.

Jaime offered an exchange of favors to the target, indicating a willingness to reciprocate at a later time (e.g., the target helps Jaime now, and Jaime helps the target later, or vice versa).

Jaime promised to share the benefits if the target would agree to help Jaime accomplish a task.

Jaime sought the assistance of others to help persuade the target to do something.

Jaime used the support of others (e.g., Jaime's connections) as a reason for the target to do something.

Jaime used direct orders and/or demands to influence the target to do something.

Jaime used threats and/or ultimatums to influence the target to do something.

Jaime used frequent checking and/or persistent reminders to influence the target to do something.

Jaime sought to establish the legitimacy of a request by claiming the authority or right to make it.

Jaime sought to establish the legitimacy of a request by verifying that it is consistent with organizational policies or rules.

Jaime sought to establish the legitimacy of a request by verifying that it is consistent with organizational norms, traditions or culture.

Jaime used a position of authority and referred to the "chain of command" to establish the legitimacy of a request.

APPENDIX F

Organizational Vignette: High Relative Power

Imagine you are a senior partner in a consulting firm. You act as a project supervisor—you lead task force teams and report back to the director of your department. You have high status within the organization, but you do not have the ability to formally reprimand or fire employees. If a problem arises within your team, you have the discretion to report to the director of your department.

Two months ago, a multi-national company in a fast growing industry asked your consulting firm to bid on a project to redesign their Information Technology Strategy. This project was very important to your firm. It was the first time this company had ever approached your firm. If you landed this project, there was a good chance this company would become a major client. Information Technology is already your firm's specialty, and landing this account would solidly establish your firm as the undisputed leader in this area. The stakes were extremely high.

You were asked to be in charge of the proposal, and a junior associate, Andy, assisted you full time. You worked very closely with Andy on all aspects of the project. After two months of working on the proposal, you and Andy prepared a detailed presentation of your ideas for the top management team of the multinational company. Both you and Andy were in charge of delivering different parts of the presentation.

You and Andy ended up having to drive separately to this meeting. You arrived at the location with plenty of time to spare, but Andy was not there. When the top management team of the multi-national company arrived, everyone waited for a while for Andy to arrive. After ten minutes, it became clear that you must proceed without him.

Typically, the quality and quantity of Andy's work has been acceptable. However, his recent behavior had been damaging to this important project. After the presentation you return to the office, and you see Andy. How would you respond?

Have you carefully read this section?

_____ I agree that I have carefully read the previous scenario and the instructions above.

Relative to the character ANDY, what position are you in (as the SENIOR PARTNER)?

The SENIOR PARTNER is in...

_____ A position of higher power

_____ A position of equal power

_____ A position of lower power

APPENDIX G

Organizational Vignette: Low Relative Power

Imagine you are a junior subordinate in a consulting firm. You act as a junior associate on organizational projects- you participate in task force teams. You have low status within the organization, so you do not have the ability to formally reprimand or fire employees. If a problem arises within your team, you have the discretion to report to the director of your department.

Two months ago, a multi-national company in a fast growing industry asked your consulting firm to bid on a project to redesign their Information Technology Strategy. This project was very important to your firm. It was the first time this company had ever approached your firm. If you landed this project, there was a good chance this company would become a major client. Information Technology is already your firm's specialty, and landing this account would solidly establish your firm as the undisputed leader in this area. The stakes were extremely high.

You were asked to work on the proposal, and a senior partner, Mr. Ames, would act as the project supervisor and oversee the proposal development full time. You worked very closely with Mr. Ames on all aspects of the project. After two months of working on the proposal, you and Mr. Ames prepared a detailed presentation of your ideas for the top management team of the multinational company. Both you and Mr. Ames were in charge of delivering different parts of the presentation.

You and Mr. Ames ended up having to drive separately to this meeting. You arrived at the location with plenty of time to spare, but Mr. Ames was not there. When the top management team of the multi-national company arrived, everyone waited for a while for Mr. Ames to arrive. After ten minutes, it became clear that you must proceed without him.

Typically, the quality and quantity of Mr. Ames's work has been acceptable. However, his recent behavior had been damaging to this important project. After the presentation you return to the office, and you see Mr. Ames. How would you respond?

Have you carefully read this section?

___ I agree that I have carefully read the previous scenario and the instructions above.

Relative to the character MR. AMES, what position are you in (as the JUNIOR SUBORDINATE)?

