The Psychological Experience of Middle-Power in Social Hierarchies:

A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation

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ABSTRACT

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In this dissertation, I theoretically and empirically examine the psychological experience of middle-power, which occurs when someone frequently alternates between adopting behavioral strategies targeting higher-power *and* lower-power interaction partners. In Chapter 1, I update and extend the approach/inhibition theory of power (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003) by developing a novel theoretical framework related to the psychological experience of middle-power. This new theoretical perspective draws from and integrates insights from role-based identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Stryker, 1980) and role transition theories (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). In Chapter 2, I conduct a systematic review of the social hierarchy literature over the past 10 years and demonstrate that scholars have considered the middle of the distribution with respect to stratifying variables in only 5.4% of past empirical investigations. This conscious absence of the middle forces us to reconsider existing findings in the social hierarchy literature. In Chapters 3 and 4, I examine the relationship between power and unethical behavior and present evidence of a curvilinear relationship: middle-power individuals consistently behave more ethically than both their higher and lower-power counterparts. Taken together, these insights highlight the importance of considering the antecedents and consequences of middle-power states.

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CHAPTER 1

VERTICAL CODE-SWITCHING, ROLE CONFLICT, AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE OF MIDDLE-POWER

One of the first things an employee is likely to perceive upon joining a new organization is a complex system of power relations. Power is a pervasive feature of organizational life that is expressed in many ways: the actions that people take (Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld, 2007; Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003), the clothes they wear (Slepian, Ferber, Gold, & Rutchick, 2015; Bellezza, Gino, & Keinan, 2014), the postures they adopt (Park, Streamer, Huang, & Galinsky, 2013; Cesario & McDonald, 2013), the language they use (Wakslak, Smith, & Han, 2014; Magee, Milliken, & Lurie, 2010), the feelings they have (Waytz, Chou, Magee, & Galinsky, 2015), the biases in their thinking (Schmid & Amodio, 2016; Goodwin, Operario, & Fiske, 1998), and even their physiological reactions (Mehta & Josephs, 2010; Schultheiss et al., 2005) are all expressive of the amount of power that they hold within a group. Given the far-reaching effects of power, it is not surprising that organizational scholars have highlighted its central importance with provocative statements such as "power is to the organization as oxygen is to breathing" (Clegg, Courpasson, & Phillips, 2006: 3) and "every social relationship is a power equation" (Hawley, 1963: 422).

Abstract discussions of power are likely to conjure up stereotyped images of all-powerful CEOs governing a class of powerless underlings. Such caricatures fail to do justice, however, to the complex, interpersonal, and contingent nature of power relations that are commonly found in organizational life. In this paper, we propose a novel theoretical framework that takes a relational approach to understanding the psychological effects of power. We begin by recognizing that organizational actors have a diverse network of interaction partners, each of whom has a distinct

level of relative power. For some actors, the majority of interaction partners are relatively lower-power (i.e., the actor consistently anticipates being in a position of high-power relative to others). For other actors, the majority of interaction partners are relatively higher-power (i.e., the actor consistently anticipates being in a position of low-power relative to others). Importantly, we identify a third group of actors that has been neglected in the literature – those who anticipate interacting frequently with both higher *and* lower-power others. We propose that individuals who are faced with these middle-power situations have unique psychological experiences that cannot be understood within existing conceptualizations of power, most of which focus exclusively on the experience of having or lacking power in an isolated situation. By virtue of repeatedly vacillating between upward and downward social interactions, we propose that individuals in a state of middle-power are more likely to experience role conflicts compared to those with more consistent vertical orientations.

While empirical investigations have documented the many ways in which people with more power think and behave differently than those with less power (for reviews see Anderson & Brion, 2014; Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Sturm & Antonakis, 2015; Galinsky, Rucker, & Magee, 2015), the vast majority of these studies have ignored the experience of middle-power altogether and, to our knowledge, none has considered the psychological and behavioral implications of repeatedly vacillating between higher and lower-power interaction partners. Anicich (2016) recently reviewed 557 independent studies that either measured or manipulated a variable related to social stratification (e.g., power, organizational level, etc.) and found that information related to the middle of the distribution was reported in only 30 (5.4%) of the studies. Accordingly, the bulk of the available research is unable to inform our understanding of middle-power states.[1]

[1] Interestingly, of the 30 studies that did include information about the middle, 10 of them (33.3%) documented a clear curvilinear relationship between the social stratification variable and the outcome of interest.

This shortcoming is particularly problematic because the types of individuals that are most likely to have the psychological experience of middle-power are crucial to organizations. Middle managers "act as the transmission belt between the top of the organization and the bottom" (Osterman, 2008: 66) and can have a strong impact on the bottom line. For example, in a large-scale analysis of the computer game industry, Mollick (2012) found that the behavior of middle managers accounted for 22.3 percent of the variation in revenue after controlling for project level predictors. Middle managers are particularly valuable in multiunit organizations, which face coordination, communication, and control challenges (Garvin & Levesque, 2008; McAfee, 2009). In fact, the Boston Consulting Group recently surveyed thousands of employees and devoted an entire report to better learn how to empower this "neglected but critical group" (Caye et al., 2010). Their findings revealed that 64 percent of employees said that middle managers were more critical to driving team member engagement than top managers were (Caye et al., 2010), which may help explain why Google decided to retain their middle management positions following an attempt to flatten their organizational hierarchy (Manjoo, 2013).

To begin to fill this gap in the literature, we situate our theoretical analysis of the psychological experience of middle-power by extending and updating the approach/inhibition theory of power (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003), which is one of the most commonly cited frameworks for understanding the psychological and behavioral effects of power differences. Specifically, we develop novel propositions related to the psychological experience of middle-power by drawing from and integrating insights from role-based identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Stryker, 1980) and role transition (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000) theories. Furthermore, we explain how our conceptualization of power extends the Keltner et al. (2003) model by incorporating the distinction between fear and anxiety that is central to revised

reinforcement sensitivity theory (R-RST; Gray & McNaughton, 2000; McNaughton & Corr, 2004). Then, we apply this updated model to a diverse set of outcomes considered in past work related to power. Finally, we develop propositions about various contextual factors that influence the psychological experience of low, middle, and high power. Figure 1 provides an overview of our theoretical model.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Our proposed framework is both practically relevant and theoretically motivated. From a practical standpoint, there is little doubt that organizational members vary in the extent to which they engage in vertical code-switching, which we argue follows directly from the bidirectional vertical orientation that underlies the psychological experience of middle-power. Understanding the psychology of middle power is thus critical for a deeper appreciation of how power relations affect people throughout the entire organizational hierarchy. From a theoretical standpoint, our framework precisely answers Anderson and Brion's (2014: 85) call for more research on the "multiple coexisting roles that individuals play in organizations" such as when "a given manager is high in power in that he has asymmetrical control over his subordinates but is also low in power in that the manager's boss has asymmetrical control over him." We further respond to Sturm and Antonakis's (2015: 157) call for researchers to address "the physiological underpinnings of power", including "more automatic experiences, such as emotions." Indeed, a central contribution of our model is the use of advances in neuropsychology to update and extend the approach/inhibition theory of power (Keltner et al., 2003), which draws on an outdated understanding of the motivational systems and emotions that are proposed to mediate the effects of power on behavioral outcomes.

Overall, our framework makes three important contributions to the social hierarchy literature: 1) We introduce middle-power as a unique psychological experience, rooted in the role conflicts that can emerge from frequent vertical code-switching, 2) We update and extend an influential theory of power on the basis of advances in the neuropsychological literature, and 3) We offer guidance to future researchers interested in testing elements of our framework by recommending novel strategies for measuring and manipulating power.

MIDDLE-POWER AND VERTICAL CODE-SWITCHING

The study of power has a long and rich history in the social and organizational sciences (Blau, 1964; Clegg, 1989; Clegg, Courpasson, & Phillips, 2006; Foucault, 1982; French & Raven, 1959; Lukes, 2004; Pfeffer, 1981; Weber, 1946). In the current paper, we define power as having asymmetric control over valued resources in social relations (Magee & Galinsky, 2008; Keltner et al., 2003; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). We focus specifically on the subjective sense of power and follow Tost (2015: 30) in defining it as "an individual's internal mental representations of their power in relation to others in their social environments". This in turn reflects the extent to which an individual believes that he or she possesses the "ability to control the outcomes, experiences, or behaviors of others" (Tost, 2015: 30; Anderson & Galinsky, 2006; Anderson, John, & Keltner, 2012).

Two aspects of this definition are central to our framework. First, we take a relational approach to the study of power (Smith & Magee, 2015), focusing on one's perceived sense of power in relation to others in one's social network. Second, we treat power as a subjective psychological experience that is correlated with, but distinguishable from one's structural position in a hierarchy (e.g., formal hierarchical authority, resource control, and network centrality, Astley & Sachdeva, 1984; for further elaboration on this topic see Tost, 2015). Our

approach is also distinct from conceptualizations of power that emphasize larger units of analysis (e.g., departmental power, Perrow, 1970; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1974; Crozier, 1964). In this way, we build on recent work that treats power as an interpersonal, state-based experience (Smith & Magee, 2015; Anderson, John, & Keltner, 2012), and on past work that emphasizes the context-specific nature of power (Pfeffer, 1981), such as Clegg's (1989: 208) description of an episodic power circuit involving intermittent "power over another."

According to our definition, individuals with a high sense of power are likely to perceive their current and future interaction partners as having less power than they do. Individuals with a low sense of power are likely to perceive their current and future interaction partners as having more power than they do. In other words, individuals with a high sense of power predominantly have a downward vertical orientation in relation to others, whereas individuals with a low sense of power predominantly have an upward vertical orientation in relation to others. What about individuals who do not have a dominant vertical orientation and thus cannot be easily demarcated as experiencing high or low power within a social system?

Defining Middle-Power and Vertical Code-Switching

Individuals in these *middle-power* states, we propose, have a bidirectional (i.e., unstable) vertical orientation that emerges from the perception that one's power is neither consistently higher nor lower than the power of one's current or potential interaction partners. Roles and experiences that activate a bidirectional vertical orientation are thus likely to produce the psychological experience of middle-power to a greater extent than roles and experiences that activate a predominantly unidirectional vertical orientation.

One behavioral consequence of possessing a bidirectional vertical orientation is frequently engaging in *vertical code-switching*, which we define as the act of alternating between

behavioral patterns that are directed toward higher-power and lower-power interaction partners. Code-switching has been discussed in linguistic (Heller, 1988) and cross-cultural (Molinksy, 2007) contexts, but has not yet been considered in relation to organizational power dynamics. Importantly, the concepts of "middleness" and code-switching are crucially intertwined. Middleness refers to being an equal distance from the extremities of some dimension. All else being equal, as one approaches an extreme end of a variable's distribution (e.g., relative power), the probability of encountering situations that require directional code-switching with respect to the underlying variable decreases. This fact is fundamental to our theoretical framework.

Consider a simple social network involving three employees who regularly interact with one another – A, B, and C. During their interactions, Employee A experiences a high sense of power in relation to both Employees B and C. Employee B experiences a high sense of power in relation to Employee C, but a low sense of power in relation to Employee A. Finally, Employee C experiences a low sense of power in relation to both Employees A and B. We propose that the bulk of the existing empirical and theoretical work in this area does not adequately describe the experience of Employee B as someone who possesses a bidirectional vertical orientation and therefore must regularly engage in vertical code-switching, feeling and behaving relatively powerful in one moment and relatively powerless in the next. While those at the higher or lower ends of a power distribution experience the same vertical orientation during most of their interactions, employees in a state of middle-power must repeatedly alternate between higher and lower power interaction patterns.

By introducing the concept of vertical code-switching, our framework holds the potential to increase our understanding not only of middle-power states, but also of low-power states. Whereas past research has largely been limited to comparing the experiences of individuals in

extreme power states, our framework allows for three relative comparisons – low/middle, low/high, and middle/high. As we detail below, many outcomes previously thought to be driven by the psychological experience of low-power (e.g., heightened inhibition) may in fact be driven by the psychological experience of middle-power.

The Middle-Power Experience

There is abundant evidence that employees who occupy mid-level positions in an organizational hierarchy—those who are the most likely to possess a bidirectional vertical orientation—frequently encounter situations that require vertical code-switching. Giangreco and Peccei (2005: 1813) argue that middle managers are "simultaneously both the 'victims' (targets) and the 'carriers' (agents) of change." As a result, it is common for middle managers' roles to suddenly change, while they are simultaneously tasked with implementing changes in the organization (Balogun, 2003; Floyd & Wooldridge, 1994). In this way, middle managers often find themselves caught in between various stakeholder groups (Keys & Bell, 1982) and "enmeshed in a web of relationships generating relentless and conflicting demands" (McKinney, McMahon, & Walsh, 2013: 4). Consistent with this observation, Gleeson and Shain (1999) concluded that two of the primary challenges facing middle managers are 1) being caught in the middle between higher and lower-power individuals without sufficient support and 2) managing ambiguity relating to how they and others perceive their role in the organization.

Summarizing these perspectives, Floyd and Wooldridge (1994) articulated a comprehensive typology that succinctly describes the various role characteristics and demands facing middle managers (for an overview see pg. 50 of Floyd & Wooldridge, 1994). This typology describes four different middle management roles based on the type of influence (upward or downward) and thinking (integrative or divergent) that each requires. Specifically,

middle managers are expected to frequently alternate among championing strategic alternatives (i.e., using upward influence and divergent thinking), facilitating adaptability (i.e., using downward influence and divergent thinking), synthesizing information (i.e., using upward influence and integrative thinking), and implementing deliberate strategy (i.e., using downward influence and integrative thinking). Accordingly, mid-level organizational positions demand a relentless capacity to engage in vertical code-switching. This leads to our first proposition:

Proposition 1: The psychological experience of middle-power will be associated with frequent vertical code-switching.

FROM VERTICAL CODE-SWITCHING TO ROLE CONFLICT

In this section, we develop the next link in our theoretical model – namely that vertical code-switching is associated with increased role conflict.

Individuals can occupy numerous social roles. The unique behavioral expectations or norms that are attached to each of these roles become activated in response to situational cues derived from the social context and one's role in the interaction (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994; McCall & Simmons, 1966; Schmitt, Dube, & Leclerc, 1992; Stryker, 1968). Role conflict occurs when "the various social roles one is expected to perform provide incompatible behavioral prescriptions" (Hirsh & Kang, in press: 3; Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970; Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Diedrick, & Rosenthal, 1964). Incompatible role prescriptions can emerge across or within distinct life domains. For example, heightened role conflict can result from incompatible work and family expectations (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), as well as from incompatible expectations associated with specific organizational roles (Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970). Within an organizational context, Rizzo, House, and Lirtzman (1970: 153) acknowledge that while any role in the hierarchy can be associated with role conflicts, certain

roles (e.g., frontline managers) are likely to face such conflicts more regularly due to being "caught in the middle (Roethlisberger, 1965) between conflicting demands from superiors and subordinates." Consistent with our theorizing, these "boundary spanning" employees are especially likely to experience role conflict (Adams, 1976).

In addition to specifying behavioral expectations, roles also have implications for identity. Indeed, each role that an employee is expected to perform is associated with a distinct role identity — the "self-in-role" meaning that is ascribed to a particular role (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000: 475). Importantly, social roles, identity, and relative power are inherently intertwined within an organizational context (Van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2004; Joshi & Fast, 2013). The perception of oneself as a leader or subordinate in a given interaction reflects the adoption of a particular role identity, each of which has its own normative standards (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). An employee is thus likely to enact the norms associated with being a subordinate (e.g., deference, respect) when interacting with a superior, but is likely to enact the norms associated with being a leader (e.g., assertiveness, dominance) when interacting with a subordinate.

We propose that managing the competing norms associated with these different roles and role-based identities can lead to increased role conflict (e.g., see Molinsky, 2007; Hobfoll, 2002; Jackson & Schuler, 1985; Tubre & Collins, 2000). Because individuals with a clear sense of low or high power are more likely than individuals with a sense of middle-power to retain the same hierarchical role across interaction partners, they will be less likely to face the challenge of balancing competing organizational roles and role-based identities. In a team context where individuals with a sense of middle-power may need to simultaneously interact with both higher and lower-power others, the tension between competing roles is likely to be particularly strong.

Importantly, however, we do not view the simultaneous presence of higher and lower-power individuals as a necessary condition to produce role conflict among individuals in middle-power states. A similar psychological experience is likely to emerge when frequently alternating between incompatible roles with very different normative expectations (Molinsky, 2007; Hirsh & Kang, in press). Formally, we offer the following proposition:

Proposition 2a: An increased frequency of vertical code-switching will result in a heightened experience of role conflict.

Figure 2 depicts the proposed relationship between vertical code-switching and role conflict.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Although we propose that, in general, vertical code-switching will produce role conflict, this relationship likely depends on certain structural and intrapersonal characteristics. Below we consider two of these characteristics.

Hierarchical Steepness refers to the amount of vertical distance between formal hierarchical levels within a group (Bunderson et al., 2016; see also Harrison & Klein's (2007) description of "separation" with respect to group member characteristics). Steepness has implications for the psychological experience of power because it affects the salience of power differences across the organization. Steeper hierarchies will amplify the experience of having power for those in high-power positions and amplify the experience of lacking power for those in low-power positions. For employees in mid-level positions, steeper hierarchies will increase the salience of both high and low-power roles, depending on the interaction partner. The normative expectations associated with these different roles will accordingly become stronger and more

discrepant from one another (e.g., Hirsh & Kang, in press; Molinsky, 2007). In this way, vertical code-switching is a type of micro role transition (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000) that involves psychologically disengaging from one role and engaging in another role. In hierarchies that are low in steepness, vertical code-switching is a relatively low-magnitude role transition that is associated with only a small contrast in behavioral norms (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). In hierarchies that are high in steepness, vertical code-switching is a relatively high-magnitude role transition that is associated with a large contrast in behavioral norms (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). As the magnitude of the role transition increases so too does the psychological cost of "switching cognitive gears" (Louis & Sutton, 1991: 55). Thus, we offer the following moderating proposition:

Proposition 2b: The relationship between vertical code-switching and role conflict will be stronger when hierarchical steepness is high.

Insert Figure 3 about here

Figure 3 depicts the proposed relationship between hierarchical steepness and the psychological experience of middle-power.

Thus far we have assumed that actors experience vertical code-switching as involving two distinct roles that are in conflict with one another. However, individuals differ in the extent to which they perceive role transitions as eliciting a sense of conflict between discrepant norms and identities (Nippert-Eng, 1996, 2008). These differences are related to the adoption of role *integration* or *segmentation* strategies, which reflect the extent to which a person's various roles and identities are perceived as "compatible and integrated vs. oppositional and difficult to interpret" (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002: 9; see also Roccas & Brewer's (2002) distinction

between social identity intersection and compartmentalization). Role integration and segmentation are commonly discussed in work-family (Rothbard, Phillips, & Dumas, 2005), cross-cultural (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Berry, 1997), and multiracial (Cheng & Lee, 2009) contexts and have implications for a wide range of outcomes. Role integration in particular has been associated with cognitive flexibility (Mok & Morris, 2009), heightened creativity (Tadmor, Galinsky, & Maddux, 2012), and various indicators of well-being (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008).

To illustrate the distinction between role integration and segmentation strategies, consider two hypothetical mid-level employees: Susan and David. Both Susan and David have jobs that require them to frequently engage in vertical code-switching. Susan adopts an integrative strategy and thus views her roles and role-based identities during upward and downward interactions as highly compatible with each other, seamlessly enacting divergent behavioral scripts without hesitation, stress, or diminished performance. She experiences low role conflict. David, on the other hand, adopts a segmentation strategy and therefore views his upward and downward interactions as highly incompatible. As a result, David finds vertical code-switching to be difficult, exhausting, and unnatural. He experiences high role conflict. We formalize the outcome of this hypothetical situation in the following proposition:

> *Proposition 2c: The relationship between vertical code-switching and role conflict will be weaker among employees who adopt a role integration strategy and stronger among employees who adopt a role segmentation strategy.*

Importantly, increased exposure to cross-role learning and acculturation opportunities may lead to greater role integration (e.g., see Tadmor, Galinsky, & Maddux, 2012; Maddux,

Adam, & Galinsky, 2010), implying that the magnitude of the relationship between vertical code-switching and role conflict may be attenuated over time.

We have thus far proposed that the bidirectional vertical orientation that characterizes the psychological experience of middle-power is associated with frequent vertical code-switching and heightened role conflict. Next, we situate this model in the literature by updating and extending the approach/inhibition theory of power (Keltner et al., 2003). In doing so, we highlight the complex and contingent nature of power effects.

REVISITING THE APPROACH/INHIBITION THEORY OF POWER

In this section, we draw on recent theoretical advances to a) examine how knowledge related to neural system activity has evolved since Keltner et al.'s (2003) approach/inhibition theory of power was published and b) propose that the role conflict stemming from the psychological experience of middle power is associated with activation of the Behavioral Inhibition System (BIS).

The highly influential approach/inhibition theory of power (Keltner et al., 2003) is based on the findings of Reinforcement Sensitivity Theory (RST; Gray, 1982). According to RST, two distinct neural systems regulate responses to positive and negative stimuli. The Behavioral Approach System (BAS), which is supported by the brain's dopamine system, is activated whenever cues to potential rewards are detected. Once activated, the BAS promotes the pursuit of these potential rewards, serving as the primary substrate of approach-motivated goal pursuit (Elliot & Thrash, 2002). A more responsive BAS is in turn associated with a greater sensitivity to positive stimuli and a reward-focused behavioral style (Depue & Collins, 1999). In contrast, the Behavioral Inhibition System (BIS), instantiated by the septo-hippocampal system, is the substrate of anxiety in the brain. Gray's initial version of RST proposed that the BIS is

responsible for the slowing or cessation of goal-directed behavior in response to threat cues (Gray, 1982). When activated in response to potential threats, the BIS was proposed to suppress approach-oriented activity in the BAS, resulting in behavioral inhibition. Individuals with a more responsive BIS were in turn described as being more sensitive to potential threats in the environment, taking steps to avoid being subject to harm.

The approach/inhibition theory of power built upon this framework by arguing that high power states are associated with increased activity in the BAS, while low power states are associated with increased activity in the BIS (Keltner et al., 2003). Accordingly, individuals with more power were proposed to focus more on potential rewards and be less inhibited than those with less power. Although this theory has been very influential, and the prediction that powerful people tend to focus more on potential rewards has been well-supported (e.g., Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; Anderson & Galinsky, 2006; Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003; Guinote, 2007), changes to RST suggest the need to update the approach/inhibition theory of power. In particular, a revised version of RST was published in 2000 in the second edition of Gray's influential book on the neuropsychology of anxiety (R-RST; Gray & McNaughton, 2000). Most central to this revision was the introduction of a new motivational system, the Fight-Flight-Freeze System (FFFS). While the original RST regarded the BIS as being responsive to threats, this role is taken on by the FFFS in R-RST. Whenever a potential threat is encountered, it is the FFFS that gives rise to avoidance motivation, with the aim of escaping potential harm. The BIS, in contrast, is proposed in R-RST to be activated only during states of uncertainty (e.g., role or behavioral conflict), where the appropriate action is not clear. A situation that involves cues of both threat and reward, for example, can simultaneously trigger incompatible response tendencies (i.e., approach and avoid the situation). The BIS becomes activated during these

conflicts, inhibiting ongoing behavior and initiating risk assessment until the appropriate action becomes clear (Hirsh, Mar, & Peterson, 2012).

In relation to our framework, having a predominantly downward vertical orientation (i.e., being in a position of high-power and enacting the corresponding behavioral norms) is associated with increased BAS activity whereas having a predominantly upward vertical orientation (i.e., being in a position of low-power and enacting the corresponding behavioral norms) is associated with increased FFFS activity. Importantly, having a bidirectional vertical orientation and engaging in vertical code-switching is associated with the presence of competing response options, leading to increased BIS activity in proportion to the amount of role conflict that is experienced (Hirsh & Kang, in press). Indeed, according to Corr (2010: 387-388), the BIS's "principle function is to resolve the evolutionarily important conflict resulting from risk-aversion (FFFS) and risk-proneness (BAS)." We propose that having a sense of high *or* low-power decreases the salience of competing response options, thereby preventing activation of the BIS, which is an extension of Hirsh, Galinsky, and Zhong's (2011) general model of disinhibition related to power.

