The Effects of Social Influence, Power, and Tangible Rewards on Need-Fulfillment, Coworker Attraction and Helping Behaviors

by

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Abstract

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Much of the research on influence in the workplace has focused on identifying strategies to obtain compliance from coworkers and the effectiveness of such strategies. Little is known about why people want to influence others. Recent theory and research suggest a link between influence and need-fulfillment, interpersonal attraction, and helping behavior. Three studies were designed to examine these links and to observe how common workplace elements, specifically power and rewards, impact the psychological and interpersonal benefits of successfully influencing coworkers.

Studies 1 and 2 examined how the possession of power by either the source or target of influence moderates the outcomes of having influence. In Study 1, participants attempted to persuade a subordinate in a simulated fund-raising task using either harsh or soft forms of power. In Study 2, participants attempted to persuade either a leader or a peer to change his or her stance on mandatory comprehensive exams. In Study 3, participants either received a reward for attempting to influence a peer, regardless of the outcome (engagement-contingent), were rewarded only if they successfully influenced a peer (performance-contingent), or were asked to influence a peer without any expectation of rewards. Participants in all three studies were given false feedback indicating whether their influence attempts were successful. Following the

manipulations, participants' need-fulfillment, liking for the target and willingness to help the coworker were assessed.

Across studies, participants in the successful compared to unsuccessful influence conditions reported greater attraction to and willingness to help the target of influence and higher task satisfaction. Contrary to expectations, no reliable effects were found for need fulfillment. Perceptions of similarity and task satisfaction partially mediated the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction. Finally, the results indicated that influencing someone using soft power tactics (Study 1), or in conjunction with a performance-contingent reward (Study 3), was associated with the highest willingness to help. The helping effects were not mediated by similarity, reciprocity, need fulfillment or voluntariness. The theoretical and organizational implications of the findings and ideas for future research are discussed.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

The effectiveness of employees often depends on their ability to influence their supervisors and peers, as well as their subordinates (Yukl, 2006). In many professions, non-influential employees could lose their jobs while influential employees might be the only ones who get noticed, get promoted, and earn the respect of supervisors. So the ability to influence others might often be vital to success in the workplace. The research on social influence in general, and in the workplace in particular, has narrowly focused on examining the effectiveness of various influence tactics (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992). Only recently have researchers begun to consider why people might be motivated to influence others. In addition to perhaps being a mechanism through which employees could advance their careers, having influence could logically afford employees with certain psychological benefits and improve relationships with coworkers.

In a theoretical paper, Bourgeois, Sommer, and Bruno (2009) proposed that having influence over others may satisfy several core psychological needs. These include needs to be accurate, to belong, to maintain a positive self-concept, to maintain control, and to perceive one's life as meaningful. Specifically, they proposed that people who get others to think and behave like them may perceive greater *accuracy* of their beliefs and behaviors. *Belongingness* may be satisfied because having influence over others signals to people that they are valued and crucial members of important social groups (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Successfully influencing others may satisfy *self-worth* by making people feel liked and respected and *control* by demonstrating that they are able to impact their environment. Lastly, influence may serve the need for *meaningful existence* because it provides people with the sense that they

are here "for a reason." Preliminary evidence supports the link between influence and need fulfillment (Bourgeois, Sommer, Morris, & Gillis, under review; Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010).

Bourgeois et al. (2009) also suggested that having influence may improve the relationship between the person making the influence attempt (the "source" of influence) and the person being influenced (the "target" of influence). One possibility is that need-fulfillment may foster stronger emotional bonds between the source and target of influence. Alternatively, having influence may benefit interpersonal relationships because it enhances perceptions of similarity or obliges the source of influence to reciprocate kindness to the person he or she influenced. Factors that potentially enhance interpersonal relationships among coworkers are important to investigate, as high-quality relationships at work are positively associated with perceptions of psychological safety and learning behaviors (Carmeli, Brueller, & Dutton, 2009); job competencies (Yang, 2009); and organizational commitment and cohesion (social support and cooperation) (Morrison, 2009). In addition, high-quality relationships at work are negatively related to job stress, fatigue, poor health, and absenteeism (Allen, 2009). The studies reported in this paper examined the impact a successful influence attempt had on the relationship between the source and target of influence.