The JUNIOR SUBORDINATE is in...

___ A position of higher power

___ A position of equal power

___ A position of lower power

APPENDIX H

Organizational Vignette: Equal Relative Power

Imagine you are an associate in a consulting firm. You are an associate on organizational projects- you participate in task force teams. You have moderate status within the organization, but you do not have the ability to formally reprimand or fire employees. If a problem arises within your team, you have the discretion to report to the director of your department.

Two months ago, a multi-national company in a fast growing industry asked your consulting firm to bid on a project to redesign their Information Technology Strategy. This project was very important to your firm. It was the first time this company had ever approached your firm. If you landed this project, there was a good chance this company would become a major client. Information Technology is already your firm's specialty, and landing this account would solidly establish your firm as the undisputed leader in this area. The stakes were extremely high.

You and another employee, Andy, were asked to work on the proposal. You and Andy have the same status within the organization. You worked very closely with Andy on all aspects of the project. After two months of working on the proposal, you and Andy prepared a detailed presentation of your ideas for the top management team of the multinational company. Both you and Andy were in charge of delivering different parts of the presentation.

You and Andy ended up having to drive separately to this meeting. You arrived at the location with plenty of time to spare, but Andy was not there. When the top management team of the multi-national company arrived, everyone waited for a while for Andy to arrive. After ten minutes, it became clear that you must proceed without him.

Typically, the quality and quantity of Andy's work has been acceptable. However, his recent behavior had been damaging to this important project. After the presentation you return to the office, and you see Andy. How would you respond?

Have you carefully read this section?

_____ I agree that I have carefully read the previous scenario and the instructions above.

Relative to the character ANDY, what position are you in (as an ASSOCIATE)?

The ASSOCIATE is in...

_____ A position of higher power

_____ A position of equal power

_____ A position of lower power

APPENDIX I

Power Manipulation

High Power:

Please recall a particular incident in which you had power over another individual or individuals. By power, we mean a situation in which you controlled the ability of another person or persons to get something they wanted, or were in a position to evaluate those individuals. Please describe this situation in which you had power – what happened, how you felt, etc.

Low Power:

Please recall a particular incident in which someone else had power over you. By power, we mean a situation in which someone had control over your ability to get something you wanted, or was in a position to evaluate you. Please describe this situation in which you did not have power – what happened, how you felt, etc.

APPENDIX J

Perspective Taking Manipulation

High Perspective Taking:

Please recall a particular incident in which you were in a disagreement or conflict with another person or persons. By disagreement, we mean any situation in which you were at odds with another person(s) over a particular topic, debate, situation, etc.

Provide a brief description of this disagreement by developing an impression of the other person(s) involved. Rather than explaining your perspective, explain the disagreement and the situation from the perspective of the OTHER person(s). To facilitate accurate impression formation, try to put yourself in the other person's shoes- explain the situation through the other person's eyes. Try to remain focused on the OTHER person's viewpoint and explain how the other person(s) may have interpreted the situation. Think about the circumstances that might have led to this person's perspective, and focus on how they viewed the situation and what they might have been experiencing. What was their position? What were they thinking and feeling? Again simply attempt to reflect the OTHER person's viewpoint of the situation.

Please spend 5-10 minutes writing your response. After about 6 minutes has passed, a "next" arrow will appear at the bottom right of the screen. At that point, please continue writing until you have finished your response. You can then proceed to the next page.

Low Perspective Taking:

Please recall a particular incident in which you were in a disagreement or conflict with another person or persons. By disagreement, we mean any situation in which you were at odds with another person(s) over a particular topic, debate, situation, etc.

Provide a brief description of this disagreement by developing an impression of the situation from YOUR perspective. Explain the disagreement and the situation from your unique perspective. To facilitate accurate impression formation, try to remain focused on YOUR viewpoint and explain how you interpreted the situation. Think about the circumstances that led to your perspective, and focus on how you viewed the situation and what you were experiencing. What was your position? What were you thinking and feeling? Again simply attempt to reflect YOUR viewpoint of the situation.

Please spend 5-10 minutes writing your response. After about 6 minutes has passed, a "next" arrow will appear at the bottom right of the screen. At that point, please continue writing until you have finished your response. You can then proceed to the next page.