Activity in the FFFS and BIS are also proposed in R-RST to instantiate the distinct emotions of fear and anxiety, respectively. Although anxiety is often regarded simply as a milder form of fear, these are properly regarded as separate emotions with different motivational bases, pharmacological sensitivities, and behavioral consequences (Gray & McNaughton, 2000; McNaughton & Corr, 2004). Fear serves to motivate movement away from a specific threat (Cooper & Guynn, 2006; Lang, Davis, & Öhman, 2000; Macleod & Rutherford, 1992) and is therefore considered a short-lived arousal response (Davis, 1998). Anxiety, on the other hand, is associated with increased risk assessment and hypervigilance in response to the potential

presence of a generalized threat that is not currently observable (Blanchard & Blanchard, 1988, 1990a, 1990b; Lang, Davis, & Öhman, 2000; Macleod & Rutherford, 1992) and is therefore considered a long-lived arousal response (Davis, 1998). As such, fear leads to immediate action (i.e., active avoidance behavior) in order to escape from an identifiable eliciting stimulus, whereas anxiety leads to a cautious scanning of the environment in search of additional information about the threat (see Berger & Calabrese, 1975). Trait fear and trait anxiety are similarly distinct from one another, reflecting sensitivities to threat cues on the one hand and sensitivities to behavioral conflict on the other (Sylvers, Lilienfeld, & LaPrairie, 2011). While the former is associated with heightened avoidance motivation, it is only the latter that is associated with tendencies toward behavioral inhibition (Perkins, Kemp, & Corr, 2007).

Implications of R-RST for the Approach/Inhibition Theory of Power

According to publication records, the Keltner et al. (2003) paper was submitted for peer review in 1999, a year before the publication of Gray and McNaughton's (2000) revised theory of the neuropsychology of anxiety. As a result, Keltner et al.'s (2003) understanding of the BIS was based, quite reasonably, on Gray's (1982) original theory which was later revised on the basis of its poor differentiation between fear and anxiety. Indeed, the "specific changes made in 2000 to the 1982 theory…have sufficient impact that the 2000 version should be read carefully as predictions cannot be based on prior knowledge of the 1982 version" (McNaughton & Corr, 2004: 286). The most notable change is that the revised theory "provides a clear distinction between fear and anxiety" (McNaughton & Corr, 2004: 286). Specifically, Corr (2008: 47) notes that, "the revised theory treats fear and anxiety as not only quite distinct but also, in a sense, as opposites." The lack of differentiation in Gray's (1982) original theory is reflected in Keltner et al.'s (2003) interchangeable references to anxiety (mentioned ten times in relation to low-power

individuals) and fear (mentioned six times in relation to low-power individuals). Other writing around the same time on this topic similarly treated fear and anxiety as interchangeable (e.g., see Lerner & Keltner, 2000: 483; "We measured state-fear with Spielberger's (1983) state-anxiety scale…").

The need to distinguish between fear and anxiety, reflected in the distinction between the FFFS and the BIS, also suggests the need to revise certain aspects of the approach/inhibition theory of power. Keltner et al. (2003) propose that individuals with low power control fewer resources and are thus more vulnerable to the various threats and punishments in their environment. Given the need to be more sensitive to such threats, low power individuals were proposed to experience heightened BIS activity. While this proposal was an appropriate extension of Gray's (1982) original suggestion that the BIS responds to cues of punishment, it does not align with the revised formulation in which threat cues are processed by the FFFS. Using R-RST as a platform, the need for low power individuals to be more sensitive to cues for punishment should lead to heightened activity in the FFFS rather than the BIS. Because R-RST does not feature any changes with regard to the BAS, no changes are needed to the proposals about high power individuals that are contained in Keltner et al. (2003). Sensitivity to rewards and approach motivation function in identical manners in RST and R-RST.

Integrating the Psychological Experience of Middle-Power with R-RST

If the sense of low power is indeed associated with the FFFS, how might the BIS relate to power in light of R-RST? As described above, the BIS responds to states of behavioral conflict and uncertainty, experiences which we argued are triggered by frequent vertical code-switching (see Proposition 2a). This reasoning implies that the experiences of high, middle, and low-power may be associated with increased activation in the BAS, BIS, and FFFS, respectively.

Importantly, we are not arguing that the behavior of individuals with a given sense of power is controlled exclusively by a single motivational system (e.g., that individuals with a low sense of power experience constant activation of the FFFS across all situations or that individuals with a high sense of power never experience fear). Rather, we build upon Keltner et al.'s (2003) framework in proposing that one's relative sense of power will tend to differentially activate the brain networks identified in R-RST. Although power is often discussed in terms of structural positions in a hierarchy, it is more precisely the psychological experiences of power that result from these structural positions that will relate to the outcomes of interest.

In the following sections we re-consider the Keltner et al. (2003) propositions related to BIS activation and make revised predictions based on our framework and the changes that were introduced in R-RST. Specifically, we re-consider the four categories of propositions Keltner et al. (2003) articulated in relation to BIS activation: 1) negative emotion, 2) attention to threats, 3) systematic, controlled cognition, and 4) inhibited, situationally constrained behavior. Overall, we propose that individuals with a sense of middle-power are prone to relatively high levels of BIS activation, whereas individuals with a sense of low-power are prone to relatively high levels of FFFS activation. We focus our attention on predictions related to low and middle-power states because the BAS is proposed to operate identically in RST and R-RST. Table 1 summarizes the differences between our framework and the Keltner et al. (2003) framework.

Insert Table 1 about here

Negative emotion. Keltner et al. (2003) proposed that activation of the BIS was associated with both fear and anxiety responses. On the basis of R-RST, we follow Gray and McNaughton (2000) in proposing that fear and anxiety are separable emotions instantiated in

different neural systems – the FFFS and BIS, respectively. From this insight, our framework predicts that employees in middle-power states will be prone to higher levels of anxiety. We base this prediction on the argument that frequent vertical code-switching triggers role conflict, which is in turn associated with BIS activation (Hirsh & Kang, in press). In direct support of this idea, a recent epidemiological study of 21,859 full-time employees across a wide range of industries found that mid-level employees (i.e., supervisors and managers) reported higher rates of both short-term and chronic anxiety compared to low-level (i.e., workers) and high-level employees (i.e., owners) (Prins, Bates, Keyes, & Muntaner, 2015). Similar results have been observed in non-human primate populations, with mid-ranking female Barbary macaques exhibiting a higher and more variable anxious stress response compared to high and low-ranking females (Edwards et al., 2013). Furthermore, the role conflict that we propose results from frequent vertical code-switching is a known antecedent of work-related anxiety (House & Rizzo, 1972; Jackson & Schuler, 1985; Van Sell, Brief, & Schuler, 1981). We can accordingly formalize our proposition about the emotional experience of middle-power individuals:

> *Proposition 3a: Heightened experiences of role conflict among employees with a sense of middle-power will result in higher levels of BIS activation, as reflected in increased anxiety.*

As in the original Keltner et al. (2003) model, employees with a sense of low-power can be understood as having reduced access to material and social resources, while also being more vulnerable to the threats and punishments that exist in their social environment. Employees with a sense of low-power are thus argued to require a greater sensitivity to threats in order to avoid potential harm. While we agree with this line of reasoning from the original approach/inhibition theory of power, R-RST clarifies that the sensitivity to threats is processed by the FFFS, rather

than the BIS as originally thought. Accordingly, the heightened sensitivity to threats that is proposed to characterize the psychological experience of low-power should be manifest most clearly in the emotional experience of fear, which reflects the desire to avoid harm, and not in anxiety, which reflects the experience of behavioral conflict and uncertainty.

Proposition 3b: The greater sensitivity to threats required by employees with a sense of low-power will result in higher levels of FFFS activation, as reflected in increased fear.

It is important to note that we are not suggesting that employees with a sense of middle and low-power are constantly in states of extreme anxiety and fear, respectively. We do propose, however, that these emotional experiences will become more intense as the psychological salience of one's relative power increases. Interactions with a superior that make an employee feel completely powerless, for example, are precisely the type of experience that will trigger feelings of fear as mediated by the FFFS. Similarly, those situations that highlight the experience of middle-power, such as interacting simultaneously or sequentially with subordinates and superiors, are the ones that will produce the greatest role conflict and thus be the most anxiety-provoking.

Attention to threats. The type of negative emotion experienced by employees with a sense of low and middle-power is inherently connected to the nature of the threats that they face. Keltner et al. (2003) associated the experience of low-power with greater attention to threats and activation of the BIS compared to the experience of high-power. However, the distinction between anxiety and fear that was introduced in R-RST makes an important distinction between two different classes of threat (Gray & McNaughton, 2000). According to R-RST, the activation of the BIS supports the allocation of attention to diffuse and uncertain threats, whereas the activation of the FFFS supports the allocation of attention to specific and immediate threats.

Critically, this suggests that individuals with a sense of middle-power will be more likely to have a more broadly risk-averse mindset in which they frequently scan their environment for potential threats across a variety of contexts, whereas individuals with a sense of low-power will be more attentive to specific threats of harm (i.e., the possibility of punishment from superiors). We can formalize these propositions as follows:

Proposition 4a: Employees with a sense of middle-power will attend more to diffuse and non-specific threats.

Proposition 4b: Employees with a sense of low-power will attend more to specific and immediate threats.

An example of a diffuse and highly uncertain threat was the global financial crisis of 2008 (Wolf, 2010; Taylor, 2009). If the heightened BIS activation associated with mid-level positions does indeed increase sensitivity to diffuse and uncertain threats, individuals in such positions should also have had the hardest time coping with the broader crisis. Evidence consistent with this prediction was found in a large-scale analysis of more than 1 million employee responses from Boston Consulting Group's proprietary Engaging for Results database. In particular, middle managers experienced the largest drop in employee engagement following the 2008 financial crisis compared to pre-2008 engagement levels, when compared against relatively higher-power top managers and relatively lower-power team members (Caye et al., 2010). This effect is consistent with the notion that the increased behavioral inhibition associated with the experience of middle power will also result in a greater sensitivity to environmental uncertainty.

Systematic and controlled cognition. Keltner et al. (2003: 274) proposed that, compared to individuals with a sense of high-power, individuals with a sense of low-power engage in more

systematic and controlled cognition on the basis that "fear and anxiety are associated with vigilant, narrowed attention". However, as described above, R-RST makes a clear distinction between the experiences of fear and anxiety and their associated cognitive processing styles (Gray & McNaughton, 2000). Building on this work, Corr (2010) has developed a model of behavioral control that associates the BIS with systematic and controlled cognition and the FFFS with automatic cognition, focusing on the active avoidance of aversive stimuli.

With respect to our framework, individuals with a sense of middle-power must negotiate the uncertainty inherent within their competing roles in the organizational hierarchy. Effectively navigating this uncertainty requires the engagement of more controlled and deliberative cognitive processing. Indeed, one of the major consequences of BIS activation is the allocation of attentional resources to help resolve the experience of behavioral conflict and uncertainty (Corr, 2010; Hirsh et al., 2012; Inzlicht, Bartholow, & Hirsh, 2015). While the original approach/inhibition theory of power suggested that low-power individuals would be prone to more controlled processing, as mediated through BIS activation, our revised model based on R-RST proposes that this better characterizes the psychological experience of middle-power:

Proposition 5a: Employees with a sense of middle-power will engage in more systematic and controlled cognition focused on reducing uncertainty.

Like the BAS, the FFFS is considered to be "well-suited to reacting to predictable stimuli from a pre-existing behavioural repertoire" (Corr, 2010: 385). Both the BAS and the FFFS thus support automatic and intuitive processing, with less emphasis on extensive deliberation and controlled cognition. The BAS, however, supports the automatic engagement of behaviors that will help to approach potential rewards, whereas the FFFS supports the automatic engagement of behaviors that will help to avoid potential threats (Corr, 2010). Given that employees with a

sense of low-power will have a relatively consistent upward vertical orientation across interaction partners, the social context will support and reinforce the automatic engagement of deferent and submissive behaviors. We can thus modify Keltner et al.'s (2003) prediction about the experience of low-power:

Proposition 5b: Employees with a sense of low-power will engage in more automatic behaviors focused on avoiding harm.

Inhibited and situationally constrained behavior. Keltner et al. (2003) argued that low-power individuals compared to high-power individuals are more constrained by situationally-dependent social norms. We agree with this conclusion, but it is informative to consider how the experience of middle-power may relate to social norm adherence. We have already discussed how vertical code-switching requires employees with a sense of middle-power to alternate between enacting competing role-specific norms, but what about organization-level norms that employees across all power levels are expected to follow?

Group norms are "the informal rules that groups adopt to regulate and regularize group members' behavior" (Feldman, 1984: 47). Not only do norms specify the expected patterns of behavioral conduct for group members, but they also help to express the central values and identity of the group (Durkheim, 1983; Elster, 1989; Parsons, 1951). Importantly, norms are critical sensemaking tools for organizational members (Weick, 1995), serving to reinforce and signal what is central to the group's identity (Hackman, 1992). Therefore, under conditions of uncertainty, employees can adhere to well-known and practiced behaviors to reclaim a measure of certainty over their environment. In this way, norms can provide ontological security (Giddens, 1984) for organizational members who may be dealing with role conflict due to competing role demands (e.g., employees with a sense of middle-power).

The benefits of adhering to organizational norms are likely to be especially appealing to employees with a sense of middle-power because doing so will attenuate their experience of uncertainty. Being uncertain about one's role and role-based identity is an extremely uncomfortable experience (Baumeister, 1985; Fromm, 1941; Durkheim, 1951; Erickson, 1968; Sorrentino & Roney, 1986; Lopes, 1987) and humans are strongly motivated to reduce uncertainty (Hirsh et al., 2012; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Van den Bos, 2001, 2009), especially when it is perceived to be self-relevant (Gollwitzer & Bargh, 1996; Nisbett & Ross, 1980). According to uncertainty reduction theory (Hogg, 2000a, 2001a) and uncertainty identity theory (Hogg, 2007, 2012a), one of the most common ways of reducing personal uncertainty is by identifying with a larger social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Abrams & Hogg, 2010). Experiences of uncertainty do indeed tend to result in stronger group identification (Grieve & Hogg, 1999; Mullin & Hogg, 1998; Reid & Hogg, 2005). Group identification helps to reduce uncertainty by revealing clear norms and expectations for behavior, thereby helping people to gain a sense of predictability and control over their environments (Hogg, 2007). Adhering to normative behavior in turn serves to reaffirm a person's group membership, clarifying the self-concept and earning respect within the group (Hogg, Fielding, & Darley, 2005; Hogg, Hardie, & Reynolds, 1995). In this way, emphasizing one's shared group membership by adhering to organizational norms can create a more predictable world when faced with uncertainty.

Although it is reasonable to assume that low-power employees will also strongly adhere to organizational norms due to the threat of punishment from higher-power others, there are reasons to predict that low-power employees may actually deviate from organizational norms to a greater extent than middle-power employees. For example, past research has found that

injustices and other frustrations—experiences we propose low-power employees are disproportionately likely to have—are common causes of workplace deviance (Bennett & Robinson, 2003; Mitchell & Ambrose, 2007; Robinson & Greenberg, 1998). Individuals also respond to social humiliation with retaliation even when the retaliator is punished for doing so (Brown, 1968; Bies & Tripp, 1996). Furthermore, when people believe that their organization or social system has disrespected them, they are less likely to adopt the norms of that organization or social system (e.g., Belmi et al., 2015; Colquitt et al., 2006; Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Tyler & Lind, 1992). Finally, meta-analytic results have demonstrated that low-level employees tend to be less identified with their organization than higher-level employees (Riketta, 2005). Identification with a social group is a key moderator of the extent to which people conform to any associated normative expectations (Christensen, Rothgerber, Wood, & Matz, 2004; Norman, Clark, & Walker, 2005; Terry & Hogg, 1996). Accordingly, employees with a sense of low power are likely to conform to organizational norms only when their behavior is easily observable to higher-power others who have the authority to punish them for deviating (cf. Barreto & Ellemers, 2000; Ellemers, De Gilder, & Haslam, 2004). In contrast, employees with a sense of middle-power are likely to adhere to organizational norms regardless of the social context because they are more likely to identify with the broader normative structure of the organization as a way to reduce role and identity related uncertainty (for additional information on this topic see Kelman's (2006) description of the social influence processes of compliance and identification). Based on these arguments, we propose the following:

> *Proposition 6: Employees with a sense of middle-power will be more likely than employees with a sense of low-power to adhere to organizational norms because their heightened experience of role conflict will activate an uncertainty-reducing motive.*

Combined with the view that high-power is associated with elevated BAS activity and decreased adherence to situational norms (Keltner et al., 2003; Galinsky, Rucker, & Magee, 2015), one implication of this proposition is that high and low-power states may both produce higher levels of deviant behavior relative to middle-power states, resulting in a U-shaped or J-shaped pattern of results (e.g., see Phillips & Zuckerman, 2001).

It is also worth pointing out that the activation of the BIS is a dynamic process that changes with the relative salience of competing behavioral options. Specifically, the BIS becomes activated whenever a response conflict is detected, initiating risk assessment until the appropriate action becomes clear (Hirsh, Mar, & Peterson, 2012). Once the appropriate action is identified, however, the BIS will become disengaged in favor of the BAS or FFFS, guiding subsequent behavior toward the approach of rewards or avoidance of threats, respectively. The psychological consequences described above will accordingly be observed only when the BIS is activated by experiences of role conflict and uncertainty. If such role conflicts are resolved in favor of the sustained adoption of a particular vertical orientation (i.e., a clear sense of high or low power emerges), then the BIS will become disengaged in favor of the BAS or FFFS. As long as the role conflict persists, however, the BIS will remain activated.

CONTEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the previous section, we revisited Keltner et al.'s (2003) predictions in light of R-RST and our theorizing related to middle-power states. Given the complex and dynamic nature of organizations, however, there are undoubtedly numerous factors that moderate the relationships we have proposed above. Indeed, researchers have identified many individual and environmental factors that can influence one's sense of power and its subsequent behavioral effects (Galinsky, Rucker, & Magee, 2015; Tost, 2015). We do not seek to recapitulate those arguments here.

Instead, we focus on three factors that relate to how one's sense of power is structurally determined and psychologically experienced - power centralization, role boundary permeability, and subgroup power (see Figure 3). [2]

Power Centralization

Power centralization refers to the distribution of individuals across different power levels in a hierarchy. Highly centralized hierarchies take the shape of a pyramid, with fewer individuals occupying high-power positions and more individuals occupying low-power positions. All else being equal, power centralization reduces the probability that mid-level individuals will encounter situations that require vertical code-switching. In the context of a pyramid-shaped hierarchy, mid-level employees are likely to have far more contact with their (many) lower-power subordinates than their (few) higher-power bosses, thus producing a predominantly downward vertical orientation (instead of a bidirectional vertical orientation). In contrast, hierarchies with less centralized power structures will have a more balanced number of higher and lower ranking employees, requiring mid-level individuals to engage in more frequent vertical code-switching. Thus, we offer the following proposition:

Proposition 7a: Occupying a mid-level structural position in a hierarchy will produce the psychological experience of middle-power and lead to more frequent vertical code-switching when power centralization is low compared to high.

Note, however, that even highly centralized hierarchies could require frequent vertical code-switching when mid-level employees must spend similar amounts of time communicating upwards and downwards. Nonetheless, power centralization is a useful proxy for the frequency with which upward or downward interactions must be made by mid-level employees.

[2] We recognize that there are undoubtedly additional structural and contextual factors that affect the relationships we have proposed, but for the sake of parsimony we only focus on four in the current paper. However, we encourage researchers to build on our framework by identifying and testing additional moderators and boundary conditions.

Role Boundary Permeability

The permeability of a role boundary refers to the degree to which an individual may be physically or psychologically engaged in more than one role simultaneously (e.g., see Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate's (2000) description of role permeability). As discussed above, the roles of leader and subordinate each have a distinct set of behavioral norms and corresponding boundaries. In the context of our framework, highly impermeable role boundaries reduce opportunities for interactions across formal power levels within the hierarchy, whereas highly permeable role boundaries increase opportunities for interactions across power levels. Accordingly, when a hierarchy is comprised of vertical roles with highly permeable boundaries, individuals in mid-level positions, in particular, will be more likely to encounter situations that produce a bidirectional vertical orientation and require vertical code-switching. Thus, we offer the following proposition:

> *Proposition 7b: Occupying a mid-level structural position in a hierarchy will produce the psychological experience of middle-power and lead to more frequent vertical code-switching) when role boundary permeability is high compared to low.*

To reiterate, what matters the most with respect to our model is the psychological experience of power that these structural characteristics can affect.

Subgroup Power

We have defined the sense of power as a subjective mental representation that one holds about one's ability to control the outcomes, experiences, or behaviors of others. This mental representation is inherently dynamic, based on changing circumstances. Indeed, various environmental shocks can alter an individual's sense of power. For example, group faultlines that "divide a group's members on the basis of one or more attributes" can emerge, creating

subgroups with varying levels of power (Lau & Murnighan, 1998: 325; Carton & Cummings, 2012). Larger subgroups tend to hold more power than smaller subgroups (Lau & Murnighan, 1998), allowing them to exert their will more freely (Pfeffer, 1981). Given our interest in power dynamics, we focus here on resource-based subgroups (Carton & Cummings, 2012) such as coalitions, factions, alliances, or blocs (Finkelstein, 1992; Mannix, 1993; Li & Hambrick, 2005; Levine & Moreland, 1998). Although subgroups have often been discussed in the context of small teams, we view subgroups as operating similarly at larger units of analysis so long as subgroups "are characterized by a unique form or degree of interdependence" (Carton & Cummings, 2012: 441) among individuals within a larger collective. Crucially, subgroup power will influence the individual members' sense of power, especially to the extent that membership in the subgroup is relevant to one's day-to-day interactions and sense of self. Employees who would otherwise be in low-power positions when considered as individuals would thus have a very different experience of power if they belong to a powerful subgroup. Therefore, we propose:

> *Proposition 7c: An employee's sense of power will be influenced by his or her subgroup's level of power, especially if membership in the subgroup is highly relevant to the employee's day-to-day interactions and sense of self.*

While we have focused on three potential moderating variables, any contextual factor that increases the experience of uncertainty will result in heightened levels of BIS activation, while anything that increases the sensitivity to threats will result in heightened levels of FFFS activation. Some of these factors will impact employees across all levels of an organizational hierarchy (e.g., an impending merger with uncertain implications for personnel), whereas others will be more localized in their impact (e.g., a supportive manager who empowers his or her

employees, thereby reducing their uncertainty and anxiety). The diversity and complexity of organizational life is such that there are numerous factors that will influence the experiences of employees. Critically, our framework is able to account for this diversity by proposing that it is the psychological experience of power that matters most for predicting downstream cognitive, affective, and behavioral consequences. Any factors that increase the experience of low, middle, or high power, regardless of an individual's formal organizational position, are proposed to result in predictable downstream effects that are driven by activity in the FFFS, BIS, and BAS, respectively.

DISCUSSION

In this paper, we have argued that the experience of middle-power, which we defined as the possession of a bidirectional vertical orientation associated with frequent vertical code-switching, is a unique psychological state that is distinct from both high and low-power mindsets. We have sought to update and extend an influential theory of power (Keltner et al., 2003) with the insights of R-RST in order to better accommodate the distinctions among the experiences of low, middle, and high-power. The distinction between the FFFS and BIS made in R-RST is a critical advance in our understanding of the neuropsychology of motivation, and we consider it to be an important extension of the approach/inhibition theory of power. With the addition of the FFFS as a distinct system that supports active avoidance of harm, the current framework might appropriately be termed as the approach/inhibition/avoidance (AIA) theory of power. While the predictions made by Keltner et al. (2003) about high power and the BAS remain unchanged in our model, the distinction between the FFFS and the BIS is an important theoretical advance because it allows for clearer predictions about the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral effects of power across the entire organizational spectrum. We hope that our model

paves the way for future research to move beyond a simple high versus low power distinction when studying organizational hierarchies and their psychological consequences.