APPENDIX K

[Excerpts from] Student Honor Committee (SHC) Training Manual

Meetings

- Try your best to have both case managers present at all meetings.
- For complex cases, bring a pen and paper.
- Should you meet with the professor/complainant?
 - Most cases are straightforward and do not require that you meet with the professor. You have everything you need in the case file. However when it is a complex case, you may need to talk to the professor. Send them an email to set up the meeting. Here are some questions you can ask the professor.
 - How was the student doing in the class before the alleged violation?
 - If, for example, it is something in a language department, you can ask if it is something the student is capable of producing.
 - Well you get the point... do we really need another example?
 - When the complainant is a student, meet with the student and ask them relevant questions (we also recommend that you also schedule a meeting with the professor in addition to meeting with the complainant). Oh and also don't forget to stress our policy on privacy, meaning only that relevant members of the committee will know of their identity, if they ask to remain private. Some question examples are:
 - What did you see?
 - Did you tell the professor or did you come directly to the Honor Committee?
- Meeting with the respondent
 - Bring your case files. The respondent should see everything contained in the folder. The only documents that should be withheld or edited are those that could potentially identify the complainant if s/he has chosen to remain anonymous.
 - Ask the respondent to summarize and tell their side of the story.
 - Ask any clarifying questions you might have.
 - Summarize everything that happens from setting up hearings, the hearings themselves, the Faculty Honor committee, and the letter from the dean

- It may be helpful for them to know that their summary of the case is a large part of the hearing.
- Ask them if they have any questions themselves about anything pertaining to the case or procedures.
- Ask them what their availability would be like for a desired date for the hearing.

A Typical Hearing

- **Before the hearing** starts, the case managers should:
 - Check to make sure that you have all the contents of the case file. If there is any information that must remain confidential, take it out before the hearing.
 - Get forms to fill out while the hearing information from the SHC cubicle and the sanction list
 - Set up the recorder.
 - Get the two microphones out, put in a CD and make sure everything is turned on. Instructions should be at the top of the recorder.
 - Make sure the respondent knows why the hearing is being recorded.

- **The hearing** should then proceed as follows:
 - Turn on the recorder
 - One case member should state the case number (EX. F08-12)
 - GO around the room and have each person state their name and “Hearing panel member,” “Case Manager,” “Respondent,” etc.
 - The respondent should then be instructed to tell their story of what they believed happened in the case. They should also be given access to the case file if they want to refer to it.
 - The hearing panel should all get a chance to look at the case file and ask any questions they might have for the respondent.
 - One case manager should be in charge of ensuring that all parts of the case summary that can be done before deliberations are filled out and ask any questions of the respondent that they need answered to fill it out.
 - Ask if the respondent has any questions, and answer them. Usually this involves explaining what will happen with the case after the hearing.
 - Once there are no more questions from the panel or respondent the respondent should be thanked for coming in, and the recording should be turned off and finalized.

- **Deliberations:**
 - Have a hearing panel member either escort the respondent out or check to make sure the respondent has left before deliberations start.
 - The panel members should discuss the case until there is a consensus that the members are ready to vote on the responsibility of the respondent in the case.

- The standard proof for the Honor Code is more likely than not and this should be taken into consideration when thinking over your standing on responsibility in the cases.
- Once voting takes place:
 - If there is a vote of all members that the respondent is not responsible the deliberations are over. Proceed to The End of the Hearing Process Checklist.
 - If there is a vote of all members of the panel that the respondent is responsible then proceed to Sanctioning
 - It is ideal to have all 5 members vote in the same direction, although only a supermajority of 4 is required by the Honor Code to find the respondent responsible in a violation of the Honor Code. If all 5 members do not vote the same, it would be advisable to continue discussions to see if a consensus can be reached although it is not required.
- **Sanctioning:**
 - These guidelines are flexible and subject to the committee's discretion. Sanctions should be appropriate for the given violation.

APPENDIX L

Case Materials: Letter from Faculty to Committee

OCM^{ail}

reporting an honor code violation

1 message

To: Student Honor Committee

Thu, Nov 11, 20 at 10:08 AM

Dear Student Honor Committee,

I regretfully write to report an honor code violation that occurred in my class. submitted a paper that had substantial sections cut and pasted from websites. I have given an F on the assignment, which will likely result in failure of the course.

I am sending a hard copy of the paper, along with print-outs of the web sites, with cut and pasted sections highlighted. Please let me know if you need any further information from me, or wish to speak with me directly about this matter.

Thanks,

Prof.

--
Associate Professor

Oberlin College
Oberlin, OH 44074
440 775

APPENDIX M

Case Materials: Letter from Committee to Accused Student

Student Honor Committee
Wilder Hall Box 22 | 135 W. Lorain St. | Oberlin, Ohio, 44074

OBERLIN
COLLEGE & CONSERVATORY

January 4, 2011

Dear Redact,

As you may know, an instance of a possible Honor Code violation in Redact 321 involving you has been brought to the attention of the Student Honor Committee, and charges have been filed. Two case managers have been assigned to you, and will contact you soon to discuss the details of your case and what steps you will need to take. Please familiarize yourself with the current Honor Code, which can be found at: <http://new.oberlin.edu/students/policies/>.

We have also provided you with a scheduling grid - please fill this out by shading in the times that you would NOT be able to meet with a case manager or email us some possible meeting times at ohonor@oberlin.edu.

Sincerely,

Redacted Name
Student Honor Committee Secretary

APPENDIX N

Case Materials: Response Letter from Accused Student to Committee

Dear Honor Committee,

I am very upset about the honor code violation I am accused of, and while I see now why the professor is calling it plagiarism, I must say that I really didn't mean to. I am sincerely sorry if I have violated some parts of the honor code in my paper on Shakespeare. I was under a lot of stress that week and was not in the right state of mind to write a paper.

A week before the paper was due, I found out that my childhood pet – a dog I'd had since I was 4 -- had died. I was very depressed about this event but thought I would be able to continue working on my assignments. It didn't seem like a good reason to ask for an extension. As soon as I recovered from this, I had a terrible fight with my boyfriend and we broke up. At this point it was too late for me to ask for an extension, and I didn't know what to do. I stayed up late, working as hard as I could, but I was upset about the break-up and couldn't concentrate. I did consult online sources for ideas, but I really meant to put things in my own words. I must have had a lack of judgment because of all the stress.

I was so overwhelmed while I was writing this paper and could not think clearly about Shakespeare or anything at all for that matter. To be honest, it's hard for me to remember exactly what I did that night. I may have copy and pasted in a few areas of the paper, but I am unclear about this.

Sincerely,

Redacted Name

APPENDIX O

Case Materials: Excerpt from Marked Paper Assignment

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Paper 2

The Role of Revenge in Shakespeare's Hamlet and Romeo and Juliet

from Academy [In ^{it's} "Hamlet" and ^{it's} "Romeo and Juliet," Shakespeare shows the ugly side of revenge, the side that harms everyone it touches. Revenge is an ugly word that indicates evil and violence, and these two plays illustrate the tragic side of revenge. All the lives lost in both plays could have been spared if vengeance had not been such an issue for all the families, and that is the real and abiding tragedy of these works. The families of the principle characters in both of these plays are the catalysts for much of the revenge. [The families in Romeo and Juliet play a large role in this revenge, whereas death and murder are the main types of revenge in Hamlet.] All of Shakespeare's tragic protagonists are capable of good and evil. As one of the most influential Shakespearean critics of the 19th century, A. C. Bradley argues, "the playwright always insists on the operation of the doctrine of free will; the (anti) hero is always able to back out, to redeem himself. But, the author dictates, they must move unheedingly to their doom." p#?

The want for revenge leads many of the characters in Romeo and Juliet into murderous acts which eventually lead to severe punishments and a further need for

from a more subtle and covert root: the hatred between two families.

I have adhered to the honor code on this assignment.

No you clearly have not.

APPENDIX P

Student Honor Committee Guide for Sanctions

How to Use this Guide and Table:

The first section outlines the *Core Violations*, which each case should fall into. The second section on *Additional Violations* indicates infractions in addition to the primary violation. The third section provides examples of *Mitigating or Exacerbating Circumstances*, or additional factors to consider (e.g., mitigating factors where special circumstances are taken into consideration, such as stress or difficulty speaking English). Honor Committee members should use the specific case materials and their own discretion to determine the sanction depending on the severity of the offense and specific aspects of the Honor Code violation. There will be a space to explain your decision.