Recommendations for Researchers Interested in Testing Our Theory

As with most theoretical models, the potential value of our framework hinges on the ability of researchers to empirically test our propositions. Current conceptualizations of power are not equipped to test the propositions outlined in this paper because they emphasize the simple distinction between high and low power states. We therefore propose that researchers draw upon the relational approach to power by assessing the frequency and intensity of an individual's upward and downward social interactions. Given that the sense of power is proposed to derive from relational experiences, the quantity and quality of different types of vertical interactions should provide a behavioral metric of relative power.

From a survey perspective, researchers may consider asking respondents about the nature of their vertical orientation or about the frequency of their upward and downward interactions within a particular social group (e.g., work group) or within their social network more broadly. Respondents who report engaging in frequent upward and infrequent downward interactions are likely to have a relatively stable sense of low-power in relation to others in their social network. Respondents who report engaging in frequent downward and infrequent upward interactions are likely to have a relatively stable sense of high-power in relation to others in their social network. Respondents who report engaging in frequent upward *and* downward interactions can be characterized as experiencing a sense of middle-power. This methodology could lend itself particularly well to detailed social network analyses if employees are asked to rate the frequency of their interactions with specific others, along with the salience of their hierarchical role in those interactions. To the extent possible, researchers should also consider assessing the structural factors discussed earlier in the paper (i.e., hierarchical steepness, power centralization, and role

boundary permeability), as these factors are proposed to affect the psychological experience of power. It is important to note that a strict cut-off approach to categorizing the experiences of high, middle, and low-power is neither realistic nor particularly informative. Rather, researchers should adopt a relative comparison approach which is consistent with existing conceptualizations of power. Related measures may also prove useful to test certain aspects of our model. For example, Jackson (2009) recently developed and validated five different scales to assess the core components of R-RST – the BAS, the BIS, and the Fight, Flight, and Freeze components of the FFFS.

From an archival perspective, researchers may be able to assess the frequency of vertical code-switching on the basis of network data. For example, an examination of email exchange patterns may reveal the extent to which employees communicate with others in relatively higher and lower positions in the hierarchy. In the absence of network data, researchers should consider using structural indicators of power (e.g., job title, salary level, number of direct reports/supervisors) as proxies for the psychological experience of power. In general, structural indicators of power are likely to be highly correlated with one's psychological sense of power (although see Tost & Johnson, 2015; Bugental & Lewis, 1999; Tost, 2015 for examples of when this link may not hold).

From an experimental perspective, there is a strong need to develop valid and reliable manipulations of middle-power, given the importance of experimental research to the study of social hierarchy and the fact that a systematic review of 557 studies from the social hierarchy literature over the past ten years did not uncover a single experiment that manipulated middle-power (Anicich, 2016). Manipulations that alter participants' vertical orientation or actual or anticipated frequency of vertical code-switching may be used to test elements of our model.

Some scholars may wonder if specifying that one has an average or moderate amount of power will produce the same psychological effect as specifying that one's role affords a bidirectional vertical orientation and requires frequent vertical code-switching. This remains an open question and likely hinges on the extent to which one interprets possessing a moderate amount of power in a general sense as producing a bidirectional vertical orientation and requiring frequent vertical code-switching across interaction partners. Nonetheless, experimental manipulations of middle-power are likely to be most effective when they simultaneously activate the conflicting normative expectations associated with relatively low and relatively high-power roles (cf. Hirsh & Kang, in press).

A final consideration that deserves empirical attention is the extent to which vertical orientation or code-switching measures of power correlate with existing measures of power. Do individuals whose scores on the sense of power questionnaire (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006; Anderson, John, & Keltner, 2012) fall in the middle of the response distribution also tend to be the individuals who possess a bidirectional vertical orientation and engage in frequent vertical code-switching? Are mid-level employees such as middle managers more likely to possess a bidirectional vertical orientation and engage in vertical code-switching than lower-level analysts and higher-level executives? On the basis of the theoretical arguments put forth in this paper, we would expect vertical orientation or code-switching measures of power to positively correlate with existing measures of power, but would also expect some of the moderators discussed above to affect this relationship.

Power Versus Status

We chose to focus our framework on the antecedents and consequences of an individual's sense of power because one of our goals is to update and extend the approach/inhibition theory

of power (Keltner et al., 2003). However, some may wonder if our framework may be applied to other stratifying variables such as status - the respect and admiration one has in the eyes of others (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). In general, power and status tend to be positively correlated (Magee & Galinsky, 2008) and both are highly relevant to organizations (Clegg, Courpasson, & Phillips, 2006; Aquino & Douglas, 2003). They are nonetheless distinct constructs (Magee & Galinsky, 2008), as a number of empirical studies have recently demonstrated (Anicich, et al., 2016; Blader & Chen, 2012; Fast, Halevy, & Galinsky, 2012; Hays, 2013; Hays & Bendersky, 2015).

Despite the differences between power and status, there is reason to believe that our framework could be similarly applied to status. Status judgments figure prominently in impression formation and social comparison processes because status is a product of and therefore relevant to social relationships (Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980). As a result, people are motivated to accurately perceive how much status they have in their groups (Anderson et al., 2006). Indeed, it is critically important for individuals to attend to the perceptions that others have of them in order to successfully navigate all aspects of their social world (Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995). This is especially true in organizations where hiring decisions, job assignments, and promotion decisions are overwhelmingly determined by the perceptions of others. Therefore, individuals seek to actively monitor (Leary, 1996; Schlenker & Pontari, 2000) and manage (Baumeister, 1982; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995; Leary, 1996) the impressions that others have of them. According to the symbolic interactionist perspective (Mead, 1934), people form impressions of themselves based on the impressions that others have of them (see also the “looking glass self”; Cooley, 1902). When individuals are uncertain about the impressions that others have of them or their own abilities, they seek out social comparisons (Festinger, 1954; Buunk, 1995; Buunk, Schaufeli, & Ybema,

1994; Buunk & VanYeperen, 1991; Weary, Marsh, & McCormick, 1994). According to these arguments, it is possible that middle-status employees, like middle-power employees, will experience role and role-based identity conflicts because their relative status in a given situation will fluctuate depending on the vertical direction of comparison.

Two studies in particular highlight the potential value of considering middle-status effects more generally. Phillips and Zuckerman (2001), working from a sociological perspective, studied the behavior of Silicon Valley law firms and security analysts and found that middle-status actors in both industries (based on proportion of attorneys who earned law degrees from prestigious universities and industry rankings of analysts, respectively) were more likely than their high and low-status counterparts to conform to industry standards (Phillips & Zuckerman, 2001). More recently, Duguid and Goncalo (2015), working from a social psychological perspective, found that middle-status actors who were being evaluated were less creative than high or low-status actors. In other words, middle-status actors were more likely than high or low-status actors to conform to well-known thoughts and practices under conditions of evaluative uncertainty. Overall, we would expect status to operate similarly to power in our framework, especially in contexts where status and power are highly correlated.

Role of Peer Interactions

Central to our framework is the concept of vertical code-switching. As a result of this focus, we have yet to discuss the role of peer interactions, which occur between individuals who have the same level of power. We intentionally chose to minimize the role of peer interactions in our model because it is unlikely that two employees will experience precisely the same sense of power, even if they share the same formal power level in an organization. As the default form of social organization (Laumann, Siegel, & Hodge, 1971; Mousnier, 1973; Fiske, 2010), hierarchy

will emerge even in the absence of formal power differences (for a review see Diefenbach & Sillince, 2011). Indeed, "one can find informal hierarchy at the same formal level of hierarchy" as group members "develop an unofficial ranking among their immediate work colleagues or peers" (Diefenbach & Sillince, 2011: 1521). Therefore, we would expect to see the emergence of hierarchy - reflected in varying senses of power among group members - even in organizations that espouse egalitarian principles and adopt egalitarian structures. Following the same logic, we would expect to see the emergence of a hierarchy within a single formal power level (e.g., among middle managers). In sum, peer interactions are subsumed within our model because we view peer interactions in the same way we view any other type of interaction – as having a vertical component. In truly egalitarian interactions, however, power should not be a salient dimension of the situation and thus should not have a strong psychological impact.

Potential for Empirical Extension and Theoretical Integration

From an empirical standpoint, future research should seek to develop and test additional moderating hypotheses. For example, factors such as tenure at a given power level, level of organizational commitment, psychological safety, and perceived hierarchical stability may all affect an employee's sense of power and the accompanying psychological and behavioral consequences. Additionally, organizational and national cultural values related to hierarchy (e.g., see Hofstede et al., 1990; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004; Anicich, Swaab, & Galinsky, 2015) may influence employees' perceptions of and reactions to power. Specifically, frequent vertical code-switching may have different implications for employees with a sense of middle-power in organizational cultures that endorse hierarchy compared to egalitarianism as a valuable and legitimate form of social organization.

From a theoretical standpoint, aspects of our framework (e.g., the implications of vertical code-switching and the insights of R-RST) may be usefully integrated with or considered alongside other theoretical frameworks. For example, researchers have begun to integrate work on approach/avoidance and regulatory focus theories with work on core self-evaluations (Ferris et al., 2011, 2013; Johnson, Rosen, & Levy, 2008), the "fundamental premises that individuals hold about themselves and their functioning in the world" (Judge, Erez, & Bono, 1998: 161). Our framework's focus on vertical code-switching, role-based identity conflict, and the behavioral inhibition associated with middle-power may fruitfully be related to CSE's core components of self-esteem, generalized self-efficacy, emotional stability, and locus of control (Chang et al., 2012). More work examining these and other areas of overlap is a promising future direction.

Additionally, while the notion that individual characteristics can have curvilinear consequences dates as far back as Aristotle (trans. 1999), scholars have more recently emphasized the value of theorizing and testing for these effects (e.g., Le et al., 2011; Grant, 2013; Grant & Schwartz, 2011; Pierce & Aguinis, 2013; Ames & Flynn, 2007). Importantly, a conceptualization of power that includes a consideration of the middle is required, at a minimum, to examine the possibility that power may have non-linear relationships with various social and behavioral outcomes. Because Keltner et al.'s (2003) model only differentiates between high and low power states, it cannot provide any guidance about the potential existence of non-linear effects. The current framework, however, provides the theoretical foundation from which researchers may begin to explore the consequences of the psychological experience of middle-power.

Implications for Practice

Our framework is relevant to organizational practitioners. Specifically, our arguments that employees' vertical orientation and frequency of vertical code-switching may be associated with negative downstream outcomes such as role conflict and anxiety suggest the need for organizational architects to consider the potential tradeoffs associated with various organizational structure or network decisions. Positions that unnecessarily elicit a bidirectional vertical orientation or require frequent vertical code-switching should be eliminated or re-imagined to the extent possible. All else being equal, our framework implies that employees will experience less role conflict and anxiety if they have a single boss and multiple subordinates than if they have multiple bosses and multiple subordinates with whom they regularly interact. Our theorizing also suggests that organizational leaders would be wise to recognize that employees' objective control over resources and their subjective sense of power may not always align. Although we have argued that, in general, structural indicators of power will be highly correlated with employees' sense of power, this is not always the case. Therefore, from a practical standpoint, organizational leaders may be able to psychologically empower their employees without having to cede scarce resources to them. Finally, we have proposed that employees with a sense of middle-power who view their competing roles as integrated as opposed to segmented will experience less role conflict and anxiety (see Proposition 2c). Therefore, organizations may benefit from tailoring mid-level role descriptions and onboarding procedures to help develop an integrated and coherent identity. Explicitly tying middle-power duties to the broader organizational mission may help in this regard.

CONCLUSION

Interest in social hierarchy research has grown immensely in recent years, but theoretical advances related to the psychology of power have been sparse since the publication of Keltner et

al.'s (2003) influential theory. In general, contrasting the experiences and behaviors of individuals who occupy opposite ends of a construct's continuum is an intuitive entry point into studying any social scientific phenomenon. However, such a strategy may mask a more nuanced and, importantly, more accurate understanding of a construct's relation to the outcomes of interest. By updating Keltner et al.'s (2003) approach/inhibition theory of power with the findings of R-RST, we were able to introduce a novel theoretical perspective related to the psychological experience of middle-power and vertical code-switching. We hope that our framework can serve as the basis for future explorations into this crucially important domain.

CHAPTER 2

THE MISSING MIDDLE IN SOCIAL HIERARCHY RESEARCH

In Chapter 1, I proposed a novel theoretical framework that attempted to introduce the psychological experience of middle-power into the social hierarchy literature. In doing so, I identified how my framework extended and revised the approach/inhibition theory of power (Keltner et al., 2003), a theory which has generated a massive amount of empirical research. In this chapter I highlight one consequence of Keltner et al.'s (2003) theoretical focus on extreme power states – a subsequent dearth of empirical work related to middle-power states.

Procedure

To determine the frequency with which scholars have operationalized or modeled stratifying variables (e.g. power, status, expertise, etc.) to include a consideration of the middle of the distribution, I systematically reviewed the leading management and psychology journals over the past 10 years (2005-2014). [3] I reviewed studies published between January 2005 and December 2014 in four leading management journals (i.e. *Academy of Management Journal* (AMJ), *Organization Science* (OS), *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* (OBHDP), and *Journal of Applied Psychology* (JAP)) and four leading psychology journals (i.e. *Psychological Science* (PS), *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (JPSP), *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* (PSPB), and *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* (JESP)). Relevant studies were identified through searches conducted on individual journal websites and

[3] In order to confirm my predictions that, in general, people conceptualize hierarchies as containing more than two rank levels, I asked a sample of adults on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (N=291, 39.9% female, mean age=30.90) to indicate how many layers or levels the typical hierarchy has. Specifically, participants read, "A hierarchy is a rank-ordering of individuals along a valued social dimension. Think about the different types of hierarchies that exist in the world" and then responded to the following question, "How many rank levels or layers does the typical hierarchy have in your opinion?" The mean number of hierarchical levels reported was 6.25 (SD=6.61; mode=5 (37.8% of responses) range: 2 to 100), demonstrating that the vast majority of people do not adopt the stark comparison view of hierarchy. Indeed, less than 1% of respondents (2 out of 291) indicated that the typical hierarchy has only two levels.

Google Scholar by crossing hierarchical rank variable terms (i.e., *authority*, *expertise*, *hierarchical*, *hierarchy*, *power*, *rank*, *reputation*, *SES*, *socioeconomic status*, *social status*, and *status*) with common research terms and phrases (i.e., *manipulate*, *manipulated*, *manipulation of*, *was manipulated*, *measure*, *measure of*, *measured*, *measurement of*, *measures of*, *was measured*). These terms produced a total of 110 unique search combinations. I determined the final sample of studies by reviewing in detail the studies identified by my systematic literature review and cross-checking my sample with other reviews conducted on similar topics (Piazza & Castellucci, 2014; Anderson & Brion, 2014; Fleming & Spicer, 2014; Sturm & Antonakis, 2015; Galinsky, Rucker, & Magee, 2015; Anderson, Hildreth, & Howland, 2015). I considered studies that manipulated or measured a stratifying variable. I put no inclusion restrictions on the outcome variable. Overall, the final sample included a total of 557 independent studies based on a combined sample of nearly two million observations (total N=1,971,431) from 226 published reports. See the Appendix for detailed information about each study reviewed.

After finalizing the sample of studies, I reviewed each individual study to determine if the study included any information about middle-rank subjects or observations (e.g., a scatter plot of the data, test of quadratic effect, inclusion of middle-rank experimental condition, etc.).

Results

Only 5.4% (k=30 out of 557) of the reviewed studies provided information pertaining to the middle of the stratifying variable's distribution. Of all the studies in the sample that *manipulated* a stratifying variable (k=392), 0% included a middle-rank condition (i.e., a condition that was explicitly intended to produce the experience of occupying a rank position spaced relatively equally between higher and lower-ranking others).[4] The vast majority of studies

[4] Study 1 in Sauer, Thomas-Hunt, & Morris (2010) included high and average status conditions. However, in the absence of a true low-status condition, it is impossible to determine if the rank distribution fit a U-shape. Therefore,

that manipulated stratification only included high and low-rank conditions (e.g., participants were asked to assume the role of a boss or subordinate, or were asked to recall an experience in which they had power over someone or someone else had power over them, etc.) or included a control condition that was unrelated to the rank variable (e.g., participants in the control condition were asked to write about their day yesterday or their last trip to the grocery store instead of an experience related to power, or received no manipulation at all).

Of all the studies that *measured* a stratifying variable (k=179), only 16.8% (k=30) included the information necessary to determine if a curvilinear relationship was present between the stratifying variable and the outcome of interest.[5] Of those 30 studies, 10 of them (33.3%) documented a clear nonmonotonic relationship between the stratifying variable and the outcome of interest. However, the vast majority of studies that measured a stratifying variable dichotomized the range of responses (e.g. by using +/- 1standard deviation from the mean) in order to examine an interaction effect with another variable or only reported the main effect of stratification on the outcome of interest without mentioning the results of the quadratic test.

Overall, my review of the literature confirmed that past work has overwhelmingly theorized and empirically assessed a linear relationship between stratifying variables and various outcomes while treating the middle of the rank distribution as a linear extension of high or low-rank behavior. Importantly, considering middle-rank effects in social hierarchy research will benefit the field regardless of the analytical outcome because the interpretive precision will inherently increase when a finer-grained analysis is conducted. In other words, the interpretive blind spot (i.e., the middle) is reduced when the middle of a construct's distribution is

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I coded this study as not including sufficient information to assess the effect of middle-rank on the outcome of interest.

[5] The sum of k=392 and k=179 is greater than k=557 because a rank variable was both measured and manipulated in 14 of the studies.

considered. In the next chapters, I move beyond theorizing and reviewing the literature to empirically examine the effects of high, middle, and low-power on one important outcome in particular – unethical behavior.

CHAPTER 3

In this chapter, I draw on Anicich and Hirsh's (2016) extension of the approach/inhibition theory of power (Keltner et al., 2003) which makes important distinctions among the experiences and behaviors of individuals in high, middle, and low-power states on the basis of evidence from revised reinforcement sensitivity theory (Gray & McNaughton, 2000) to propose that the relationship between power and unethical behavior may not be linear as past research has suggested. Specifically, I predict that low-power individuals - who are proposed by Anicich and Hirsh (2016) to be fearfully motivated to escape from threatening situations - and high-power individuals - who are known to be self-focused and reward-seeking (Boksem, Smolders, & De Cremer, 2012; Gruenfeld et al., 2008; Van Kleef et al., 2008) - will engage in more unethical behavior than middle-power individuals - who are proposed by Anicich and Hirsh (2016) to anxiously demonstrate situationally constrained behavior as a means to reduce uncertainty. In short, I leverage Anicich and Hirsh's (2016) framework to predict that a curvilinear relationship will emerge between power and unethical behavior.

EVIDENCE OF MIDDLE-POWER MORALITY IN ORGANIZATIONS

For decades, scholars have offered compelling yet contradictory evidence regarding the relationship between power and unethical behavior, which we define as "acts that have harmful effects upon others and are either illegal or morally unacceptable to the larger community" (Gino, Moore, & Bazerman, 2009: 8; Jones, 1991: 367). Some have proposed that it is the lowest-power members of society who are the most likely to behave unethically. For example, Tucker (1989) argued that marginal, low-level workers in organizations including fast-food workers (Hollinger, Slora, & Terris, 1992), taxi drivers (Sheahan & Smith, 2003), supermarket employees (Slora, 1989), and hospitality industry employees (Robinson, 2006) engage in the

most theft. Additionally, poverty – a salient indicator of powerlessness – is a well-established (albeit complicated) correlate of crime (Merton, 1968; Becker, 1974). These findings are consistent with evidence suggesting that deprivation increases cheating (Gino & Pierce, 2009b).

However, there is a long history of offenses committed by society's elite, from fraudulent financiers to corrupt CEOs, which suggests that the *highest*-power members of society are the most inclined to perpetrate unethical behavior (e.g., see Smith, 2012). In support of this notion, Piff et al. (2012) found that upper-class individuals behaved more unethically than lower-class individuals across a wide range of unethical behaviors (e.g., lying, cheating; see also Detert, Treviño, & Sweitzer, 2008). Furthermore, experimental evidence shows that corruption increases as one accumulates more influence in the form of additional followers (Bendahan et al., 2015), and when one has more power (Lammers, Stapel, Galinsky, 2010). Research in school settings also supports the idea that high-power individuals behave more unethically. Ellis and Zarbatany (2007) found that peer group centrality, a measure of a group's power (Gest, Graham-Bermann, Hartup, 2001), was significantly and positively correlated with school misconduct (e.g., cheating on an exam) and overt aggression (e.g., instigating fights). Similarly, Galloway (2012) found evidence of greater cheating among students from advantaged backgrounds compared to students from less privileged backgrounds.

Building on these main effect findings, researchers have recently begun to consider more nuanced perspectives with respect to the relationship between power and unethical behavior. For example, Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky (2015) found that social class positively predicted unethical behavior, but only when the behavior was self-beneficial. When the behavior was performed to benefit others, lower-class individuals were more unethical than higher-class individuals, highlighting a distinction between selfish and unethical behavior (for similar

findings see Wang & Sun, 2015). In another set of studies, Yap and Higgins (under review) examined the interactive effect of regulatory focus and power and found that two specific profiles led to the highest levels of corrupt behavior – high-power paired with a promotion-focus and low-power paired with a prevention focus, highlighting the potential value of considering individuals' motivational orientations in addition to their level of power.

Importantly, however, none of these studies theoretically or empirically considered middle-power effects. By primarily focusing on a linear relationship between power and unethical behavior (or interactive effects of power and other variables on unethical behavior), past work has potentially masked a more accurate interpretation that can only be identified by considering a curvilinear relationship, which requires at a minimum, a comparison of three power levels.

Over the next two chapters, I present initial evidence for a *middle-power-morality effect*, the tendency for middle-power actors in a hierarchy to behave more ethically than their higher and lower-power counterparts. In this chapter (Studies 1-3), I examine middle-power morality in an organizational context from the perspective of observers as well as actors. Additionally, I identify different mechanisms driving unethical behavior for low-power individuals (i.e., identity threat) and high-power individuals (i.e., sense of entitlement) which are consistent with Anicich and Hirsh's (2016) theorizing. In the next chapter (Studies 4-6), I examine middle-power morality in the context of society more broadly (i.e., from a social class perspective) and identify one's subjective standing (as opposed to one's objective control over resources) as the key factor driving the middle-power morality effect.

Study 1: Power and Unethical Behavior Among Coworkers (DV #1)

In Study 1, we collected data from two unique samples. We used the responses from the first sample to identify five of the most common unethical behaviors that occur in organizations.

We then asked participants from a second sample to list three coworkers with differing levels of power (i.e., high, middle, and low) and indicate which coworker was most likely to engage in each behavior.

Sample 1. One-hundred twenty-three participants who were employed full-time were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (age *M*=32.93, *SD*=10.83, 38% women) and received a small wage for participating.

Methods (Sample 1). Participants were asked to, "Please enter 5 different unethical behaviors that may occur in organizations. Be as specific as possible and try to include a wide range of unethical behaviors."

Results (Sample 1). Participants reported a total of 615 unethical behaviors (123 participants × 5 unethical behaviors each), which we closely examined in order to identify the most common categories of behaviors. Our analysis revealed five categories of behaviors that were consistently reported by participants. Those five categories were: Theft (27.48% of all responses; e.g., stealing company supplies or information; embezzlement), Lying (10.08% of all responses; e.g., to others in the organization, customers, or the public), Discrimination (8.29% of all responses; e.g., sexism, racism, favoritism), Harassment (6.99% of all responses; e.g., sexual harassment), and Bribery (2.93% of all responses; e.g., receiving or offering a bribe). We therefore used these five categories of behaviors for our measures of unethical behavior in the second part of this study.[6]

Sample 2. One-hundred ninety-nine participants who were employed full-time were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (age *M*=30.07, *SD*=8.57, 39% women) and received a small wage for participating. Twenty-seven participants failed an attention check and were excluded from all analyses, reducing the final sample size to one-hundred seventy-two.

[6] All 615 reported behaviors and their researcher-assigned categories are available upon request.