There are both internal and external sanctioning options. Internal sanctions are less severe, in that these options are confined to the student's undergraduate career and do not remain on the student's permanent record after graduation. External sanctions are more severe, in that these options are not confined to the student's undergraduate career and therefore remain on the student's permanent record after graduation. Examples of internal sanctions for cases in which the respondent is deemed responsible include the assignment of community service hours, course consequences (e.g., failing the assignment, failing the course, etc.), or the assignment of a paper with a thesis decided by the hearing panel. The panel may either assign a research paper or a reflection/thought paper that may or may not require a meeting or interview with a person at one of the many resource centers on campus. Suggested topics for these papers are listed below. Examples of external sanctioning options include reports on the student's transcript, suspension, expulsion, etc.

Obviously the hearing panel should use discretion when determining an appropriate sanction. Please explain your decision in the "reason for sanction" section.

Violation Descriptions:

Major first or second violations: using another person's work, especially without their permission; a violation involving extreme manipulation; extreme cases of plagiarism; using unauthorized sources, for example on an exam

Minor first or second violations: citation problems; a violation involving a misunderstanding or a lack of understanding of the violation; all Informal Resolutions; a major violation that involved a lot of mitigating circumstances

Suggested Paper Topics:

- Define academic integrity and discuss how it affects you and the quality of the institution where you attend school.
- Why is cheating something that affects everyone negatively?
- How would you feel if someone stole your work and used it as his or her own?
- Discuss the importance of generating your own ideas and making the most out of your education.

Types of Academic Honor Code Violations

<i>Violation types</i>
<i>Core violations</i>
Cheating on an exam/paper
Cheating on a homework assignment
Cheating on a lab
<i>Additional violations</i>
Fabricating Information
Fabricating Sources
Improper/inadequate citation due to carelessness/neglect (not know-how)
Improper/inadequate citation due to lack of citation knowledge
Using a fellow student's work
Cutting and Pasting from Web and/or only changing slightly enough that it is apparent
Using Printed Sources Verbatim and/or only changed slightly enough that it is apparent
Using unauthorized materials during an exam
Using unauthorized materials on an out of class assignment
Collaborating outside of class to cheat with people during an exam
Collaboration on a homework/out of class assignment
Copying a computer program, musical score, work of visual or creative art and submitting it as your own
<i>Mitigating and exacerbating circumstances</i>
Unavoidable stress
Peer Pressure to cheat
Doesn't understand violation
Premeditated
Difficulty with English

***Sanctioning Guidelines:**

Remember that these guidelines are flexible and subject to the committee's discretion. Sanctions should be appropriate for the given violation, and the committee decides which sanctions are appropriate on a case-by-case basis.

APPENDIX Q

List of Sanctions

Given the academic scenario and case materials you've just read, please rate the following 10 sanctioning options for managing the Honor Code violation at hand. What would you do? Please indicate the extent to which you, as a student Honor Committee member, think each option will be an effective way of dealing with the situation and the student (1 = "not at all effective" to 5 = "extremely effective"). Many of these options include follow-up questions, so please be sure to complete each question. For each of the following sanctions, assume the student is currently a sophomore at the institution.

Internal Sanctions

1. The assignment of a paper with a thesis decided by the committee.

Please indicate an assigned number of double-spaced pages that you recommend as most appropriate for this violation: _____

2. The student receives consequences for the particular course assignment associated with the violation.

Please indicate an assigned grade or consequence for the assignment that you recommend as most appropriate for this violation (please indicate only one option):

- The student must re-do the assignment (and follow the initial guidelines)
- The student receives a grade of F on the assignment (60% or lower)
- The student receives a grade of 0 on the assignment (no credit for the assignment)

3. The student receives consequences for the particular course associated with the violation.

Please indicate an assigned grade or consequence for the course that you recommend as most appropriate for this violation (please indicate only one option):

- The student receives a temporary grade of "Incomplete" and must re-take the course to receive a grade
- The student receives a permanent grade of "Incomplete" and cannot re-take the course
- The student receives a grade of F in the course (60% or lower)

- The student receives a grade of 0 in the course (no credit associated with the course)

4. The student receives a letter detailing the academic violation in his/her **internal file**. This file is internal in that it does not leave the institution (only administrators can view the file, but professors cannot).

Please indicate an assigned length of time for the letter to remain on the student's file that you recommend as most appropriate for this violation (please indicate only one option).

- The student receives a letter that is removed after the current academic term/semester
- The student receives a letter that is removed after one academic year
- The student receives a letter that is removed after two academic years
- The student receives a letter that is removed once the student graduates from the institution

5. The student receives a report of the academic violation on his/her **unofficial transcript**. The unofficial transcript is internal in that it does not leave the institution (only administrators and professors can view the transcript, but not external sources).