Methods (Sample 2). Participants were asked to list three coworkers with varying levels of power (i.e., high, average, and low) and then indicate which of the three coworkers was most likely to commit each of the five most common unethical behaviors that the first sample of participants produced. Specifically, participants read the following:

> *Please enter the first name or initials of someone in your organization who has very high power – that is, someone who has a great deal of influence and authority in your organization and who is near the top [an average amount of power – that is, someone who has an average amount of influence and authority in your organization and who is near the middle] [very low power – that is, someone who has hardly any influence and authority in your organization and who is near the bottom] of the organizational hierarchy.*

After identifying the three coworkers, participants were directed to a different screen and read the following:

> *Think about the three people you listed on the previous page and the types of behaviors that they engage in or would engage in if given the opportunity.*
>
> *Below are five different unethical behaviors. Please click and drag each behavior into one of the three boxes according to which person is most likely to engage in that particular behavior if presented with the opportunity?*
>
> *You may place as many or as few behaviors as you would like in each of the three boxes on the right. That is, a person's box may include all, some, or none of the behaviors.*

Using the computer interface, participants then allocated the unethical behaviors among their coworkers by dragging and dropping each of the five unethical behaviors into one (or none) of the coworkers' boxes. One coworker name was piped into each box in the following way, "[*Coworker name*] is the one most likely to engage in the following behavior(s):"

Insert Figure 4 about here

Results (Sample 2). We predicted that participants would assign fewer unethical behaviors to their middle-power coworkers than to either their high or low-power coworkers.

To account for the fact that allocation decisions were not independent because participants made repeated allocation decisions using a fixed number of unethical behaviors, we ran a series of paired-samples t-tests. As predicted, the number of unethical behaviors assigned to middle-power coworkers (M=1.16, SD=1.14) was significantly lower than the number of unethical behaviors assigned to high-power coworkers (M=1.82, SD=1.36), $t(171) = 4.10$, $p < .001$, d=0.53, and the number of unethical behaviors assigned to low-power coworkers (M=1.59, SD=1.27), $t(171) = 2.97$, $p = .003$, d=0.36. The number of unethical behaviors assigned to high and low-power coworkers did not significantly differ, $t(171) = 1.38$, $p = .17$, d=0.18.

Insert Figure 5 about here

The results of Study 1 provide initial support for our middle-power morality hypothesis. Organizational members identified middle-power coworkers as being less unethical than both higher and lower-power coworkers. In the next study, we sought to replicate this finding using a different measure of unethical behavior.

Study 2: Power and Unethical Behavior Among Coworkers (DV #2)

The findings from Study 1 leave open an important theoretical question. Is middle-power morality simply the result of high-power people engaging in unethical acts that they have disproportionate opportunity or desire to commit (e.g., discrimination) and low-power people engaging in unethical acts that they have disproportionate opportunity or desire to commit (e.g., theft)? In other words, there may be "high-power unethical behaviors" and "low-power unethical

behaviors" that when considered together appear to produce a middle-power effect. Alternatively or in addition, there may be something unique about the psychological experience of middle-power that leads to less unethical behavior. Both accounts are plausible and likely to be true to some extent. We take the perspective that holding the opportunity and desire to commit a specific unethical behavior constant across power levels, the psychological experience of middle-power will have a unique inhibitory effect on unethical behavior, whereas the psychological experiences of high and low-power will license unethical behavior, but for different reasons (e.g., see Anicich & Hirsh, 2016). Therefore, in Studies 2 and 3 we deliberately focused on behaviors that could reasonably be committed by an employee with any amount of power.

Sample. One-hundred seventeen participants who were employed full-time were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (age M=33.07, SD=9.81, 45% women) and received a small wage for participating. Twelve participants failed an attention check and were excluded from all analyses, reducing the final sample size to one-hundred and five.

Methods. Participants received the same instructions as described in Study 2. Specifically, they were asked to list three coworkers with varying levels of power (i.e., high, average, and low) and then indicate which of the three coworkers was most accurately described by each of four different unethical adjectives that could be reasonably applied to employees with any amount of power in an organization – backstabbing, immoral, improper, and dishonest. As in Study 1, after identifying the three coworkers, participants were directed to a different screen and completed an adjective-coworker allocation task. Using the computer interface, participants then allocated the unethical adjectives among their coworkers by dragging and dropping each of the four unethical adjectives into one (or none) of the coworkers' boxes. One coworker name was

piped into each box in the following way, “Compared to the other two people, [*coworker name*] is the most…”

Insert Figure 6 about here

Results. We predicted that participants would assign fewer unethical adjectives to their middle-power coworkers than to either their high or low-power coworkers.

To account for the fact that allocation decisions were not independent because participants made repeated allocation decisions using a fixed number of unethical adjectives, we ran a series of paired-samples t-tests. As predicted, the number of unethical adjectives assigned to middle-power coworkers (M=0.94, SD=0.91) was significantly lower than the number of unethical adjectives assigned to high-power coworkers (M=1.47, SD=1.30), $t(104) = 2.89$, p =.005, d=0.47, and marginally lower than the number of unethical adjectives assigned to low-power coworkers (M=1.23, SD=1.23), $t(104) = 1.72$, p =.088, d=0.27. The number of unethical adjectives assigned to high and low-power coworkers did not significantly differ, $t(104) = 1.09$, p =.28, d=0.19.

Insert Figure 7 about here

The results of Study 2 replicated the initial middle-power morality effect found in Study 1 using a set of unethical behaviors that anyone in an organizational context could reasonably engage in.

Study 3: Identity Threat and Psychological Entitlement Drive Unethical Behavior Among Low and High-Power Individuals

In Studies 1 and 2 we demonstrated that individuals believe that their low and high-power coworkers are more unethical than their middle-power coworkers. In Study 3, we had three

goals. First, we sought to replicate these findings, but from the actor's perspective. Second, we manipulated power in an organizational context in order to establish initial evidence of causality. Third, we sought to identify two potential mediators that drive the middle-power morality effect – identity threat among low-power individuals and psychological entitlement among high-power individuals.

We follow Aquino and Douglas (2003: 196) in defining identity threat as "any overt action by another party that challenges, calls into question, or diminishes a person's sense of competence, dignity, or self-worth." We focus on identity threat as a potential mediator of the effect of power on unethical behavior among low-power employees because low-power employees, in particular, are disproportionately likely to be on the receiving end of identity threatening actions (for a review see Tepper, 2007), such as unfair treatment (Schminke, Cropanzano, & Rupp, 2002). We propose that experiencing identity threat can lead employees to endorse unethical behavior. This prediction is consistent with Anicich and Hirsh's (2016) assertion that low-power states are associated with active escape from threatening situations and activation of the fight-flight-freeze system (FFFS). Indeed, being the target of identity threatening acts such as social humiliation has been shown to lead to retaliation even among low-power employees who may be punished for responding in this way (Brown, 1968; Bies & Tripp, 1996). These findings are consistent with evidence demonstrating that individuals respond to social exclusion (Twenge et al., 2001) and threatened social worth (Davis & Reyna, 2015) – experiences we argue low-power people are disproportionately likely to have - with aggression. Additionally, when individuals feel disrespected, they are more likely to reject the norms associated with their organization or social system (e.g., Belmi et al., 2015; Colquitt et al., 2006;

Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002; Lind & Tyler, 1992), a reaction we propose could extend to ethical norms.

We follow Campbell et al. (2004: 31) in defining psychological entitlement as "a stable and pervasive sense that one deserves more and is entitled to more than others." Past work has demonstrated that having power is associated with an increased sense of entitlement (De Cremer & Van Dijk, 2005; Van Dijk & De Cremer, 2006; Piff, 2014; Major, 1994; Kipnis, 1972) which we propose, in turn, may drive unethical behavior among powerful individuals. When powerful individuals are confronted with something they desire, but do not currently possess, we propose that they have the means (i.e., asymmetric control over valued resources, Magee & Galinsky, 2008) and psychological disposition (i.e., sense of entitlement, approach motivation) to pursue the object of their desire even if acquiring it requires engaging in unethical behavior. This prediction is consistent with arguments that high-power states are associated with self-interested approach motivation and activation of the behavioral approach system system (BAS; e.g., see Keltner et al., 2003; Anicich & Hirsh, 2016). Furthermore, high-power individuals compared to low-power individuals are more sensitive to being treated unfairly and more likely to take action in response to perceived injustices (Sawaoka, Hughes, & Ambady, 2015), which could also license unethical behavior.

Sample. Two-hundred and three participants who were employed full-time were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (age M=34.36, SD=12.08, 49% women) and received a small wage for participating. Four participants failed an attention check and were excluded from all analyses, reducing the final sample size to one-hundred ninety-nine.

Power Manipulation. To manipulate the psychological experience of power, we randomly assigned participants to one of three roles within a hypothetical organization. We first

presented participants with an employee biography page that revealed their job title (Research Analyst, Middle-Manager, or Senior Vice President), salary grade within the organization (1 out of 13 (i.e., bottom), 7 out of 13 (i.e., middle), or 13 out of 13 (i.e., top)), job responsibilities (e.g., "Adopt the company strategy that is handed down from middle managers," "Communicate and implement company strategy to research analysts," or "Develop company strategy and communicate this strategy to the middle managers"), a summary of their role (e.g., "Your low-rank is reflected in your very small salary and complete lack of power within the organization," "Your middle-rank is reflected in your mid-range salary and marginal amount of power within the organization," or "Your high-rank is reflected in your very large salary and substantial amount of power within the organization"), and a visual depiction of their standing in the organizational chart. To enhance the realism of our role manipulation, we also presented participants with a "Snapshot of your life" which included images of participants' cubicle/office, apartment/house, and car on a subsequent screen. We selected images that reflected three distinct experiences of power based on our definition of power as asymmetric control over valued resources (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). See Figure XX for the complete set of stimuli presented to participants.

Insert Figure 8 about here

After reviewing this information, participants wrote about an average day in their life. Specifically, participants read:

> *Now, please take a few minutes to describe an average day in your life. How would you think, feel, and act as someone in this role? Please write roughly one paragraph.*
>
> *Remember to write as if you are this person, not from your own (real-life) perspective.*

Anticipated Identity Threat Mediator. We assessed anticipated identity threat by asking participants how often they thought other individuals in the organization would treat them in nine different ways (α=0.93; e.g., "criticizing you unfairly"; adapted from Aquino & Douglas, 2003). We predicted that anticipated identity threat would drive anticipated unethical behavior among low-power employees. See Table 2 for a complete list of the items contained in the identity threat and psychological entitlement measures.

Insert Table 2 about here

Anticipated Psychological Entitlement Mediator. We assessed anticipated psychological entitlement by asking participants to indicate their level of agreement with nine different statements (α=0.93; e.g., "I honestly feel I'm just more deserving than others"; Campbell et al., 2004). We predicted that anticipated psychological entitlement would drive unethical behavior among high-power employees.

Anticipated Unethical Behavior Dependent Variable. Participants were asked to reflect on their role in the organization and indicate the extent to which the following five adjectives describe them: "asocial," immoral," "improper," "rude," and "well-mannered" (reverse-scored) (α=0.79; Van Kleef et al., 2011; from 1="Definitely not" to 7="Definitely"). Although this measure was originally used by Van Kleef et al. (2011) as a measure of norm violation, we view the items as containing an ethical component based on our definition of unethical behavior as "acts that have harmful effects upon others and are either illegal or morally unacceptable to the larger community" (Gino, Moore, & Bazerman, 2009: 8; Jones, 1991: 367). For example, according to the Oxford English dictionary, *asocial* refers to being "inconsiderate of or hostile to others," *improper* means "not in accordance with accepted rules or standards, especially of

morality or honesty," and *rude* reflects "offensively impolite or ill-mannered" behavior. Consistent with these arguments, a review of the antecedents and consequences of norm-violating behaviors was recently featured in a special journal issue on morality and ethics (van Kleef et al., 2015).

Results. First we tested the effect of power on our proposed mediators – anticipated identity threat and psychological entitlement. As predicted, participants in low-power roles (M=2.75, SD=0.73) reported higher levels of anticipated identity threat than participants in both middle-power roles (M=2.18, SD=0.78), $t(196) = 4.11$, $p < .001$, d=0.75, and high-power roles, (M=2.13, SD=0.90), $t(196) = 4.43$, $p < .001$, d=0.76. Participants in middle-power roles and high-power roles did not differ in their reported levels of anticipated identity threat, $t(196) = -0.34$, $p = .74$, d=0.06. Furthermore, participants in high-power roles (M=4.29, SD=1.60) reported higher levels of anticipated psychological entitlement than participants in both middle-power roles (M=3.56, SD=1.37), $t(196) = 2.99$, $p = .003$, d=0.49, and low-power roles, (M=3.69, SD=1.20), $t(196) = 2.50$, $p = .013$, d=0.43. Participants in middle-power roles and low-power roles did not differ in their reported levels of anticipated psychological entitlement, $t(196) = 0.55$, $p = .58$, d=0.10.

We then tested the effect of power on our dependent variable - anticipated unethical behavior. As predicted, participants in both low-power roles (M=2.36, SD=1.12), $t(196) = 2.32$, $p = .021$, d=0.44, and high-power roles (M=2.36, SD=1.24), $t(196) = 2.28$, $p = .024$, d=0.41, reported anticipating engaging in more unethical behavior than participants in middle-power roles (M=1.93, SD=0.77). Participants in low-power roles and high-power roles did not differ in their reported levels of anticipated unethical behavior, $t(196) = -0.01$, $p = .99$, $d < 0.01$.

Mediation Analyses. To test our hypotheses that identity threat drives the effect of unethical behavior among low-power participants and that psychological entitlement drives the effect of unethical behavior among high-power participants, we used Hayes's (2012) PROCESS script to calculate direct and indirect effects using a multicategorical predictor (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). Following the recommendations of Hayes and Preacher (2014), we created one dummy variable distinguishing high-power participants (coded 1) from the rest (coded 0) and a second dummy variable distinguishing low-power participants (coded 1) from the rest (coded 0).

To assess identity threat as the mediator, we ran two analyses – one with the high-power (versus others) dummy as the predictor and the low-power (versus others) dummy as a covariate and a second with the low-power (versus others) dummy as the predictor and the high-power (versus others) dummy as a covariate. We followed the same procedure to assess psychological entitlement as the mediator.

As predicted, a bootstrapping procedure with 5,000 resamples indicated that identity threat fully mediated the effect of condition on unethical behavior when power was low (vs. middle; 95% bias-corrected CI: 0.086 to 0.375), but did not mediate the effect of condition on unethical behavior when power was high (vs. middle; 95% bias-corrected CI: -0.110 to 0.098). Additionally, a bootstrapping procedure with 5,000 resamples indicated that psychological entitlement fully mediated the effect of condition on unethical behavior when power was high (vs. middle; 95% bias-corrected CI: 0.006 to 0.248), but did not mediate the effect of condition on unethical behavior when power was low (vs. middle; 95% bias-corrected CI: -0.027 to 0.102). The results of Study 3 provide initial causal evidence in support of our middle-power morality hypothesis. Additionally, we found evidence of mediation through identity threat (among

participants assigned to a low-power role vs. middle) and psychological entitlement (among participants assigned to a high-power role vs. middle).

Insert Figures 9-10 about here

In this chapter, I provided initial evidence of middle-power morality within an organizational context. In the next chapter, I test the middle-power morality hypothesis in society more broadly, focusing on social class as an operationalization of power.

CHAPTER 4

EVIDENCE OF MIDDLE-CLASS MORALITY IN SOCIETY

In this chapter, I extend my investigation of middle-power morality from the organizational context to the societal context by treating social class as a proxy for power. Individuals from higher social classes, by definition, have greater control over valued resources (e.g., money, education, opportunities) which can activate a higher sense of power more generally (Dubois, Rucker, & Galinsky, 2015; Galinsky, Rucker, & Magee, 2015). However, structural indicators of power (e.g., social class) do not always lead to a higher sense of power (for a review see Tost, 2015). One potential explanation for this discrepancy relates to power being inherently relational (Smith & Magee, 2015). Power does not exist in a vacuum, devoid of social context. Rather, one's sense of power depends on one's self-perceived ability to control the outcomes, experiences, or behaviors of others. Importantly, a relational understanding of power implies that one's sense of power is more strongly influenced by one's immediate or local social context compared to the broader societal context in which one may be embedded. This reasoning is consistent with seminal work showing that one's perceived social standing depends crucially on one's reference group (Hyman, 1942) and self-relevant social comparisons (Festinger, 1954). Therefore, I predict that one's social class will more strongly influence one's sense of power and in turn behavior when it is construed subjectively and relationally (as opposed to objectively and globally).

Study 4: Which social class is believed to be the most unethical in society?

Before testing the prediction outlined above, I sought to establish that people generally view upper and lower class individuals as more unethical than middle-class individuals.

Sample. Two-hundred and six participants were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (age M=30.57, SD=9.67, 45% women) and received a small wage for participating. Nine participants failed an attention check and were excluded from all analyses, reducing the final sample size to one-hundred and ninety-seven.

Methods. Participants read the following:

> *In general, the social hierarchy of the United States is made up of people who occupy one of three different social classes - the upper class, the middle class, and the lower class.*
>
> *People in the upper class have more power, resources, and influence than people in the lower class and people in the middle class.*
>
> *People in the middle class have less power, resources, and influence than people in the upper class, but more power, resources, and influence than people in the lower class.*
>
> *People in the lower class have less power, resources, and influence than people in the upper class and people in the middle class.*
>
> *In your opinion, which group of people is most likely to engage in unethical behavior ignoring the fact that some classes of individuals have more members than others in society and that people from different classes may have different motivations for behaving unethically? By unethical behavior, we mean acts that have harmful effects upon others and that are either illegal or morally unacceptable to the larger community.*

Participants then indicated which of the three social classes they viewed as being the most Unethical – the upper class, the middle class, or the lower class.

Results. As predicted, a non-parametric chi-square test revealed that participants viewed the middle class as the most unethical social class less frequently than would be expected based on the expectation that all three social classes are believed to be the most unethical at equivalent rates (n = 22 chose middle class vs. n = 61 and n = 114 chose lower class and upper class, respectively), $\chi^2(2) = 64.94$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, a non-parametric chi-square comparing only

the frequencies of lower class and middle class selection was also significant, $\chi^2(1) = 18.33$, $p < .001$.

Insert Figure 11 about here

In the next two studies, I seek to determine if this intuition that middle-class individuals are less unethical than upper and lower class individuals is true using the results of two large-scale social surveys.

Study 5: Evidence of Middle-Class Morality from the World Values Survey (WVS)

In the previous study, we found that people generally view middle-class individuals as more ethical than upper and lower class individuals. In this study, we sought to directly test this collective intuition using the results from the World Values Survey (WVS). Specifically, we assessed respondents' social class as a predictor of how justifiable respondents considered a range of unethical behaviors to be. Furthermore, we distinguished between subjective and objective social class, predicting stronger effects in relation to subjective social class.

Sample. The WVS consists of nationally representative surveys conducted across the globe. We used the sixth and most recent wave of data (2010-2014). Wave 6 is the only wave that included all of the relevant variables used in the current study. Our final sample included responses collected in 57 countries over a five-year period (2010-2014) from 76,834 respondents (52% female; age M=41.6, SD=16.3).[7] Using the WVS data allows us to generalize our findings

[7] The 57 countries represented in our sample were: Algeria (N=935), Azerbaijan (N=999), Argentina (N=845), Australia (N=993), Armenia (N=1,020), Brazil (N=1,393), Belarus (N=1,487), Chile (N=802), China (N=1,542), Taiwan (N=1,074), Colombia (N=1,443), Cyprus (N=932), Ecuador (N=1,195), Estonia (N=1,310), Georgia (N=1,179), Palestine (N=948), Ghana (N=1,552), Hong Kong (N=953), India (N=5,329), Iraq (N=1,118), Japan (N=1,627), Kazakhstan (N=1,500), Jordan (N=1,166), South Korea (N=1,162), Kuwait (N=948), Kyrgyzstan (N=1,441), Lebanon (N=1,166), Libya (N=1,890), Malaysia (N=1,299), Mexico (N=1,881), Morocco (N=886), Netherlands (N=1,449), New Zealand (N=597), Nigeria (N=1,759), Pakistan (N=1,200), Peru (N=1,063), Philippines (N=1,192), Poland (N=778), Romania (N=1,328), Russia (N=1,945), Rwanda (N=1,527), Singapore (N=1,917), Slovenia (N=915), South Africa (N=3,167), Zimbabwe (N=1,500), Spain (N=954), Sweden (N=964),

beyond WEIRD countries (i.e. Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic; Henrich, Heine, Norenzayan, 2010).

Subjective Social Class Independent Variable. We used respondents' self-reported subjective social class (1="Lower class," 2="Working class," 3="Lower middle class," 4="Upper middle class," 5= "Upper class") as our primary independent variable (M = 2.71, SD = 1.00).

Objective Social Class Independent Variable. To assess objective social class, we first standardized respondents' self-reported monthly household income and highest educational level attained. The monthly household income response options represented deciles of each country's household income distribution as defined by each country's principal investigators (M = 4.88, SD = 2.10). Educational attainment was assessed on a 9-point scale (1 = "No formal education", 2 = "Incomplete primary school", 3 = "Complete primary school", 4 = "Incomplete secondary school: technical/vocational type", 5 = "Complete secondary school: technical/vocational type", 6 = "Incomplete secondary: university-preparatory type", 7 = "Complete secondary: university-preparatory type", 8 = "Some university-level education, without degree", 9 = "University-level education, with degree") (M = 5.68, SD = 2.41). Next, we assessed the reliability of these two standardized values as a two-item measure of objective social class ($\alpha = 0.40$). The alpha value was too low to justify combining the two items into a single scale. Therefore, we report the results from separate analyses using the income and educational attainment variables below.

Morality Dependent Variable. Our morality measure captured respondents' ratings of the justifiability of nine different unethical behaviors (from 1 = "Never justifiable" to 10 = "Always justifiable"). The nine unethical behaviors (α=0.86) that formed the basis of our outcome

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Thailand (N=1,092), Trinidad (N=915), Tunisia (N=1,025), Turkey (N=1,523), Ukraine (N=1,500), Egypt (N=1,523), United States (N=2,063), Uruguay (N=819), Uzbekistan (N=1,411), and Yemen (N=693).

measure were: stealing property, violence against other people, claiming government benefits to which you are not entitled, cheating on taxes if you have a chance, someone accepting a bribe in the course of their duties, parents beating children, avoiding a fare on public transport, for a man to beat his wife, and suicide (M = 2.30, SD = 1.50).[8]

Control Variables. We controlled for a number of variables that may affect individuals' beliefs related to the justifiability of unethical behavior including marital status, gender, and age. We also included fixed effects for year. See Tables 3-4 for the correlations among all the variables used in the current study and complete regression results.

Insert Tables 3-4 about here

Results. We used a linear regression procedure with clustered standard errors (on country) to account for correlated responses within country. As predicted, we found a curvilinear relationship (U-shaped) between subjective social class and the reported justifiability of unethical behavior such that middle-class respondents believed unethical behavior was less justifiable than upper and lower class respondents with control variables (subjective social class squared: b = 0.086, SE = 0.024, $p < .001$) and without control variables (subjective social class

[8] Respondents reported the justifiability of a total of 15 different behaviors on the WVS. In addition to the nine behaviors already mentioned, respondents also indicated the justifiability of the following 6 behaviors: prostitution, abortion, euthanasia, homosexuality, divorce, and sex before marriage. Because we do not believe that all 15 behaviors are universally unethical, we asked workers on Mechanical Turk (N=105, age M = 32.41, SD = 10.43, 42% women) the following: "Some behaviors are universally considered to be unethical whereas other behaviors may only be considered unethical by people from a particular country, religion, or political affiliation. Below are 15 different behaviors. Please rate the extent to which each behavior would be considered unethical across cultures, religions, and political affiliations. That is, if a behavior is only considered to be unethical by a certain segment of the world's population (e.g. people from a particular country, religion, or religious affiliation), then that behavior is NOT universally unethical." Responses were recorded on a 1-7 scale from 1 = "Definitely NOT a universally unethical behavior" to 7 = "Definitely a universally unethical behavior". We chose to use the 9 behaviors mentioned in the main text because those were the only behaviors that received an average unethical rating that was above the midpoint of the response scale. Importantly, however, the results reported in the main text hold when using only the 3 most unethical behaviors from this survey, only the 6 most unethical behaviors from this survey, and all 15 of the behaviors.

squared: $b = 0.102$, $SE = 0.024$, $p < .01$). However, this pattern of results only weakly emerged or did not emerge at all with respect to monthly household income (income squared: with controls, $b = 0.009$, $SE = 0.004$, $p < .05$, without controls, $b = 0.009$, $SE = 0.006$, $p = .12$) and educational attainment (income squared: with controls, $b = -0.004$, $SE = 0.005$, $p = .33$, without controls, $b = -0.008$, $SE = 0.007$, $p = .27$).