Please indicate an assigned length of time for the report to remain on the student's unofficial transcript that you recommend as most appropriate for this violation (please indicate only one option).

- The student receives an unofficial transcript report that is removed after the current academic term/semester
- The student receives an unofficial transcript report that is removed after one academic year
- The student receives an unofficial transcript report that is removed after two academic years
- The student receives an unofficial transcript report that is removed once the student graduates from the institution

External Sanctions

6. The assignment of **community service hours** to be decided by the committee.

Please indicate an assigned number of community service hours that you recommend as most appropriate for this violation: _____

7. The student receives a report of the academic violation on his/her **official transcript**. The official transcript is external in that it does leave the institution (the report remains

on the student's record permanently—after graduation and beyond—and external sources have access).

8. The student is placed on **academic probation** for the academic violation. This means that the student can remain at the institution, but any other violations during the probation period would carry more severe consequences.

Please indicate an assigned length of time for the academic probation period that you recommend as most appropriate for this violation (please indicate only one option).

- The student receives academic probation for the current academic term/semester
- The student remains on academic probation for one academic year
- The student remains on academic probation for two academic years
- The student remains on academic probation for three academic years

Other (indicate the number of academic years the student will remain on probation): _____

9. The student receives a **suspension** from the institution for the academic violation. This means that the student is suspended from the institution, but can return to the institution after the assigned length of time.

Please indicate an assigned length of time for the suspension that you recommend as most effective/appropriate for this violation (please indicate only one option).

- The student receives a suspension for the current academic term/semester
- The student receives a suspension for one academic year
- The student receives a suspension for two academic years
- The student receives a suspension for three academic years

Other (indicate the number of academic years the student will remain suspended): _____

10. The student receives an **expulsion** from the institution for the academic violation. This means that the student is expelled from the institution, and cannot return to the institution at any point in time.

APPENDIX R

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)

Which of the following objects or statements do you have a positive or negative feeling toward? Beside each object or statement, please place the number that best represents the degree of your positive or negative feeling. To make your ratings, respond using the following 7-point scale (1= “Very negative” to 7= “Very positive”).

1. All groups should be given an equal chance in life (R).
2. Group equality should be our ideal (R).
3. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
4. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
5. No one group should dominate in society (R).
6. It would be good if groups could be equal (R).
7. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups (R).
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
10. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance than others.
11. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
12. Increased social equality (R).
13. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally (R)

14. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and others at the bottom.
15. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
16. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible (R).

APPENDIX S

Schwartz's Values Survey (SVS)

In this questionnaire you are to ask yourself: "What values are important to ME as guiding principles in MY life, and what values are less important to me?" There are two lists of values on the following pages. These values come from different cultures. In the parentheses following each value is an explanation that may help you to understand its meaning.

Your task is to rate how important each value is for you as a guiding principle in your life. Use the rating scale below:

0--means the value is not at all important, it is not relevant as a guiding principle for you.

3--means the value is important.

6--means the value is very important.

The higher the number (0,1,2,3,4,5,6), the more important the value is as a guiding principle in YOUR life.

-1 is for rating any values opposed to the principles that guide you.

7 is for rating a value of supreme importance as a guiding principle in your life; ordinarily there are no more than two such values.

In the space before each value, write the number (-1,0,1,2,3,4,5,6,7) that indicates the importance of that value for you, personally. Try to distinguish as much as possible between the values by using all the numbers. You will, of course, need to use numbers more than once.

AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN MY LIFE, this value is:

opposed									of
to my	not					very		supreme	
values	important	important				important	importance		
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Before you begin, read the values in the following list, choose the one that is most important to you and rate its importance. Next, choose the value that is most opposed to your values and rate it -1. If there is no such value, choose the value least important to you and rate it 0 or 1, according to its importance. Then rate the rest of the values in the list.

VALUES LIST 1

- 1/ _____ EQUALITY (equal opportunity for all)
- 2/ _____ INNER HARMONY (at peace with myself)
- 3/ _____ SOCIAL POWER (control over others, dominance)
- 4/ _____ PLEASURE (gratification of desires)

AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN MY LIFE, this value is:

opposed										of
to my	not					very				supreme
values	important	important				important				importance
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

- 5/ _____ FREEDOM (freedom of action and thought)
- 6/ _____ SPIRITUAL LIFE (emphasis on spiritual and not material matters)
- 7/ _____ SENSE OF BELONGING (feeling that others care about me)
- 8/ _____ SOCIAL ORDER (stability of society)
- 9/ _____ AN EXCITING LIFE (stimulating experiences)
- 10/ _____ MEANING IN LIFE (a purpose in life)
- 11/ _____ POLITENESS (courtesy, good manners)
- 12/ _____ WEALTH (material possessions, money)
- 13/ _____ NATIONAL SECURITY (protection of my nation from enemies)
- 14/ _____ SELF RESPECT (belief in one's own worth)
- 15/ _____ RECIPROCATION OF FAVORS (avoidance of indebtedness)
- 16/ _____ CREATIVITY (uniqueness, imagination)

- 17/ _____ A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)
- 18/ _____ RESPECT FOR TRADITION (preservation of time-honored customs)
- 19/ _____ MATURE LOVE (deep emotional and spiritual intimacy)
- 20/ _____ SELF-DISCIPLINE (self-restraint, resistance to temptation)
- 21/ _____ PRIVACY (the right to have a private sphere)
- 22/ _____ FAMILY SECURITY (safety for loved ones)
- 23/ _____ SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, approval by others)
- 24/ _____ UNITY WITH NATURE (fitting into nature)
- 25/ _____ A VARIED LIFE (filled with challenge, novelty and change)

AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN MY LIFE, this value is:

opposed									of
to my	not				very				supreme
values	important	important	important	important	important	important	important	important	importance
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

- 26/ _____ WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)
- 27/ _____ AUTHORITY (the right to lead or command)
- 28/ _____ TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close, supportive friends)
- 29/ _____ A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)
- 30/ _____ SOCIAL JUSTICE (correcting injustice, care for the weak)

Now read the values in List 2. Choose the one that is most important to you and rate its importance. Next, choose the value that is most opposed to your values and rate it -1. If there is no such value, choose the value least important to you and rate it 0 or 1, according to its importance. Then rate the rest of the values in the list.

VALUES LIST 2

AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN MY LIFE, this value is:

opposed									of
to my	not				very				supreme

values	important	important	important	importance				
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- 31/ _____ INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
- 32/ _____ MODERATE (avoiding extremes of feeling & action)
- 33/ _____ LOYAL (faithful to my friends, group)
- 34/ _____ AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring)
- 35/ _____ BROADMINDED (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)
- 36/ _____ HUMBLE (modest, self-effacing)
- 37/ _____ DARING (seeking adventure, risk)
- 38/ _____ PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT (preserving nature)

AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN MY LIFE, this value is:

opposed								of
to my	not					very		supreme
values	important	important	important	important	important	important	important	importance
-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- 39/ _____ INFLUENTIAL (having an impact on people and events)
- 40/ _____ HONORING OF PARENTS AND ELDERS (showing respect)
- 41/ _____ CHOOSING OWN GOALS (selecting own purposes)
- 42/ _____ HEALTHY (not being sick physically or mentally)
- 43/ _____ CAPABLE (competent, effective, efficient)
- 44/ _____ ACCEPTING MY PORTION IN LIFE (submitting to life's circumstances)
- 45/ _____ HONEST (genuine, sincere)
- 46/ _____ PRESERVE MY PUBLIC IMAGE (protecting my "face")
- 47/ _____ OBEDIENT (dutiful, meeting obligations)

- 48/ _____ INTELLIGENT (logical, thinking)
- 49/ _____ HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)
- 50/ _____ ENJOYING LIFE (enjoying food, sex, leisure, etc.)
- 51/ _____ DEVOUT (holding to religious faith & belief)
- 52/ _____ RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)
- 53/ _____ CURIOUS (interested in everything, exploring)
- 54/ _____ FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)
- 55/ _____ SUCCESSFUL (achieving goals)
- 56/ _____ CLEAN (neat, tidy)
- 57/ _____ SELF- INDULGENT (doing pleasant things)
- 58/ _____ HAVING CHILDREN (being a parent)

APPENDIX T

Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS)

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. The following items concern how you feel right now. Please respond to each item by indicating how much you agree or disagree with it as it reflects your current feelings. To make your ratings, respond using the following 5-point scale (1= “Very slightly” to 5= “Extremely”).