Insert Figures 12-13 about here

This pattern of results supports our prediction that the middle-power morality effect is primarily driven by subjective perceptions of one's standing relative to others and not necessarily by one's objective control over valued resources. In the next study we attempt to replicate this effect using two different measures of subjective power.

Study 6: Evidence of Middle-Class Morality from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS)

We acquired data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). The SASAS is a nationally representative, cross-sectional survey of South African social attitudes that has been conducted annually since 2003. Specifically, we assessed respondents' wealth as a predictor of how acceptable it is to engage in marital infidelity. Similar to the previous study, we distinguished between subjective and objective wealth, predicting stronger effects in relation to subjective wealth.

Sample. Our final sample included responses from 17,319 individuals (59.9% female; age M=40.17, SD=15.88) collected during ten survey waves representing the SASAS's entire history (2003-2012). Our primary variables of interest were unavailable in 2003 and 2012. We used two different measures of subjective wealth.

Subjective Financial Standing Independent Variable. Our first independent variable was assessed from responses to the question, "Would you say that you and your family are…?" (1="Very poor," 2="Poor," 3="Just getting along," 4="Reasonably comfortable," 5="Very comfortable," 6="Wealthy") (*M* = 3.04, *SD* = 1.11).

Relative Income within Village/Neighborhood Independent Variable. Our second independent variable was assessed from responses to the question, "How does your household income compare with other households in your village/neighborhood?" (1="Much below average income," 2="Below average income," 3="Average income," 4="Above average income," 5="Much above average income") (*M* = 2.44, *SD* = 0.94).

Objective Monthly Household Income Independent Variable. To assess objective income we used respondents' self-reported monthly household income which was assessed on a 14-point scale (1="No income," 2="R1-R500," 3="R501-R750," 4="R751-R1000," 5="R1001-R1500," 6="R1501-R2000," 7="R2001-R3000," 8="R3001-R5000," 9="R5001-R7500," 10="R7501-R10000," 11="R10001-R15000," 12="R15001-R20000," 13="R20001-R30000," 14="R30001+") (*M* = 6.67, *SD* = 3.27).

Morality Dependent Variable. Our morality dependent variable was related to marital infidelity: "Do you think it is wrong or not wrong for a married person to have sexual relations with someone to whom he or she is not married?" (1="Always wrong", 2="Almost always wrong", 3="Wrong only sometimes", 4="Not wrong at all").

Control Variables. We controlled for a number of variables that may affect individuals' beliefs related to the acceptability of marital infidelity including ethnicity, marital status, gender, age, and number of household members. We also included fixed effects for year. See Tables 5-6

for the correlations among all the variables used in the current study and complete regression results.

Insert Tables 5-6 about here

Results. We used a linear regression procedure with robust standard errors. As predicted, we found a curvilinear relationship (U-shaped) between subjective financial standing and the acceptability of marital infidelity such that middle-wealth respondents believed marital infidelity was less acceptable than upper and lower-wealth respondents with control variables (subjective financial standing squared: $b = 0.026$, $SE = 0.004$, $p < .001$) and without control variables (subjective financial standing squared: $b = 0.024$, $SE = 0.004$, $p < .001$). The same pattern of results emerged with respect to relative income within one's village/neighborhood with control variables (relative income squared: $b = 0.044$, $SE = 0.006$, $p < .001$) and without control variables (relative income squared: $b = 0.040$, $SE = 0.006$, $p < .001$). A similar, but weaker, pattern emerged with respect to monthly household income (income squared: with controls, $b = 0.002$, $SE = 0.001$, $p < .01$, without controls, $b = 0.002$, $SE = 0.001$, $p < .01$).

Insert Figures 14-15 about here

In this study we found additional evidence in support of a middle-power morality effect using data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey. Respondents who subjectively perceived their wealth to be near the middle of the distribution and who felt their household earned an average amount of income relative to others in their immediate village/neighborhood believed that marital infidelity was less acceptable than individuals at either end of the subjective wealth distributions. A similar, but weaker, pattern emerged with respect to objective household

income. Consistent with the results from the previous study, these results suggest that the middle-power morality effect is primarily driven by individuals' subjective assessments of their power (i.e., wealth) in relation to their reference group (i.e., their neighbors).

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have attempted to theoretically, empirically, and methodologically advance knowledge related to the psychological experience of middle-power. First, I sought to extend and update the approach/inhibition theory of power (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003) by developing a novel theoretical framework related to the psychological experience of middle-power (Anicich & Hirsh, 2016) that draws from and integrates insights from identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Stryker, 1980) and role transition (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000) theories. I believe that our framework holds the potential to substantively contribute to the social hierarchy literature more generally. Second, I conducted a systematic review of the social hierarchy literature over the past 10 years and found that scholars have considered the middle of stratifying variable distributions in only 5.4% of past empirical investigations. I concluded that existing findings in the social hierarchy literature may be usefully updated by considering middle-power effects. Third, as one example of the need to potentially revisit findings in the social hierarchy literature, I examined the relationship between power and unethical behavior and found evidence of a curvilinear relationship. Middle-power individuals were consistently found to be more ethical than both their higher and lower-power counterparts. Taken together, these findings suggest that the psychological experience of middle-power is an understudied, organizationally relevant, and potentially fruitful topic for future research.

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Figure 1. Overview of the current theoretical framework.

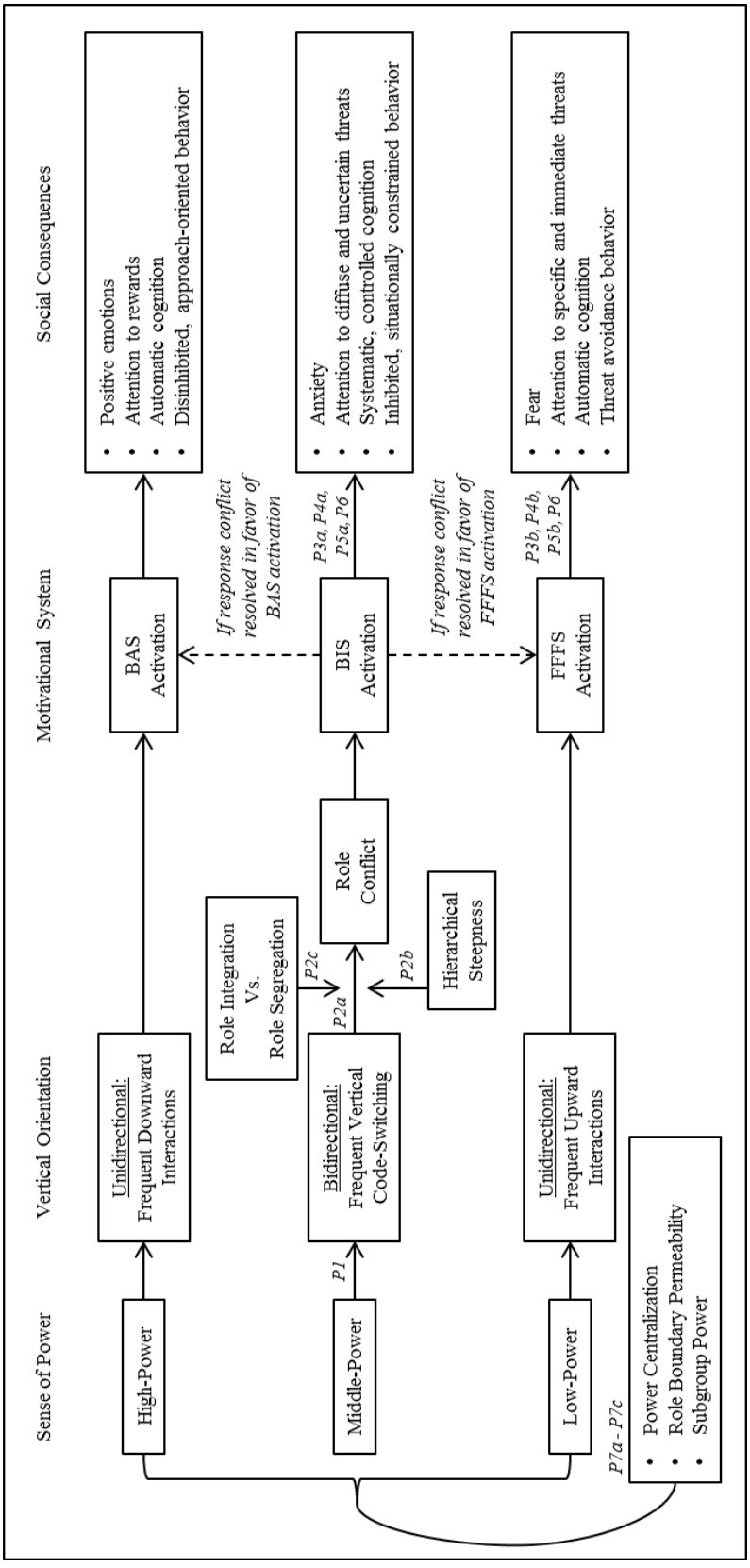


Figure 2. Proposed relationship between frequency of vertical code-switching and role conflict.

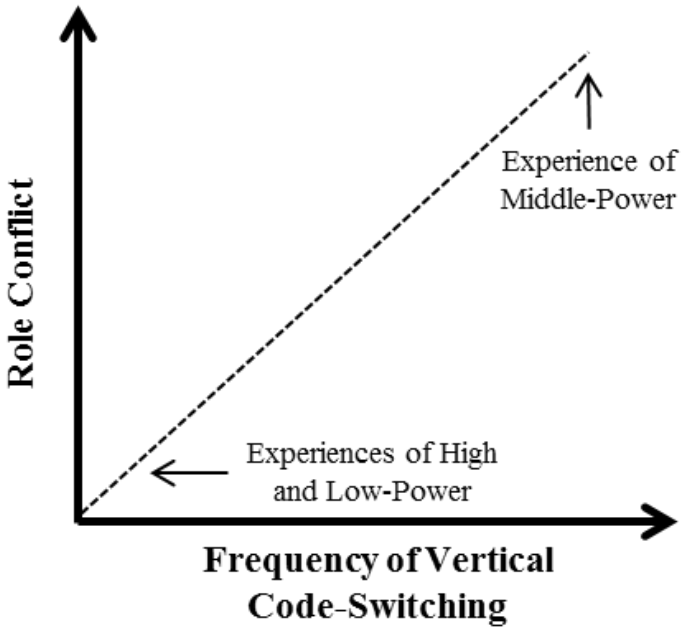


Figure 3. Structural characteristics that are proposed to affect the intensity of vertical code-switching and the psychological experience of power.

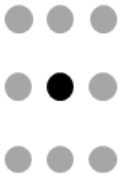
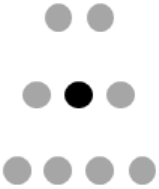
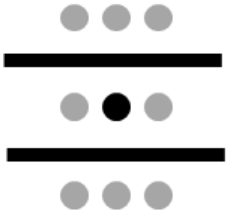
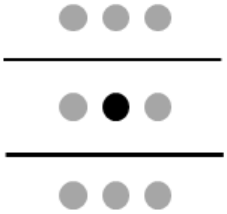
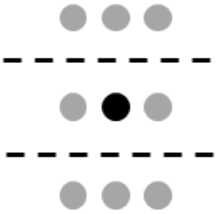
	Weak Experience of Middle-Power Associated with…	Moderate Experience of Middle-Power Associated with…	Strong Experience of Middle-Power Associated with…
Hierarchical Steepness	 Low Steepness	 Moderate Steepness	 High Steepness
Power Centralization	 High Centralization	 Moderate Centralization	 Low Centralization
Role Boundary Permeability	 Low Permeability	 Moderate Permeability	 High Permeability

Figure 4. Computer interface in which participants allocated unethical behaviors among high, middle, and low-power coworkers (Study 1).

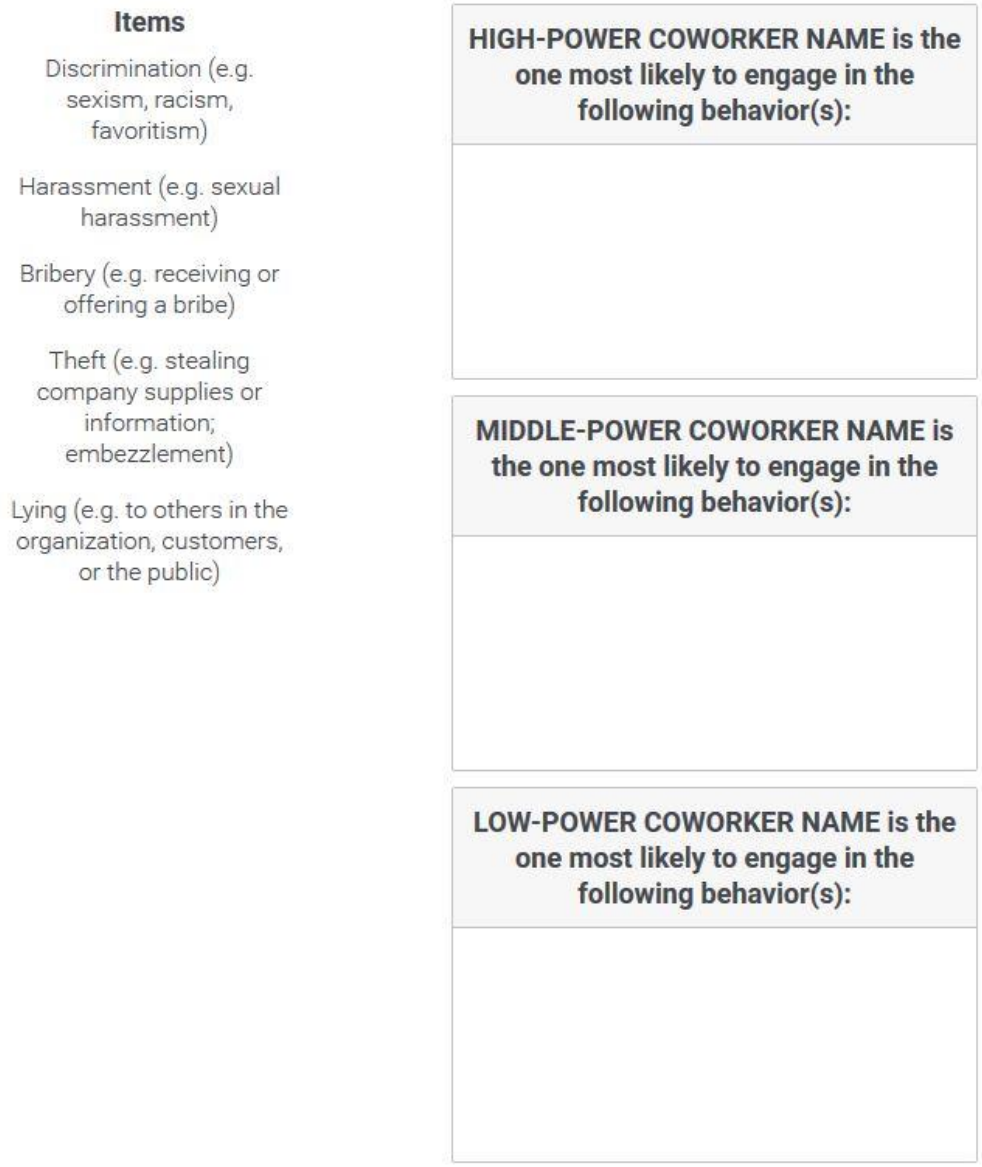


Figure 5. Mean number of unethical behaviors allocated to each coworker (Study 1). Errors bars represent one standard error.

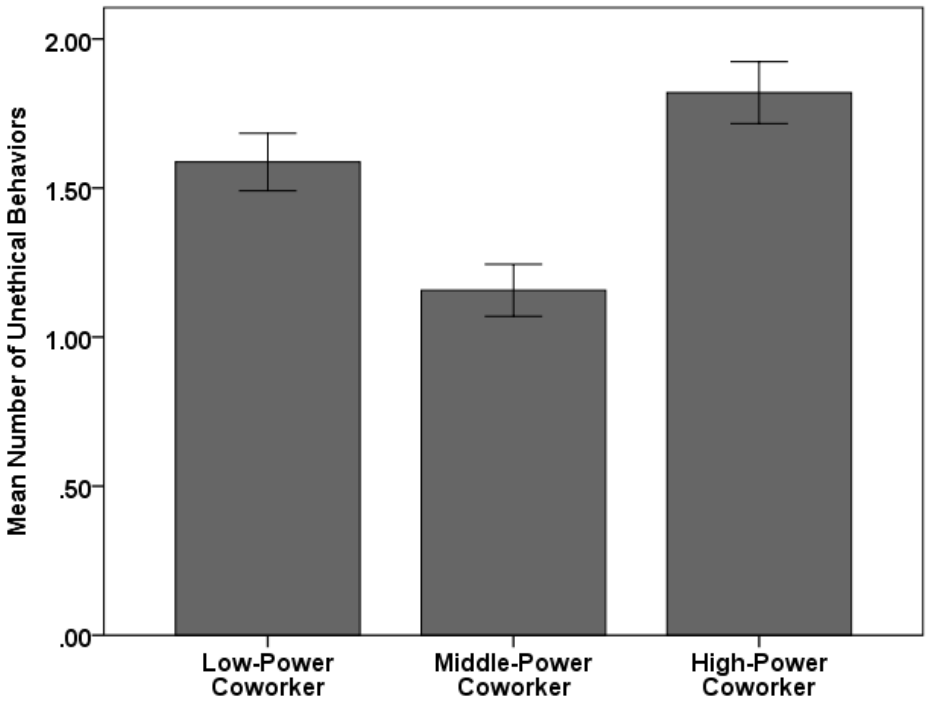


Figure 6. Computer interface in which participants allocated unethical behaviors among high, middle, and low-power coworkers (Study 2).

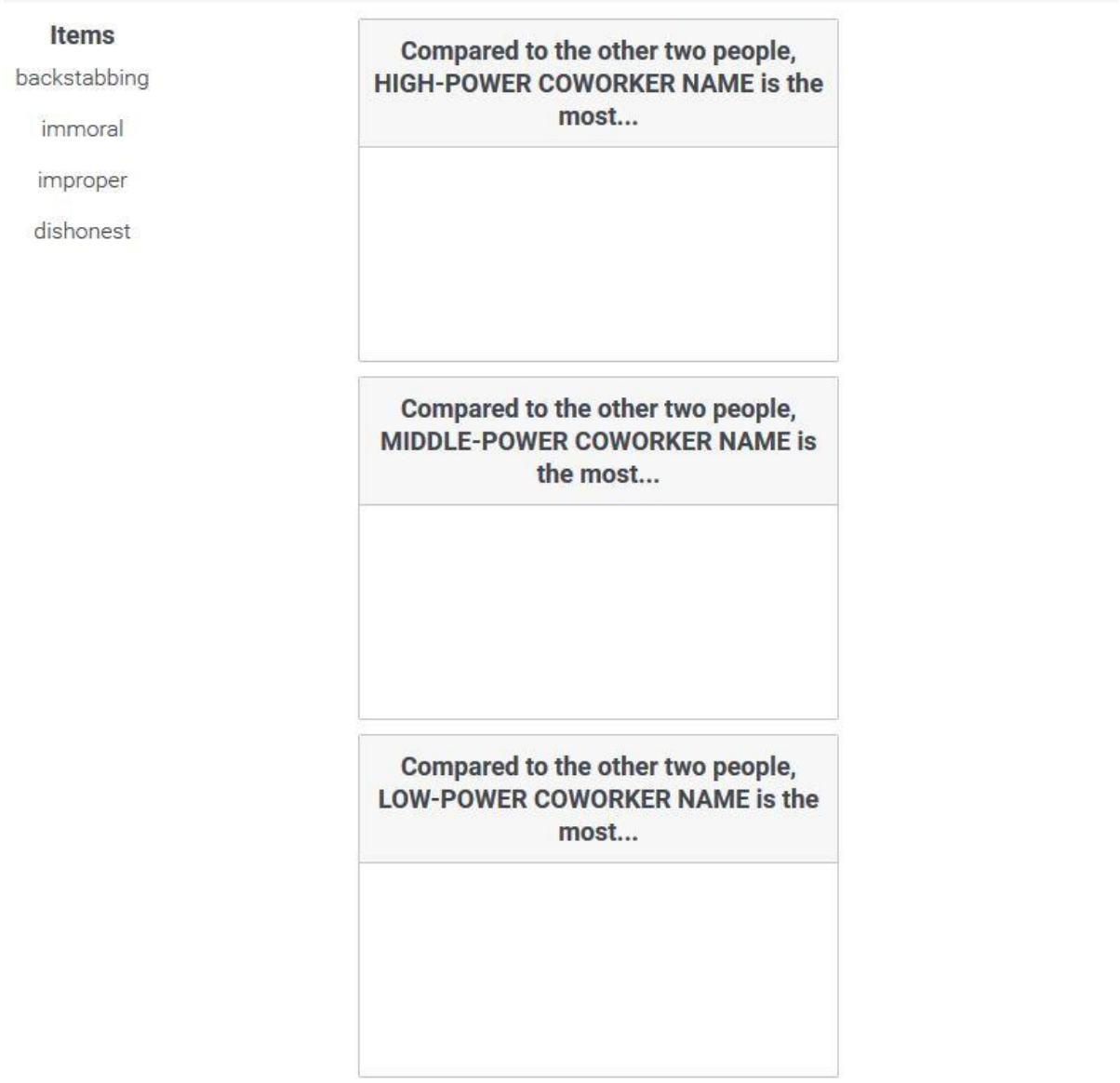


Figure 7. Mean number of unethical adjectives allocated to each coworker (Study 2).

Errors bars represent one standard error.

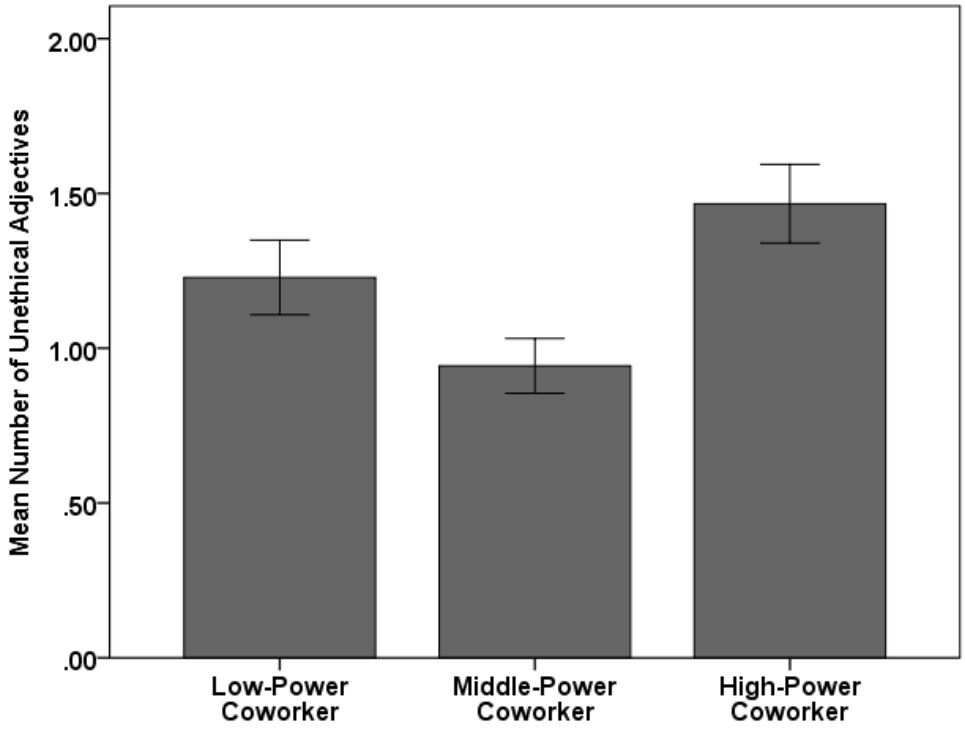


Figure 8. High, middle, and low-power manipulations from top to bottom (Study 3).