Please indicate the extent to which you feel...

Interested	Irritable
Distressed	Alert
Excited	Ashamed
Upset	Inspired
Strong	Nervous
Guilty	Determined
Scared	Attentive
Hostile	Jittery
Enthusiastic	Active
Proud	Afraid

APPENDIX U

Perspective Taking Manipulation Check: State Perspective Taking Questions

The next set of questions refers to your mindset while writing your response to the first portion of the survey, in which you described an incident in your life. Please consider each question carefully, and try to be as open and honest as possible in your responses. To make your ratings, respond using the following 7-point scale (1= “Strongly disagree” to 7= “Strongly agree”).

While writing about the incident in my life...

1. I tried to focus on the perspective and opinions of the other person(s) involved in the incident.
2. I tried to imagine what the other person(s) involved in the incident may have been *thinking* about the situation.
3. I tried to imagine what the other person(s) involved in the incident may have been *feeling* about the situation.
4. I focused on my own perspective and opinions on the situation.
5. I focused on what I was *thinking* about the situation.
6. I focused on what I was *feeling* about the situation.
7. I objectively viewed the situation at hand.

APPENDIX V

Perspective Taking Manipulation: Organizational Vignette Task (High Perspective Taking)

The following reading and writing exercise will serve to get you in a leadership frame of mind and make you accustomed to evaluating work scenarios.

Please read the following hypothetical scenario about a manager and an employee, and develop an impression of the employee and the situation from the EMPLOYEE'S perspective. To facilitate accurate impression formation, try to see things not just as a manager, but also as the employee. Think about the circumstances that might have influenced the employee's actions. Imagine how the employee thinks and feels about what has happened. Simply attempt to reflect the EMPLOYEE'S point of view.

You are an office manager, and you're in a very stressful situation at work. This is the busiest time of the year in this particular line of work, and it is also an extremely busy time for phone calls, emails, and foot traffic. You are short staffed, and there is an abundance of work to be done. You need this work completed promptly; therefore each and every employee is needed to get the job done. There is no expendability during this time of the year. There is a lot of pressure on you and the employees in your office, and this pressure is steadily increasing. In addition to the usual stress associated with this time of year, a recent mailing with incorrect information went out to the company's customers this week. Therefore, the office is now being bombarded with phone calls from distressed customers wanting to voice their complaints. A particular employee who has been working in the office for a few years does not show up for work today during this busy time and, from your knowledge of the situation, has neglected to call and notify the office of the absence. Typically, the quality and quantity of this employee's work is acceptable, and the employee has no previous reprimands on record. The office is now further short staffed on this day due to the absence of this employee. As the manager of the office, it is your job to evaluate this situation and act accordingly.

Please spend 5-10 minutes writing about your impressions of the employee and the situation. Describe the action you, as the manager, would take in response to the situation.

Perspective Taking Manipulation: Organizational Vignette Task (Low Perspective Taking)

The following reading and writing exercise will serve to get you in a leadership frame of mind and make you accustomed to evaluating work scenarios.

Please read the following hypothetical scenario, and develop an impression of the employee and the situation from MANAGER'S viewpoint. To facilitate accurate impression formation, view the situation through the manager's eyes and focus on how the employee's actions affect the manager. Simply attempt to reflect the MANAGER'S point of view.

You are an office manager, and you're in a very stressful situation at work. This is the busiest time of the year in this particular line of work, and it is also an extremely busy time for phone calls, emails, and foot traffic. You are short staffed, and there is an abundance of work to be done. You need this work completed promptly; therefore each and every employee is needed to get the job done. There is no expendability during this time of the year. There is a lot of pressure on you and the employees in your office, and this pressure is steadily increasing. In addition to the usual stress associated with this time of year, a recent mailing with incorrect information went out to the company's customers this week. Therefore, the office is now being bombarded with phone calls from distressed customers wanting to voice their complaints. A particular employee who has been working in the office for a few years does not show up for work today during this busy time and, from your knowledge of the situation, has neglected to call and notify the office of the absence. Typically, the quality and quantity of this employee's work is acceptable, and the employee has no previous reprimands on record. The office is now further short staffed on this day due to the absence of this employee. As the manager of the office, it is your job to evaluate this situation and act accordingly.

Please spend 5-10 minutes writing about your impressions of the employee and the situation. Describe the action you, as the manager, would take in response to the situation.

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