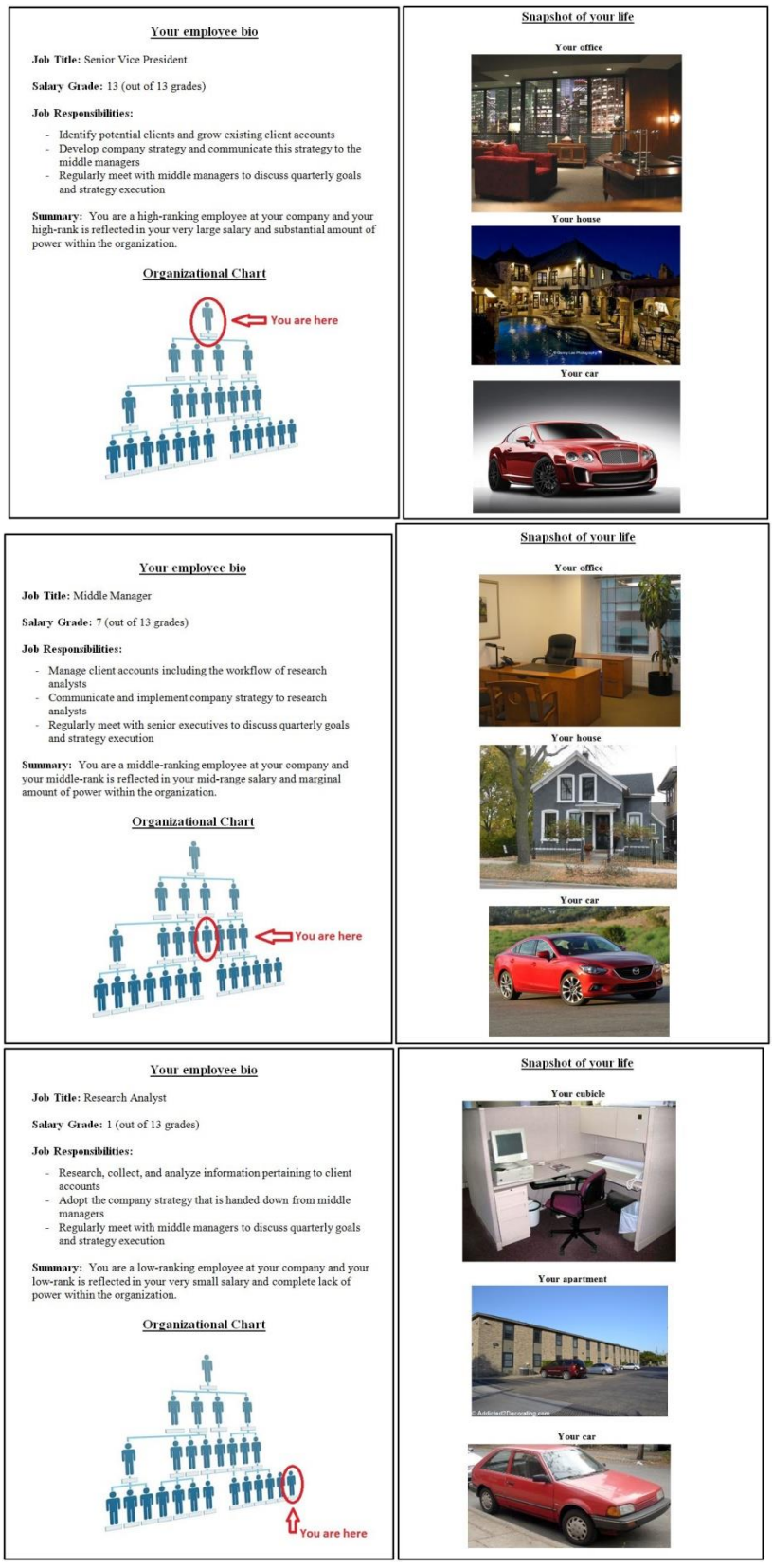


Figure 9. Anticipated unethical behavior by condition (Study 3). Error bars represent one standard error.

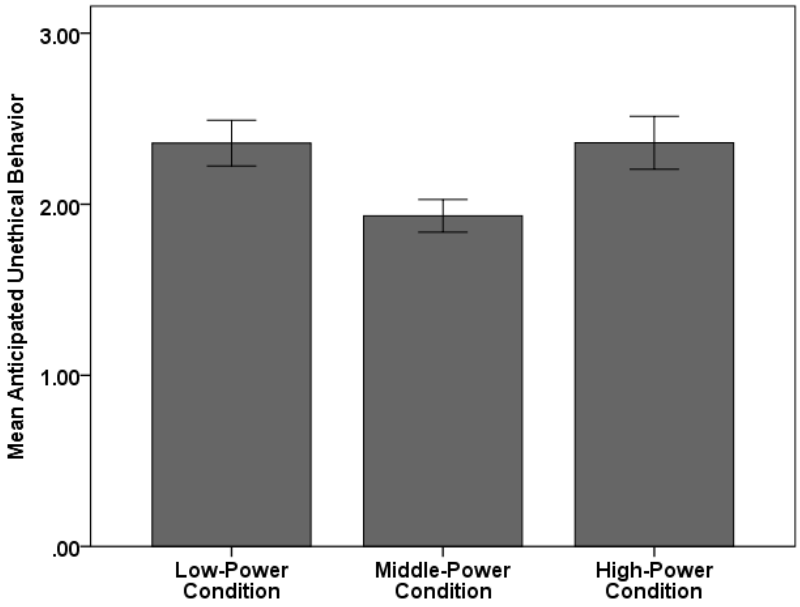


Figure 10. Mediation model showing the effects of power on unethical behavior as mediated by identity threat and psychological entitlement. β1 paths indicate the comparison of low-power participants with middle-power participants, and β2 paths indicate the comparison of high-power participants with middle-power participants (see Hayes & Preacher, 2014, for a full description of this analytic strategy for testing mediation with a multicategorical predictor). All values are standardized coefficients. Values in parentheses represent direct relationships; values without parentheses represent relationships after all variables were included in the model (*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001) (Study 3).

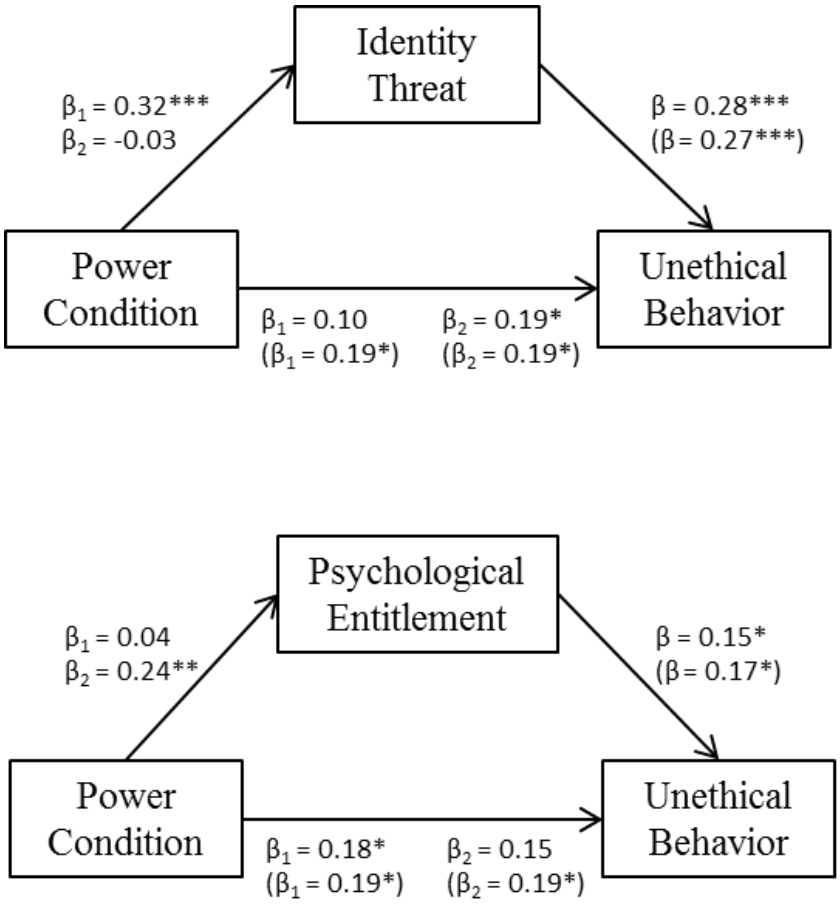


Figure 11. Number of times each social class was chosen as the most unethical by participants. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals (Study 4).

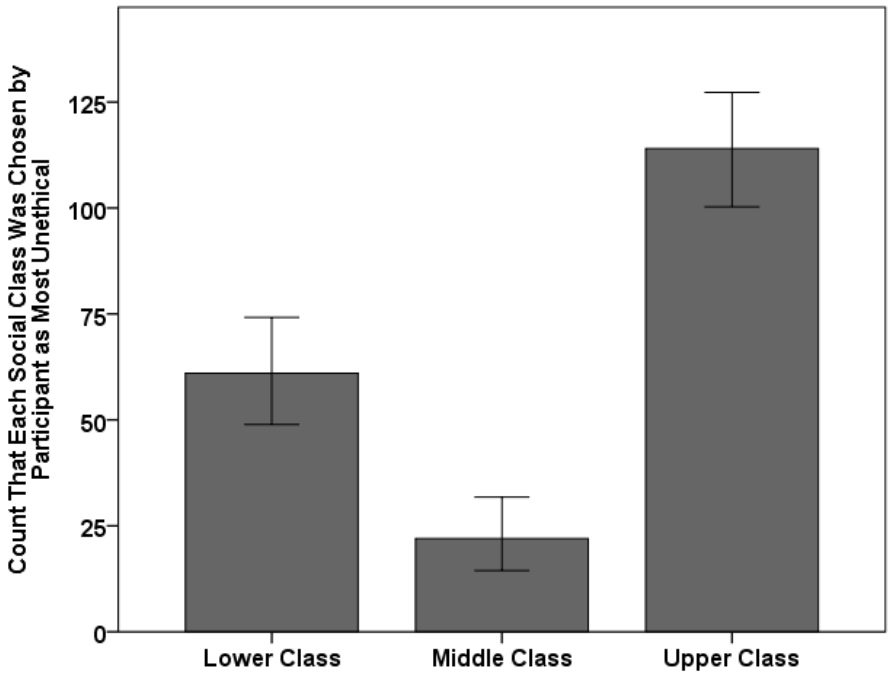


Figure 12. Justifiability of unethical behavior by subjective social class from World Values Survey (Study 5). Error bars represent one standard error.

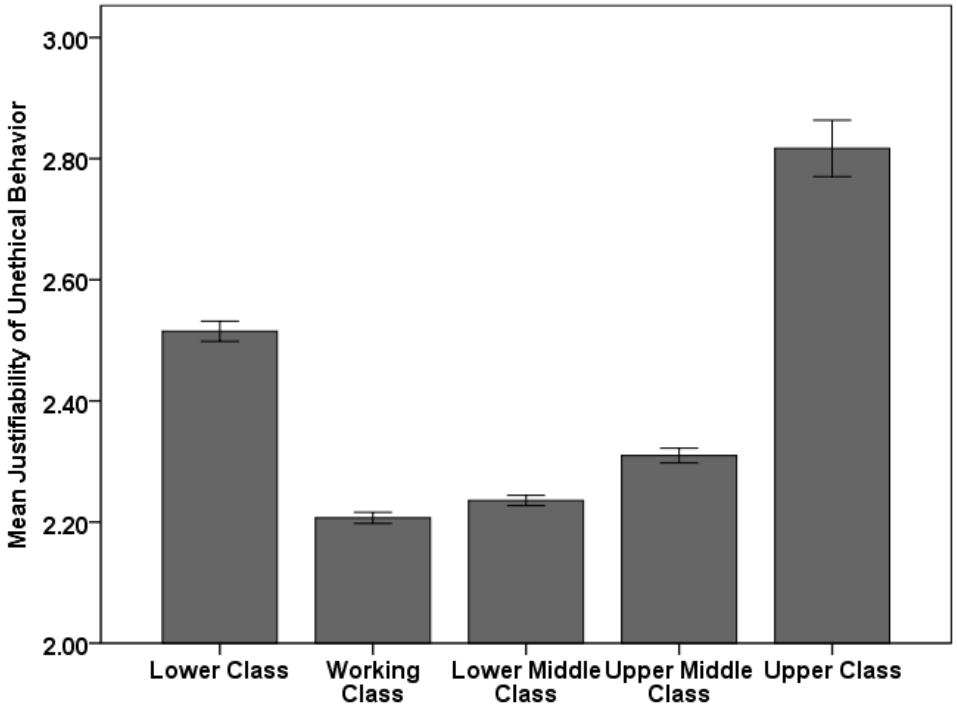


Figure 13. Justifiability of unethical behavior by objective income and educational attainment from World Values Survey (Study 5). Error bars represent one standard error.

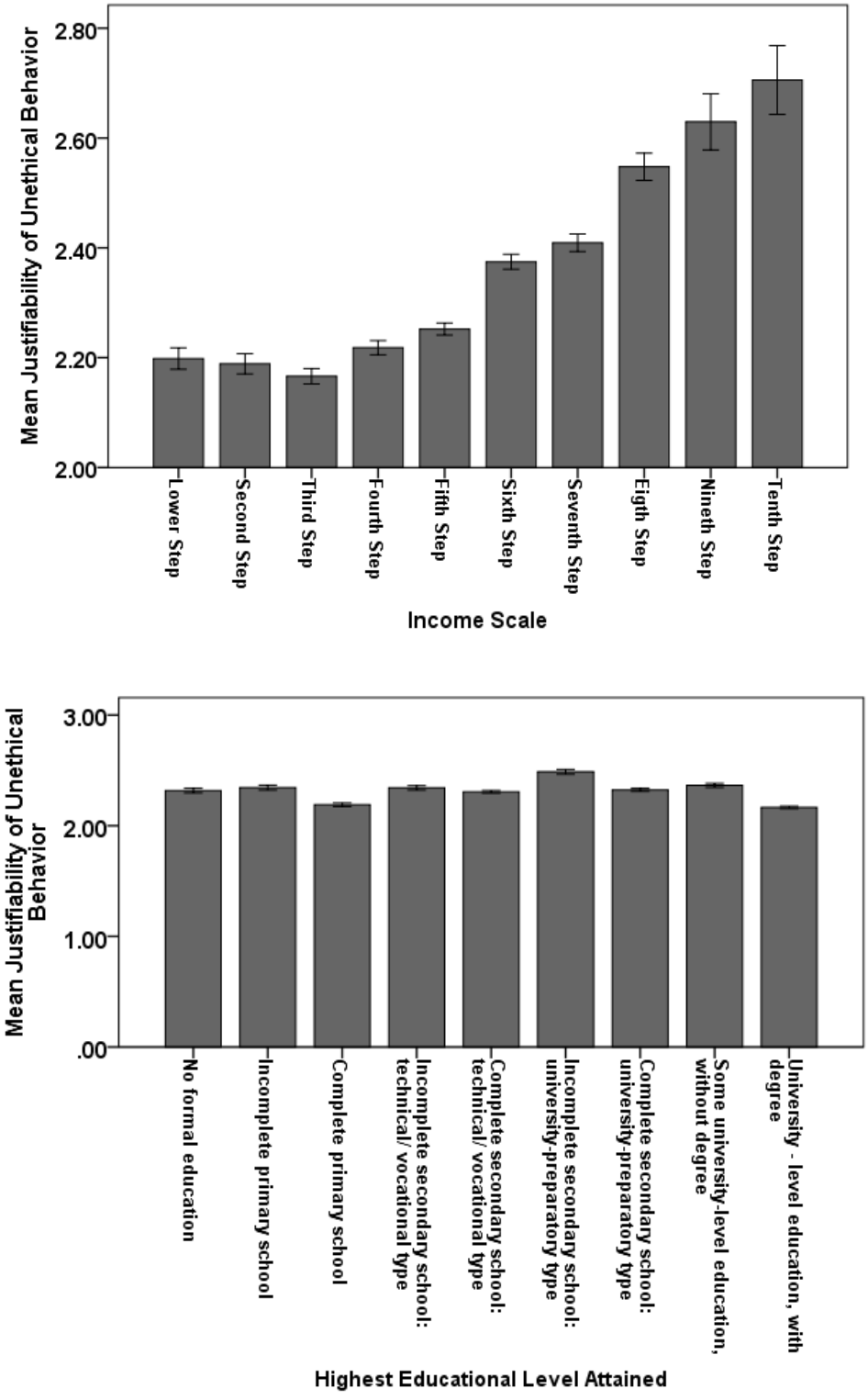


Figure 14. Acceptability of marital infidelity by subjective financial standing (top panel) and by relative income within village/neighborhood (bottom panel) from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (Study 6). Error bars represent one standard error.

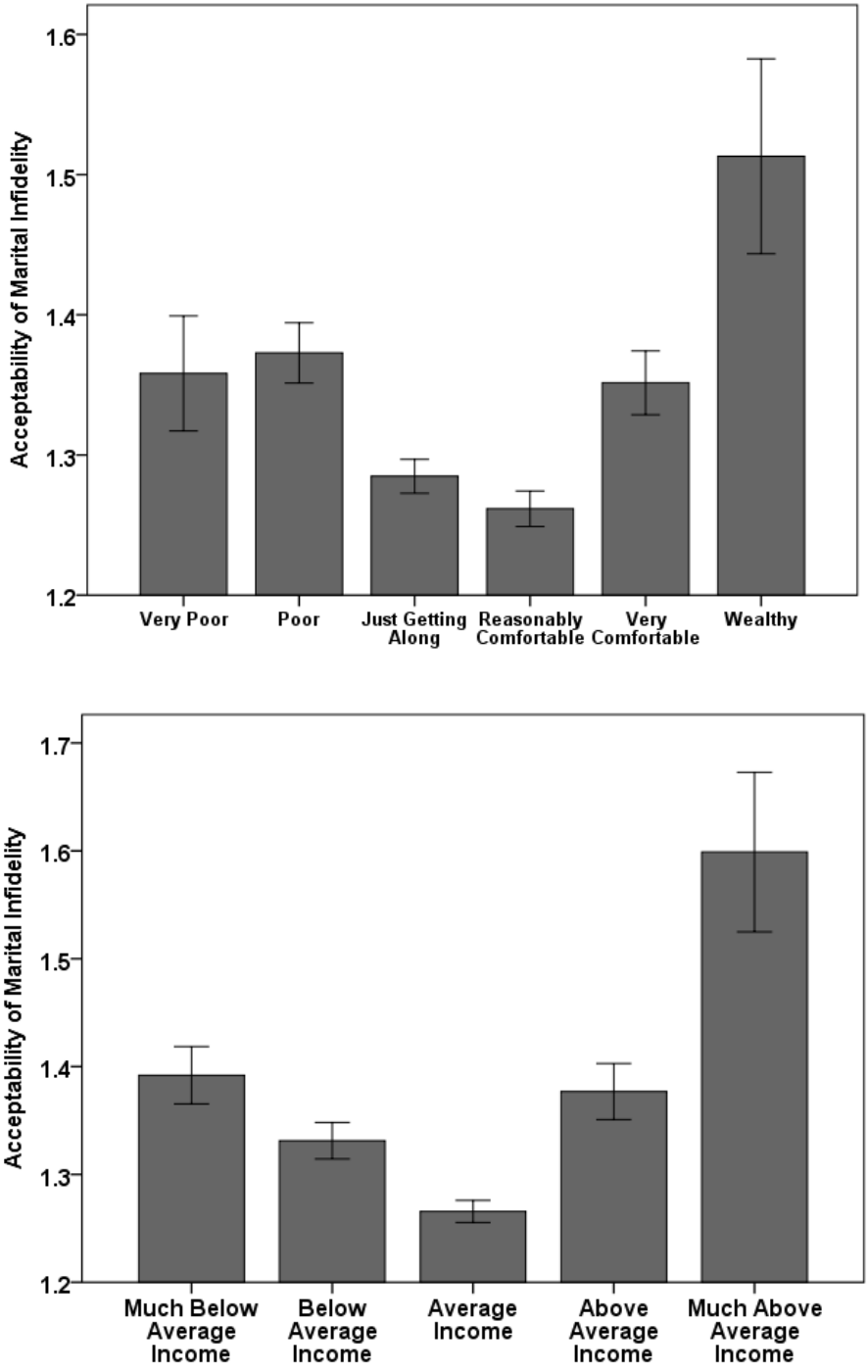


Figure 15. Acceptability of marital infidelity by objective household income from the South African Social Attitudes Survey (Study 6). Error bars represent one standard error.

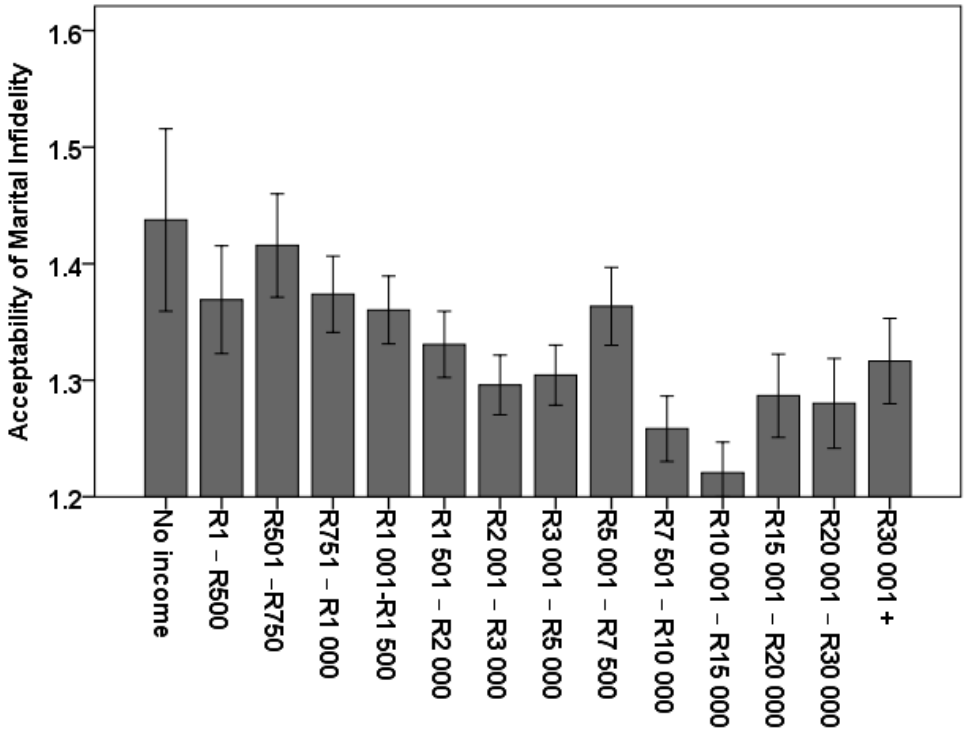


Table 1. Differences between the approach/inhibition theory of power and the current framework.

	Approach/Inhibition Theory of Power (Keltner et al., 2003)	Current Framework
Negative Emotion	• Low-Power: Experience of fear and anxiety; BIS activation	• Low-Power: Experience of fear; FFFS activation
	• Middle-Power: Not discussed	• Middle-Power: Experience of anxiety; BIS activation
Attention to Threats	• Low-Power: Greater attention to threats in general; BIS activation	• Low-Power: Greater attention to specific and immediate threats; FFFS activation
	• Middle-Power: Not discussed	• Middle-Power: Greater attention to diffuse and uncertain threats; BIS activation
Systematic, Controlled Cognition	• Low-Power: Systematic, controlled cognition; BIS activation	• Low-Power: Automatic cognition; FFFS activation
	• Middle-Power: Not discussed	• Middle-Power: Systematic, controlled cognition; BIS activation
Inhibited, Situationally Constrained Behavior	• Low-Power: Constrained by social norms; BIS activation	• Low-Power: Deviance from threatening social norms; FFFS activation
	• Middle-Power: Not discussed	• Middle-Power: Adoption of social norms to clarify identity; BIS activation

Table 2. Complete list of items from identity threat and psychological entitlement measures (Study 3).

Identity Threat

(Aquino & Douglas, 2003; from 1=Never to 5=All of the time)

Please respond to the following items using the option that best reflects how often you think other individuals in your organization would treat you in each of the following ways.

How often would another individual in your organization cause you psychological or emotional discomfort by...

1. doing something to make you look bad
2. swearing at you
3. making insulting comments about your private life
4. looking at you in a negative way
5. judging your work in an unjust manner
6. criticizing you unfairly
7. questioning your abilities or judgments
8. embarrassing you in front of your coworkers
9. unfairly blaming you for a negative outcome

Psychological Entitlement

(Campbell et al., 2004; from 1=Strong disagreement to 7=Strong agreement)

Please respond to the following items using the option that best reflects how you would feel as someone in your position in the organization.

1. I honestly feel I'm just more deserving than others.
2. Great things should come to me.
3. If I were on the Titanic, I would deserve to be on the first lifeboat!
4. I demand the best because I'm worth it.
5. I do not necessarily deserve special treatment.
6. I deserve more things in my life.
7. People like me deserve an extra break now and then.
8. Things should go my way.
9. I feel entitled to more of everything.

Table 3. Correlation table using the World Values Survey Data (Study 5)

Variables	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Subjective Social Class	2.71	1.00							
2. Objective Social Class	0.01	0.79	.476**						
3. Monthly Household Income	4.88	2.10	.451**	.791**					
4. Highest Education Level	5.68	2.41	.302**	.791**	.252**				
5. Year	2011.99	1.05	-.029**	-.101**	-.009**	-.150**			
6. Gender (1=Male, 2=Female)	1.52	0.50	-.019**	-.050**	-.030**	-.049**	-.029**		
7. Age	41.61	16.26	-.035**	-.189**	-.116**	-.183**	-.108**	.014**	
8. Justifiability of Unethical Behavior	2.30	1.50	-0.004	.040**	.076**	-.013**	.150**	-.040**	-.131**

N = 76,834

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 4. Regression table using the World Values Survey Data (Study 5)

	Dependent Variable: Justifiability of Unethical Behavior (9-item)											
Variables	**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**		**Model 5**		**Model 6**	
Intercept	2.959***	(0.368)	2.853***	(0.216)	2.209***	(0.146)	2.261***	(0.164)	2.171***	(0.140)	2.279***	(0.237)
Fixed Effect for Year	No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes	
Marital Status (ref. Married)												
Living Together as Married			0.223	(0.118)			0.238	(0.121)			0.222	(0.118)
Divorced			0.124*	(0.053)			0.149**	(0.055)			0.127*	(0.052)
Separted			0.273***	(0.073)			0.302***	(0.074)			0.275***	(0.072)
Widowed			0.094*	(0.038)			0.131**	(0.043)			0.099*	(0.041)
Single			0.081	(0.045)			0.086	(0.047)			0.089*	(0.044)
Gender (ref. female)			-0.116***	(0.023)			-0.112***	(0.023)			-0.114***	(0.024)
Age			-0.009***	(0.001)			-0.009***	(0.001)			-0.010***	(0.001)
Subjective Social Class	-0.557*	(0.130)	-0.451***	(0.130)								
Subjective Social Class Squared	0.102**	(0.024)	0.086***	(0.024)								
Monthly Household Income					-0.033	(0.050)	-0.045	(0.037)				
Monthly Household Income Squared					0.009	(0.006)	0.009*	(0.004)				
Highest Educational Attainment									0.074	(0.079)	0.041	(0.055)
Highest Educational Attainment Squared									-0.008	(0.007)	-0.004	(0.005)
N	76,834		76,834		76,834		76,834		76,834		76,834	

Unstandardized coefficients are reported, with clustered robust standard errors (on country) in parentheses.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p \leq .001$

Table 5. Correlation table using the South African Social Attitudes Survey Data (Study 6)

Variables	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Subjective Financial Standing	3.04	1.11									
2. Relative Income within Village	2.44	0.94	.633**								
3. Objective Social Class	-0.03	0.87	.545**	.486**							
4. Monthly Household Income	6.67	3.27	.536**	.500**	.864**						
5. Highest Education Level	10.50	4.64	.411**	.344**	.870**	.504**					
6. Year	2007.55	2.26	.087**	.070**	.162**	.173**	.109**				
7. Gender (ref. female)	1.60	0.49	-.037**	-.036**	-.083**	-.074**	-.069**	-0.01			
8. Age	40.17	15.88	-0.007	-.019*	-.181**	.017*	-.327**	.026**	.018*		
9. Num. Household Members	4.14	2.42	-.051**	-.037**	0.002	.038**	-.034**	-0.011	.153**	-.123**	
10. Acceptability of Marital Infidelity	1.38	0.84	.020**	0.009	-.016*	-.043**	0.014	.052**	-.050**	-.069**	-.021**

N = 17,319

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Table 6. Regression table using the South African Social Attitudes Survey Data (Study 6)

	Dependent Variable: Acceptability of Marital Infidelity											
Variables	**Model 1**		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**		**Model 5**		**Model 6**	
Intercept	1.557***	(0.041)	1.738***	(0.058)	1.588***	(0.037)	1.786***	(0.054)	1.523***	(0.029)	1.717***	(0.047)
Fixed Effect for Year	No		Yes		No		Yes		No		Yes	
Ethnicity Dummy (ref. White)												
Black African			-0.114***	(0.017)			-0.111***	(0.017)			-0.104***	(0.018)
Coloured			-0.180***	(0.020)			-0.167***	(0.020)			-0.150***	(0.021)
Indian or Asian			-0.197***	(0.022)			-0.169***	(0.022)			-0.146***	(0.025)
Marital Status (ref. Married)												
Widower or Widow			-0.021	(0.021)			-0.024	(0.021)			-0.030	(0.021)
Divorced			0.048	(0.036)			0.049	(0.036)			0.042	(0.036)
Separted			0.080	(0.054)			0.079	(0.054)			0.069	(0.055)
Never Married			0.057***	(0.016)			0.053**	(0.016)			0.046**	(0.017)
Gender (ref. female)			-0.071***	(0.013)			-0.072***	(0.013)			-0.074***	(0.014)
Age			-0.002***	(0.000)			-0.002***	(0.000)			-0.002***	(0.000)
Num. Household Members			-0.008**	(0.003)			-0.008**	(0.003)			-0.007**	(0.003)
Subjective Financial Standing	-0.146***	(0.027)	-0.114***	(0.027)								
Subjective Financial Standing Squared	0.026***	(0.004)	0.024***	(0.004)								
Relative Income within Village					-0.207***	(0.031)	-0.173***	(0.031)				
Relative Income within Village Squared					0.044***	(0.006)	0.040***	(0.006)				
Objective Household Income									-0.034***	(0.008)	-0.026**	(0.009)
Objective Household Income Squared									0.002**	(0.001)	0.002**	(0.001)
N	17,319		17,319		17,319		17,319		17,319		17,319	

Unstandardized coefficients are reported, with robust standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

APPENDIX

Management and Psychology Studies with Rank Variable Predictor (2005-2014)					
Reference (k=557)	**Study**	**Sample Size (N=1,971,431)**	**Measured or Manipulated**	**Rank Variable**	**Middle-Rank Info?**
Adam & Galinsky (2012)	Study 2	74	Manipulated	Status	No
Adam & Galinsky (2012)	Study 3	99	Manipulated	Status	No
Ames & Bianchi, (2008)	Study 4	42	Manipulated	Power	No
Anderson et al. (2006)	Study 1	152	Measured	Status	No
Anderson et al. (2006)	Study 2	432	Measured	Status	No
Anderson et al. (2012)	Study 1	88	Measured	SES	No
Anderson et al. (2012)	Study 2	315	Measured	SES	No
Anderson et al. (2012)	Study 3	228	Manipulated	Status	No
Anderson et al. (2012)	Study 4	156	Measured	SES	No
Anderson et al. (2012)	Study 3	104	Manipulated	Status	No
Anderson et al. (2012)	Study 4	59	Manipulated	Status	No
Anderson et al. (2012)	Study 5	41	Manipulated	Status	No
Anderson, Ames, & Gosling (2008)	Study 1	164	Measured	Status	No
Anderson, Ames, & Gosling (2008)	Study 2	40	Manipulated	Status	No
Anderson, Ames, & Gosling (2008)	Study 3	54	Measured	Status	No
Arthurs et al. (2008)	Study 1	307	Measured	Power	No
Back, Schmukle, & Egloff (2008)	Study 1	54	Measured	Status	No
Battilana (2011)	Study 1	93	Measured	Status	No
Bendersky & Shah (2013)	Study 1	229	Measured	Status	No
Bendersky & Shah (2013)	Study 2	304	Measured	Status	No
Bernstein et al. (2008)	Study 1	32	Manipulated	Status	No
Bianchi, Kang, & Stewart (2012)	Study 1	379	Measured	Expertise	Yes
Blader & Chen (2011)	Study 4	156	Manipulated	Status	No
Blader & Chen (2012)	Study 1	45	Manipulated	Power, Status	No
Blader & Chen (2012)	Study 2	188	Manipulated	Power, Status	No
Blader & Chen (2012)	Study 3	77	Manipulated	Power, Status	No
Blader & Chen (2012)	Study 4	59	Manipulated	Power, Status	No
Blader & Chen (2012)	Study 5	208	Manipulated	Power, Status	No
Bohns & Wiltermuth (2012)	Study 1	89	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Bohns & Wiltermuth (2012)	Study 2	24	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Bothner, Kim, & Smith (2012)	Nascar	10,693	Measured	Status	Yes
Bothner, Kim, & Smith (2012)	PGA	22,481	Measured	Status	Yes
Bowles & Gelfand (2009)	Study 1	215	Manipulated	Status	No
Bowles & Gelfand (2009)	Study 2a	281	Manipulated	Status	No
Bowles & Gelfand (2009)	Study 2b	174	Manipulated	Status	No
Brandt (2013)	Study 1	151,794	Measured	Status	No
Brinol et al. (2007)	Study 1	80	Manipulated	Power	No
Brinol et al. (2007)	Study 2	78	Manipulated	Power	No
Brinol et al. (2007)	Study 3	80	Manipulated	Power	No
Brinol et al. (2007)	Study 4	68	Manipulated	Power	No
Brinol et al. (2007)	Study 5	66	Manipulated	Power	No
Brion & Anderson (2013)	Study 1	115	Measured	Power	No
Brion & Anderson (2013)	Study 2	53	Manipulated	Power	No
Brion & Anderson (2013)	Study 3	147	Manipulated	Power	No
Brion & Anderson (2013)	Study 5	111	Measured	Status	No
Brown, Carvallo, & Imura (2014)	Study 1	527	Measured	SES	No
Brown, Carvallo, & Imura (2014)	Study 2	50	Measured	Wealth	No
Bruine de Bruin, Parker, & Fischhoff (2007)	Study 1	360	Measured	SES	No
Brunell et al. (2008)	Study 1	432	Measured	Power	No
Brunell et al. (2008)	Study 2	408	Measured	Power	No
Bunderson, Van der Vegt, & Sparrowe (2013)	Study 1	55	Measured	Status	No
Carney, Cuddy, & Yap (2010)	Study 1	42	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Case & Maner (2014)	Supp. Study	122	Manipulated	Power	No
Case & Maner (2014)	Study 1	72	Manipulated	Power	No
Case & Maner (2014)	Study 2	70	Manipulated	Power	No
Case & Maner (2014)	Study 3	96	Manipulated	Power	No
Case & Maner (2014)	Study 4	89	Manipulated	Power	No
Castellucci & Ertug (2010)	Study 1	1,250	Measured	Status	No
Caza, Tiedens, & Lee (2011)	Study 1	60	Manipulated	Power	No
Caza, Tiedens, & Lee (2011)	Study 2	123	Manipulated	Power	No

Chattopadhyay, Finn, & Ashkanasy (2010)	Study 1	244	Measured	Status	No
Chen, Langner, & Mendoza-Denton (2009)	Study 1	90	Both	Power	No
Chen, Langner, & Mendoza-Denton (2009)	Study 2	74	Both	Power	No
Chen, Langner, & Mendoza-Denton (2009)	Study 3	71	Both	Power	No
Chen, Langner, & Mendoza-Denton (2009)	Study 4	88	Both	Power	No
Cho & Fast (2012)	Study 1	183	Manipulated	Power	No
Christie & Barling (2010)	Study 1	2,280	Measured	Status	No
Clark et al. (2012)	Study 1	240	Manipulated	Expertise	No
Clark et al. (2012)	Study 2	193	Manipulated	Expertise	No
Côté et al. (2011)	Study 1	118	Measured	Power	No
Côté et al. (2011)	Study 2	124	Manipulated	Power	No
Côté et al. (2011)	Study 3	175	Measured	Power	No
Cowen (2012)	Study 1	104	Measured	Status	Yes
Dalton, Chartrand, & Finkel (2010)	Study 3	77	Manipulated	Power	No
De Kwaadsteniet & Van Dijk (2010)	Study 1	86	Manipulated	Status	No
De Kwaadsteniet & Van Dijk (2010)	Study 2	186	Manipulated	Status	No
De Kwaadsteniet & Van Dijk (2010)	Study 3	100	Manipulated	Status	No
DeCelles et al. (2012)	Study 1	173	Both	Power	No
DeCelles et al. (2012)	Study 2	102	Manipulated	Power	No
DeMarree et al. (2012)	Study 1	92	Manipulated	Power	No
DeRue et al. (2009)	Study 1	198	Manipulated	Power	No
DeWall et al. (2011)	Study 1a	49	Manipulated	Power	No
DeWall et al. (2011)	Study 1b	134	Manipulated	Power	No
DeWall et al. (2011)	Study 2	112	Manipulated	Power	No
DeWall et al. (2011)	Study 3	59	Manipulated	Power	No
DeWall et al. (2011)	Study 4	165	Manipulated	Power	No
DeWall et al. (2011)	Study 5	172	Manipulated	Power	No
Duguid & Goncalo (2012)	Study 1	68	Manipulated	Power	No
Duguid & Goncalo (2012)	Study 2	100	Manipulated	Power	No
Duguid & Goncalo (2012)	Study 3	98	Manipulated	Power	No
Eastwick et al. (2013)	Study 1	198	Manipulated	Power	No
Eaton et al. (2009)	Study 1	912	Measured	Power	Yes
Eaton et al. (2009)	Study 2	809,627	Measured	Power	No
Eaton et al. (2009)	Study 4	49	Manipulated	Power	No
Eaton et al. (2009)	Study 5	1,624	Measured	Power	Yes
Ertug & Castellucci (2013)	Study 1	2,075	Measured	Status, Reputation	Yes
Fast & Chen (2009)	Study 1	90	Measured	Power	No
Fast & Chen (2009)	Study 2	98	Manipulated	Power	No
Fast & Chen (2009)	Study 3	59	Manipulated	Power	No
Fast & Chen (2009)	Study 4	163	Measured	Power	No
Fast et al. (2009)	Study 1	38	Manipulated	Power	No
Fast et al. (2009)	Study 2	30	Manipulated	Power	No
Fast et al. (2009)	Study 3	79	Manipulated	Power	No
Fast et al. (2009)	Study 4	43	Manipulated	Power	No
Fast et al. (2012)	Study 1	41	Manipulated	Power	No
Fast et al. (2012)	Study 2	241	Manipulated	Power	No
Fast et al. (2012)	Study 3	156	Manipulated	Power	No
Fast et al. (2012)	Study 4	80	Measured	Power	No
Fast et al. (2012)	Study 5	43	Manipulated	Power	No
Fast, Halevy, & Galinsky (2012)	Study 1	213	Manipulated	Power, Status	No
Ferguson, Ormiston, & Moon (2010)	Study 1	278	Manipulated	Power	No
Ferguson, Ormiston, & Moon (2010)	Study 2	143	Measured	Power	No
Ferguson, Ormiston, & Moon (2010)	Study 3	233	Manipulated	Power	No
Fischer et al. (2011)	Study 1	25	Manipulated	Power	No
Fischer et al. (2011)	Study 2	36	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Fischer et al. (2011)	Study 3	36	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Fischer et al. (2011)	Study 4	25	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Flynn & Amanatullah (2012)	Study 1	500	Measured	Status	No
Flynn & Amanatullah (2012)	Study 2	33	Manipulated	Status	No
Flynn & Amanatullah (2012)	Study 3	94	Measured	Status	No
Fragale et al. (2009)	Study 1	245	Manipulated	Status	No
Fragale et al. (2009)	Study 2	207	Manipulated	Status	No
Fragale, Overbeck, & Neale (2011)	Study 2	114	Manipulated	Power, Status	No
Galinsky et al. (2006)	Study 1	57	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2006)	Study 2a	42	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2006)	Study 2b	51	Manipulated	Power	No

Galinsky et al. (2006)	Study 3	70	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2008)	Study 1	52	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2008)	Study 2	75	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2008)	Study 3	45	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2008)	Study 4	72	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2008)	Study 5	49	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2013)	Study 1	53	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2013)	Study 2	61	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2013)	Study 7	74	Manipulated	Power	No
Galinsky et al. (2013)	Study 8	235	Manipulated	Power	No
Gibbons et al. (2010)	Study 1	676	Measured	SES	No
Giessner & Schubert (2007)	Study 3a	159	Manipulated	Power	No
Giessner & Schubert (2007)	Study 3b	48	Manipulated	Power	No
Giessner et al. (2006)	Study 1	148	Manipulated	Status	No
Giessner et al. (2006)	Study 2	136	Manipulated	Status	No
Giessner et al. (2006)	Study 3	97	Manipulated	Status	No
Goetz et al. (2013)	Study 1	237	Measured	Status	No
Goetz et al. (2013)	Study 2	891	Measured	Status	No
Gómez et al. (2008)	Study 2	91	Manipulated	Status	No
Gordon & Chen (2013)	Study 1	72	Manipulated	Power	No
Gordon & Chen (2013)	Study 2	62	Measured	Power	No
Gordon & Chen (2013)	Study 3	97	Measured	Power	No
Gordon & Chen (2013)	Study 4	144	Manipulated	Power	No
Graffin et al. (2008)	Study 1	1,271	Measured	Status	No
Greenwood et al. (2005)	Study 1	954	Measured	Reputation	No
Greer, Caruso, & Jehn (2011)	Study 1	22	Measured	Power	No
Greer, Caruso, & Jehn (2011)	Study 2	42	Measured	Power	No
Greer & van Kleef (2010)	Study 1	42	Measured	Power	Yes
Greer & van Kleef (2010)	Study 2	80	Manipulated	Power	No
Griskevicius et al. (2011)	Study 1	373	Measured	Income	No
Griskevicius et al. (2011)	Study 2	170	Measured	SES	No
Griskevicius et al. (2011)	Study 3	182	Measured	SES	Yes
Griskevicius et al. (2011)	Study 4	106	Measured	Income	Yes
Griskevicius et al. (2011)	Study 1	97	Measured	SES	No
Griskevicius et al. (2011)	Study 2	71	Measured	SES	No
Griskevicius et al. (2011)	Study 3	44	Measured	SES	No
Groysberg, Polzer, & Elfenbein (2011)	Study 1	231	Measured	Status	Yes
Gruenfeld et al. (2008)	Study 1a	42	Manipulated	Power	No
Gruenfeld et al. (2008)	Study 1b	59	Manipulated	Power	No
Gruenfeld et al. (2008)	Study 2	140	Manipulated	Power	No
Gruenfeld et al. (2008)	Study 3	48	Manipulated	Power	No
Gruenfeld et al. (2008)	Study 4	51	Manipulated	Power	No
Gruenfeld et al. (2008)	Study 5	176	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2007a)	Study 1	50	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2007a)	Study 2	40	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2007a)	Study 3	46	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2007b)	Study 1	99	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2007b)	Study 2	38	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2007b)	Study 3	79	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2007b)	Study 4	68	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2007c)	Study 1	84	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2007c)	Study 2	64	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2008)	Study 1	22	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2008)	Study 2	40	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2008)	Study 3	51	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2008)	Study 4	44	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2008)	Study 5	83	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote (2008)	Study 6	72	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote, Weick, & Cai (2012)	Study 1	64	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote, Weick, & Cai (2012)	Study 2	30	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote, Weick, & Cai (2012)	Study 3	86	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote, Willis, & Martellotta (2010)	Study 1	49	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote, Willis, & Martellotta (2010)	Study 2	71	Manipulated	Power	No
Guinote, Willis, & Martellotta (2010)	Study 3	79	Manipulated	Power	No
Guler & Guillén (2010)	Study 1	516,493	Measured	Status	Yes
Gunia et al. (2013)	Study 3	116	Manipulated	Power	No

Gunia et al. (2013)	Study 4	90	Manipulated	Power	No
Gwinn, Judd, & Park (2013)	Study 1	98	Manipulated	Power	No
Gwinn, Judd, & Park (2013)	Study 2	214	Manipulated	Power	No
Haerem & Rau (2007)	Study 1	64	Measured	Expertise	Yes
Hall, Murphy, & Mast (2007)	Study 2	180	Manipulated	Power	No
Hall, Murphy, & Mast (2007)	Study 3	180	Manipulated	Power	No
Handgraaf et al. (2008)	Study 1	78	Manipulated	Power	Yes
Handgraaf et al. (2008)	Study 2	58	Manipulated	Power	No
Handgraaf et al. (2008)	Study 3	59	Manipulated	Power	No
Handgraaf et al. (2008)	Study 4	38	Manipulated	Power	No
Hays (2013)	Study 1	200	Measured	Power	No
Hays (2013)	Study 2	136	Measured	Power	No
Hays (2013)	Study 3	68	Both	Power, Status	No
Henry (2009)	Study 3	1,807	Measured	Status	No
Henry (2009)	Study 4	96	Measured	Status	No
Henry, Butler, & Brandt (2014)	Study 1	214	Measured	Status	Yes
Henry, Butler, & Brandt (2014)	Study 2a	265	Manipulated	Status	No
Henry, Butler, & Brandt (2014)	Study 2b	365	Manipulated	Status	No
Hill et al. (2012)	Study 1	1,117	Measured	Power	No
Hochwarter et al. (2007)	Pilot Study	52	Measured	Reputation	No
Hochwarter et al. (2007)	Study 1	581	Measured	Reputation	No
Hochwarter et al. (2007)	Study 2	151	Measured	Reputation	No
Hofer et al. (2010)	Study 1	813	Measured	Power	Yes
Horberg et al. (2009)	Study 1	96	Measured	SES	No
Horberg et al. (2009)	Study 2	122	Measured	SES	No
Horberg et al. (2009)	Study 3	88	Measured	SES	No
Howard, Gardner, & Thompson (2007)	Study 1	140	Manipulated	Power	No
Huang et al. (2011)	Study 1	77	Manipulated	Power, Embodied Power	No
Huang et al. (2011)	Study 2	77	Manipulated	Power, Embodied Power	No
Huang et al. (2011)	Study 3	57	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi & Rios (2013)	Study 1	118	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi & Rios (2013)	Study 2	68	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi & Rios (2013)	Study 3	81	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi (2010)	Study 1	104	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi (2010)	Study 2	119	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi (2010)	Study 3	85	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi (2010)	Study 4	37	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi et al. (2011)	Study 1a	40	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi et al. (2011)	Study 1b	41	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi et al. (2011)	Study 3a	110	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi et al. (2011)	Study 3b	86	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi, Gruenfeld, & Galinsky (2012)	Study 1	56	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi, Gruenfeld, & Galinsky (2012)	Study 2	98	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi, Gruenfeld, & Galinsky (2012)	Study 3	66	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi, Gruenfeld, & Galinsky (2012)	Study 4	123	Measured	Power	No
Inesi, Gruenfeld, & Galinsky (2012)	Study 5	131	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi, Lee, & Rios (2014)	Study 1	149	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi, Lee, & Rios (2014)	Study 2	117	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi, Lee, & Rios (2014)	Study 3	71	Manipulated	Power	No
Inesi, Lee, & Rios (2014)	Study 4	52	Manipulated	Power	No
Jensen (2008)	Study 1	26,190	Measured	Status	Yes
Jetten, Hornsey, & Adarves-Yorno (2006)	Study 1	71	Measured	Status	No
Jetten, Hornsey, & Adarves-Yorno (2006)	Study 2	64	Manipulated	Status	No
Jetten, Hornsey, & Adarves-Yorno (2006)	Study 3	49	Manipulated	Status	No
Jetten, Hornsey, & Adarves-Yorno (2006)	Study 4	32	Manipulated	Status	No
Jetten, Hornsey, & Adarves-Yorno (2006)	Study 5	71	Manipulated	Status	No
Johnson & Lammers (2012)	Study 1	109	Manipulated	Power	No
Johnson & Lammers (2012)	Study 2	78	Manipulated	Power	No
Johnson & Lammers (2012)	Study 3	109	Manipulated	Power	No
Johnson, Richeson, & Finkel (2011)	Study 1	474	Measured	SES	No
Johnson, Richeson, & Finkel (2011)	Study 2	51	Measured	SES	No
Johnson, Richeson, & Finkel (2011)	Study 3	79	Measured	SES	No
Johnson, Richeson, & Finkel (2011)	Study 4	100	Measured	SES	No
Joseph, Ocasio, & McDonnell (2014)	Study 1	2,918	Measured	Power	No
Josephs et al. (2006)	Study 1	92	Both	Status	No
Josephs et al. (2006)	Study 2	64	Both	Status	No

Joshi & Fast (2013)	Pilot Study	68	Measured	Power	No
Joshi & Fast (2013)	Study 1	98	Manipulated	Power	No
Joshi & Fast (2013)	Study 2	145	Manipulated	Power	No
Joshi & Fast (2013)	Study 3	115	Manipulated	Power	No
Joshi & Fast (2013)	Study 1	73	Manipulated	Power	No
Joshi & Fast (2013)	Study 2	59	Manipulated	Power	No
Joshi & Fast (2013)	Study 3	85	Manipulated	Power	No
Joshi & Fast (2013)	Study 4	96	Measured	Power	No
Judge & Cable (2011)	Study 2	12,686	Measured	SES	No
Judge, Ilies, & Dimotakis (2010)	Study 1	398	Measured	SES	No
Karremans & Smith (2010)	Study 1	214	Measured	Power	No
Karremans & Smith (2010)	Study 2	88	Manipulated	Power	No
Karremans & Smith (2010)	Study 3	80	Measured	Power	No
Kennedy, Anderson, & Moore (2013)	Study 2	142	Manipulated	Performance	No
Kifer et al. (2013)	Study 1	177	Measured	Power	No
Kifer et al. (2013)	Study 2a	252	Manipulated	Power	No
Ko, Sadler, & Galinsky (2014)	Study 1	161	Manipulated	Power	No
Kogut (2011)	Study 1	108	Measured	Expertise	No
Kogut (2011)	Study 2	189	Measured	Expertise	No
Kogut (2011)	Study 3	88	Measured	Expertise	No
Koning et al. (2011)	Study 1	90	Manipulated	Power	No
Koning et al. (2011)	Study 2	87	Manipulated	Power	No
Kopelman (2009)	Study 1	204	Manipulated	Power	No
Kraus & Keltner (2009)	Study 1	106	Measured	SES	No
Kraus et al. (2011)	Study 1	244	Measured	Social Class	No
Kraus et al. (2011)	Study 2	91	Manipulated	Social Class	No
Kraus, Chen, & Keltner (2011)	Study 1	110	Measured	Power	No
Kraus, Chen, & Keltner (2011)	Study 2	95	Measured	Power	No
Kraus, Chen, & Keltner (2011)	Study 3	130	Manipulated	Power	No
Kraus, Piff, & Keltner (2009)	Study 1	106	Measured	SES	No
Kraus, Piff, & Keltner (2009)	Study 2	94	Measured	SES	No
Kraus, Piff, & Keltner (2009)	Study 3	444	Measured	SES	No
Kraus, Piff, & Keltner (2009)	Study 4	125	Measured	SES	No
Kuhl & Kazén (2008)	Study 1	20	Manipulated	Power	No
Kuhl & Kazén (2008)	Study 2	20	Manipulated	Power	No
Kuhl & Kazén (2008)Guinote, A. (2008)	Study 3	24	Manipulated	Power	No
Kunstman & Maner (2011)	Study 1	66	Manipulated	Power	No
Kunstman & Maner (2011)	Study 2	55	Manipulated	Power	No
Kunstman & Maner (2011)	Study 3	74	Manipulated	Power	No
Kunstman & Maner (2011)	Study 4	78	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers & Stapel (2009)	Pilot 1	179	Measured	Power	No
Lammers & Stapel (2009)	Pilot 2	35	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers & Stapel (2009)	Study 1	69	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers & Stapel (2009)	Study 2	68	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers & Stapel (2009)	Study 3a	31	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers & Stapel (2009)	Study 3b	24	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers & Stapel (2009)	Study 4	50	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers & Stapel (2009)	Study 5	60	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers et al. (2008)	Study 1	152	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers et al. (2008)	Study 2	101	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers et al. (2008)	Study 3	92	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers et al. (2008)	Study 4	104	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers et al. (2011)	Study 1	1,561	Measured	Power	No
Lammers et al. (2013)	Study 1	177	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers et al. (2013)	Study 2	55	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Gordijn, & Otten (2008)	Study 1	30	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Gordijn, & Otten (2008)	Study 2	97	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Gordijn, & Otten (2008)	Study 3	97	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Gordijn, & Otten (2008)	Study 4	139	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Stapel, & Galinsky (2010)	Study 1	61	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Stapel, & Galinsky (2010)	Study 2	42	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Stapel, & Galinsky (2010)	Study 3	88	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Stapel, & Galinsky (2010)	Study 4	42	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Stapel, & Galinsky (2010)	Study 5	105	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Stoker, & Stapel (2009)	Study 1	113	Manipulated	Power	No
Lammers, Stoker, & Stapel (2009)	Study 2	3,082	Measured	Power	No

Langner & Keltner (2008)	Study 1	120	Measured	Power	No
Langner & Keltner (2008)	Study 2	82	Both	Power	No
Lelieveld et al. (2012)	Study 1	114	Manipulated	Power	No
Lelieveld et al. (2012)	Study 2	143	Manipulated	Power	No
Leliveld et al. (2009)	Study 2	76	Manipulated	Power	No
Leliveld et al. (2009)	Study 3	100	Manipulated	Power	No
Lewis, Lange, & Gillis (2005)	Study 1	300	Measured	Expertise	No
Lisjak, Molden, & Lee (2012)	Study 4	56	Both	Power	No
Lount & Pettit (2012)	Study 1	126	Manipulated	Status	No
Lount & Pettit (2012)	Study 2	50	Manipulated	Status	No
Lount & Pettit (2012)	Study 3	94	Manipulated	Status	No
Lücken & Simon (2005)	Study 2	82	Manipulated	Status	No
Lücken & Simon (2005)	Study 3	102	Manipulated	Power	No
Ma, Rhee, & Yang (2013)	Study 1	12,701	Measured	Status	No
Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld (2007)	Study 1a	38	Manipulated	Power	No
Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld (2007)	Study 1b	20	Manipulated	Power	No
Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld (2007)	Study 2	48	Manipulated	Power	No
Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld (2007)	Study 3	138	Manipulated	Power	No
Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld (2007)	Study 4	62	Manipulated	Power	No
Maner et al. (2007)	Study 1	84	Both	Power	No
Maner et al. (2007)	Study 2	153	Both	Power	No
Marr & Thau (2014)	Study 1	186	Measured	Status	No
Marr & Thau (2014)	Study 2	86	Manipulated	Status	No
Marr & Thau (2014)	Study 3	76	Manipulated	Status	No
Marsh & O'Mara (2008)	Study 1	2,213	Measured	SES	No
Mead & Maner (2012)	Study 3	124	Manipulated	Power	No
Melwani & Barsade (2011)	Study 3	268	Manipulated	Status	No
Mendes et al. (2007)	Pilot 2	205	Manipulated	SES	No
Mendes et al. (2007)	Study 1	47	Both	SES	No
Mendes et al. (2007)	Study 2	63	Both	SES	No
Miller et al. (2014)	Study 1	120	Measured	SES	No
Miyamoto & Ji (2011)	Study 1	50	Manipulated	Power	No
Miyamoto & Ji (2011)	Study 2	37	Manipulated	Power	No
Miyamoto & Ji (2011)	Study 3	1,223	Measured	SES	No
Miyamoto & Wilken (2010)	Study 1	75	Measured	Influence	No
Miyamoto & Wilken (2010)	Study 2	46	Manipulated	Influence	No
Moon & Chen (2014)	Study 1	102	Manipulated	Power	No
Moon & Chen (2014)	Study 2	104	Manipulated	Power	No
Moon & Chen (2014)	Study 3	103	Manipulated	Power	No
Moon & Chen (2014)	Study 4	101	Manipulated	Power	No
Moon & Chen (2014)	Study 5	147	Manipulated	Power	No
Morrison, Fast, & Ybarra (2009)	Study 1	47	Measured	Status	No
Morrison, Fast, & Ybarra (2009)	Study 2	100	Manipulated	Status	No
Odgers et al. (2008)	Study 1	1,037	Measured	SES	No
Overbeck & Droutman (2013)	Study 1	50	Manipulated	Power	No
Overbeck & Droutman (2013)	Study 2	153	Manipulated	Power	No
Overbeck & Droutman (2013)	Study 3	90	Manipulated	Power	No
Overbeck & Park (2006)	Study 2	84	Manipulated	Power	No
Overbeck, Neale, & Govan (2010)	Study 1	164	Manipulated	Power	No
Park et al. (2013)	Study 1	80	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Park et al. (2013)	Study 2a	213	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Park et al. (2013)	Study 2b	119	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Park et al. (2013)	Study 3	106	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Park et al. (2013)	Study 4	83	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Patel & Cooper (2014)	Study 1	1,934	Measured	Power	No
Perretti & Negro (2006)	Study 1	6,446	Measured	Status	Yes
Petersen et al. (2013)	Study 1	725	Measured	SES	Yes
Petkova et al. (2014)	Study 1	709	Measured	Reputation	Yes
Pettit & Lount (2010)	Study 1	58	Manipulated	Status	No
Pettit & Lount (2010)	Study 2	72	Manipulated	Status	No
Pettit & Lount (2010)	Study 3	143	Manipulated	Status	No
Pettit & Lount (2010)	Study 4	148	Manipulated	Status	No
Pettit & Sivanathan (2012)	Study 1	86	Manipulated	Status	No
Pettit & Sivanathan (2012)	Study 2	42	Manipulated	Status	No
Pettit & Sivanathan (2012)	Study 3	70	Manipulated	Status	No
Pettit & Sivanathan (2012)	Study 4	83	Manipulated	Status	No

Pfarrer et al. (2008)	Study 1	12,145	Measured	Status	No
Pitesa & Thau (2013)	Study 1	256	Manipulated	Power	No
Pitesa & Thau (2013)	Study 2	91	Manipulated	Power	No
Pitesa & Thau (2013)	Study 3	260	Manipulated	Power	No
Pitesa & Thau (2013)	Study 4	312	Measured	Power	No
Pitesa & Thau (2013)	Study 1	152	Manipulated	Power	No
Pitesa & Thau (2013)	Study 2	63	Measured	Power	No
Pitesa & Thau (2013)	Study 3	104	Manipulated	Power	No
Polman, Pettit, & Wiesenfeld (2013)	Study 1	130	Manipulated	Status	No
Polman, Pettit, & Wiesenfeld (2013)	Study 2	158	Manipulated	Status	No
Polman, Pettit, & Wiesenfeld (2013)	Study 3	104	Manipulated	Status	No
Ratcliff et al. (2011)	Study 1a	32	Manipulated	Status	No
Ratcliff et al. (2011)	Study 1b	39	Manipulated	Status	No
Ratcliff et al. (2011)	Study 2	102	Manipulated	Status	No
Rehg et al. (2008)	Study 1	203	Measured	Power	No
Rhee & Haunschild (2006)	Study 1	9,290	Measured	Reputation	Yes
Rindova et al. (2005)	Study 1	107	Measured	Status	No
Rucker & Galinsky (2009)	Study 1	60	Measured	Power	Yes
Rucker & Galinsky (2009)	Study 2	69	Manipulated	Power	No
Rucker & Galinsky (2009)	Study 3	43	Manipulated	Power	No
Rucker & Galinsky (2009)	Study 4	62	Manipulated	Power	No
Rucker & Galinsky (2009)	Study 5	31	Manipulated	Power	No
Rus, Van Knippenberg, & Wisse (2010)	Study 1	136	Manipulated	Power	No
Rus, Van Knippenberg, & Wisse (2010)	Study 2	154	Manipulated	Power	No
Sackett et al. (2012)	1995-1997 data	136,725	Measured	SES	No
Sackett et al. (2012)	2006 data	60,361	Measured	SES	No
Sackett et al. (2012)	UC data set	78,000	Measured	SES	No
Sassenberg et al. (2007)	Study 1	38	Manipulated	Power, Status	No
Sassenberg et al. (2007)	Study 3	135	Manipulated	Power	No
Sassenberg et al. (2007)	Study 4	45	Manipulated	Power	No
Sassenberg et al. (2007)	Study 5	29	Manipulated	Power	No
Sassenberg, Ellemers, & Scheepers (2012)	Study 1a	76	Manipulated	Power	No
Sassenberg, Ellemers, & Scheepers (2012)	Study 1b	94	Manipulated	Power	No
Sassenberg, Ellemers, & Scheepers (2012)	Study 2a	72	Manipulated	Power	No
Sassenberg, Ellemers, & Scheepers (2012)	Study 2b	40	Manipulated	Power	No
Sauer (2011)	Study 1	68	Manipulated	Status	No
Sauer (2011)	Study 2	216	Manipulated	Status	No
Sauer, Thomas-Hunt, & Morris (2010)	Study 1	104	Manipulated	Status	No
Scheepers (2009)	Study 1	40	Manipulated	Status	No
Scheepers et al. (2012)	Study 1	52	Manipulated	Power	No
Scheepers et al. (2012)	Study 2	65	Manipulated	Power	No
Mast, Jonas, & Hall (2009)	Study 1	76	Manipulated	Power	No
Mast, Jonas, & Hall (2009)	Study 2	134	Manipulated	Power	No
Mast, Jonas, & Hall (2009)	Study 3	96	Manipulated	Power	No
Scholl & Sassenberg (2014)	Study 1	178	Measured	Power	No
Scholl & Sassenberg (2014)	Study 2	82	Manipulated	Power	No
Scholl & Sassenberg (2014)	Study 3	107	Manipulated	Power	No
Scholl & Sassenberg (2014)	Study 4	76	Manipulated	Power	No
Schultheiss et al. (2005)	Study 1	95	Measured	Power	Yes
Schultheiss et al. (2005)	Study 2	75	Measured	Power	Yes
Schweinsberg et al. (2012)	Study 1	160	Manipulated	Power	No
Schweinsberg et al. (2012)	Study 2	68	Manipulated	Power	No
See et al. (2011)	Study 1	208	Measured	Power	No
See et al. (2011)	Study 2	63	Measured	Power	No
See et al. (2011)	Study 3	254	Manipulated	Power	No
See et al. (2011)	Study 4	126	Manipulated	Power	No
Sheldon, Thomas-Hunt, & Proell (2006)	Study 1	120	Manipulated	Status	No
Sheldon, Thomas-Hunt, & Proell (2006)	Study 2	56	Manipulated	Status	No
Shepherd, Spears, & Manstead (2013)	Study 1	212	Manipulated	Status	No
Shepherd, Spears, & Manstead (2013)	Study 2	159	Manipulated	Status	No
Sivanathan & Pettit (2010)	Study 1	150	Manipulated	Status	No
Sivanathan & Pettit (2010)	Study 2	65	Manipulated	Status	No
Sivanathan & Pettit (2010)	Study 3	95	Measured	Power	No
Sivanathan & Pettit (2010)	Study 4	54	Manipulated	Status	No
Slabu & Guinote (2010)	Study 1	18	Manipulated	Power	No
Slabu & Guinote (2010)	Study 2	58	Manipulated	Power	No

Sligte, De Dreu, & Nijstad (2011)	Study 1	139	Manipulated	Power	No
Sligte, De Dreu, & Nijstad (2011)	Study 2	55	Manipulated	Power	No
Sligte, De Dreu, & Nijstad (2011)	Study 3	54	Manipulated	Power	No
Small et al. (2007)	Study 5	149	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith & Trope (2006)	Study 1	78	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith & Trope (2006)	Study 2	78	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith & Trope (2006)	Study 3	70	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith & Trope (2006)	Study 4	123	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith & Trope (2006)	Study 5	148	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith & Trope (2006)	Study 6	134	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith & Trope (2006)	Study 7	108	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith et al. (2008)	Study 1	101	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith et al. (2008)	Study 2	77	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith et al. (2008)	Study 3	85	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith et al. (2008)	Study 4	177	Manipulated	Power	No
Smith, Menon, & Thompson (2012)	Study 1	806	Measured	Status	No
Smith, Menon, & Thompson (2012)	Study 2	108	Measured	Status	No
Sonenshein (2006)	Study 1	95	Manipulated	Power	No
Stillman, Baumeister, & DeWall (2007)	Study 1	32	Manipulated	Power	No
Stillman, Baumeister, & DeWall (2007)	Study 2	97	Manipulated	Power	No
Swaab et al. (2014)	Study 2	415	Measured	Status	Yes
Swaab et al. (2014)	Study 3	297	Measured	Status	Yes
Swaab et al. (2014)	Study 4	300	Measured	Status	Yes
Sweetman et al. (2013)	Study 1	89	Manipulated	Status	No
Sweetman et al. (2013)	Study 2	123	Manipulated	Competence	No
Sweetman et al. (2013)	Study 3	58	Manipulated	Status	No
Torelli & Shavitt (2011)	Study 1	257	Manipulated	Power	No
Torelli & Shavitt (2011)	Study 2	136	Manipulated	Power	No
Tost, Gino, & Larrick (2012)	Study 1	107	Manipulated	Power	No
Tost, Gino, & Larrick (2012)	Study 2	132	Manipulated	Power	No
Tost, Gino, & Larrick (2012)	Study 3	199	Manipulated	Power	No
Tost, Gino, & Larrick (2012)	Study 4	202	Manipulated	Expertise	No
Tost, Gino, & Larrick (2013)	Study 1	106	Manipulated	Power	No
Tost, Gino, & Larrick (2013)	Study 2	144	Manipulated	Power	No
Tost, Gino, & Larrick (2013)	Study 3	152	Manipulated	Power	No
Triana, Miller, & Trzebiatowski (2013)	Study 1	462	Measured	Power	No
Van der Toorn, Tyler, & Jost (2011)	Study 1	380	Measured	Dependence	No
Van der Toorn, Tyler, & Jost (2011)	Study 2	401	Measured	Depend., Inc., Edu.	No
Van der Toorn, Tyler, & Jost (2011)	Study 3	830	Measured	Depend., Inc., Edu.	No
Van der Toorn, Tyler, & Jost (2011)	Study 4	85	Manipulated	Dependence	No
Van der Toorn, Tyler, & Jost (2011)	Study 5	61	Manipulated	Dependence	No
Van der Vegt et al. (2010)	Study 1	218	Measured	Power	No
van Dijk & De Cremer (2006)	Study 1	144	Manipulated	Power	No
van Dijk & De Cremer (2006)	Study 2	79	Manipulated	Power	No
van Dijke, De Cremer, & Mayer (2010)	Study 1	480	Measured	Power	No
van Dijke, De Cremer, & Mayer (2010)	Study 2	80	Manipulated	Power	No
van Dijke, De Cremer, & Mayer (2010)	Study 3	218	Measured	Power	No
Van Kleef & Côté (2007)	Study 1	266	Manipulated	Power	No
Van Kleef & Côté (2007)	Study 2	180	Manipulated	Power	No
Van Kleef et al. (2008)	Study 1	118	Measured	Power	No
Van Leeuwen & Täuber (2011)	Study 1	103	Manipulated	Status	No
Van Leeuwen & Täuber (2011)	Study 2	75	Manipulated	Status	No
Van Loo & Rydell (2013)	Study 1	114	Manipulated	Power	No
Van Loo & Rydell (2013)	Study 2	95	Manipulated	Power	No
Van Loo & Rydell (2013)	Study 3	146	Manipulated	Power	No
van Prooijen, Coffeng, & Vermeer (2014)	Study 1	77	Manipulated	Power	No
van Prooijen, Coffeng, & Vermeer (2014)	Study 2	71	Manipulated	Power	No
van Prooijen, Coffeng, & Vermeer (2014)	Study 4	86	Manipulated	Power	No
Vandello, Goldschmied, & Richards (2007)	Study 1	67	Manipulated	Status	No
Venkataramani, Green, & Schleicher (2010)	Study 1	184	Measured	Status	No
Wade et al. (2006)	Study 1	1,271	Measured	Status	No
Wakslak et al. (2007)	Study 1	108	Measured	SES	No
Washington & Zajac (2005)	Study 1	1,871	Measured	Status	No
Wegener, Clark, & Petty (2006)	Study 1	59	Manipulated	SES	No
Wegener, Clark, & Petty (2006)	Study 2	83	Manipulated	SES	No
Wegener, Clark, & Petty (2006)	Study 3	347	Manipulated	SES	No

Weick & Guinote (2008)	Study 1a	136	Manipulated	Power	No
Weick & Guinote (2008)	Study 1b	136	Manipulated	Power	No
Weick & Guinote (2008)	Study 2	83	Manipulated	Power	No
Weick & Guinote (2008)	Study 3	132	Manipulated	Power	No
Weick & Guinote (2008)	Study 4	128	Measured	Power	No
Weick & Guinote (2010)	Study 1	20	Manipulated	Power	No
Weick & Guinote (2010)	Study 2	40	Manipulated	Power	No
Weick & Guinote (2010)	Study 3	64	Manipulated	Power	No
Weick & Guinote (2010)	Study 4	206	Measured	Power	No
White et al. (2013)	Study 1	147	Measured	SES	No
White et al. (2013)	Study 2a	117	Measured	SES	No
White et al. (2013)	Study 2b	121	Measured	SES	No
White et al. (2013)	Study 3	435	Measured	SES	No
White et al. (2013)	Study 4	108	Measured	SES	No
White et al. (2013)	Study 5	151	Measured	SES	No
White et al. (2013)	Study 1	194	Measured	SES	No
White et al. (2013)	Study 2	161	Measured	Income	No
White et al. (2013)	Study 3	115	Measured	SES	No
Whitson et al. (2013)	Study 1	48	Manipulated	Power	No
Whitson et al. (2013)	Study 2	38	Manipulated	Power	No
Wiltermuth & Flynn (2013)	Study 1	49	Manipulated	Power	No
Wiltermuth & Flynn (2013)	Study 4	100	Manipulated	Power	No
Wiltermuth & Neale (2011)	Study 1	154	Manipulated	Power	No
Wiltermuth & Neale (2011)	Study 2	140	Manipulated	Power	No
Woltin et al. (2011)	Study 3	40	Manipulated	Power	No
Yap et al. (2013)	Study 1	88	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Yap et al. (2013)	Study 2	34	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Yap et al. (2013)	Study 3	71	Manipulated	Embodied Power	No
Yap et al. (2013)	Study 4	126	Measured	Embodied Power	No
Yap, Mason, & Ames (2013)	Study 1	85	Manipulated	Power	No
Yap, Mason, & Ames (2013)	Study 2	32	Manipulated	Power	No
Zhang, Ilies, & Arvey (2009)	Study 1	340	Measured	Power	Yes
Zhao & Zhou (2011)	Study 1	5,613	Measured	Status	Yes
Zhu & Westphal (2013)	Study 1	1,114	Measured	Power	Yes
Zhu (2013)	Study 1	2,467	Measured	Power	No

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