The present studies also sought to examine typical workplace practices and circumstances that could enhance empirical relationships among social influence, need fulfillment, and the development of strong interpersonal bonds. The specific moderating variables that were examined in this dissertation were power and rewards. Power is defined as the resource that enables people to induce compliance from or influence others (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988). Within the workplace context, workers are likely to vary with regard to the resources they possess that could facilitate a successful influence attempt. For example, some workers could

possess more power than others because of the title they hold, their expertise, or their ability to withhold or confer valued material rewards (Raven, 1959). The extent to which the source or target of influence possesses power could impact the proposed benefits of having influence by affecting the perceived voluntariness of the target's behavior change. The interactive effects of power and influence on sources' need fulfillment and attraction to targets was examined.

Providing workers with material rewards for performing a desired behavior is a practice that is also common to a workplace environment. Many companies invest in reward initiatives with the hope that such practices will reinforce employees' intrinsic interest and persistence in performing prescribed tasks, as well as help the organization achieve a competitive advantage (Pfeffer, 1998). While some theory supports this assumption, other prominent theories in psychology advise organizations that financial incentives actually diminish employees' psychological fulfillment and damage motivation (Rynes, Gerhart, & Parks, 2005). Little empirical research actually examines how providing tangible rewards for performing particular workplace activities affects recipients' need fulfillment and motivation. I examined whether financially rewarding a person for a successful influence attempt enhances the psychological and interpersonal benefits of having influence as well as the worker's motivation to persist on a task.

This dissertation is structured as follows. In Chapter 2, I define social influence and describe some of the needs that may be met by successfully influencing others. Because little work has examined need fulfillment directly, I follow with a review of research findings in the broader psychology literature suggesting that having influence may be related to psychological well-being and interpersonal attraction (whereas a lack of influence may be related to distress and dislike). I then discuss the results of a few studies designed specifically to test the ideas proposed by Bourgeois et al. (2009). Chapters 3 and 4 discuss the workplace variables that could

strengthen the relationships among having influence, need-fulfillment, and interpersonal bonds. Specifically, in Chapter 3, I describe how a source's or target's possession of power could affect the psychological and interpersonal benefits of having influence. In Chapter 4, I describe how providing an incentive or reward for successfully influencing a coworker may contribute to the proposed benefits of a successful influence attempt and enhance motivation. Chapter 5 provides a summary of the current state of the literature on the outcomes of social influence and reviews the research questions that will be explored in the current dissertation. Chapters 6 through 8 describe the three studies that were conducted to test the predictions derived from the previous chapters. Finally, Chapter 9 presents a discussion of the results of the three studies in the context of the existing literature.

Chapter 2: Outcomes of Social Influence

Social influence is defined as a "change in the belief, attitude, or behavior of a target of influence, which results from the action or presence of an influencing agent" (Erchul, Raven, & Ray, 2001). Social influence is reflected in many social phenomena including conformity, obedience, persuasion, compliance, and mimicry. Decades of research by psychologists have led to a large body of knowledge regarding when, how and why an individual's thoughts or actions are affected by other people. Comparatively little is known about why people want to have an influence on others. Why do people want to be able to affect the decisions of others or care if they are able to persuade others with their arguments? This chapter is devoted to describing how having influence may satisfy five underlying goals/needs as well as strengthen relationships between sources and targets of influence. I will provide a theoretical rationale for the link between having influence, need fulfillment and the formation/strengthening of interpersonal bonds, summarize relevant research from various disciplines of psychology, and describe recent empirical work designed to examine the psychological and interpersonal benefits of successfully influencing others.

Social Influence and Underlying Goals

According to Baumeister (Baumeister, 1991; Baumeister & Leary, 1995), the needs for purpose (motivation to see one's actions as goal-directed), justification (motivation to feel that one's actions are morally correct), efficacy, self-worth, and belongingness must be met in order for people to feel that their lives are meaningful and satisfactory. If one or more of the needs are not met, feelings of insecurity, unease and turmoil are likely to arise. A lack of need fulfillment is also likely to lead people to rethink their roles in life, change certain aspects of their lives, or restructure their lives completely. A summary of the literature on social influence by Cialdini

and Goldstein (2004) suggests that a similar list of core underlying human goals also determines how a target responds to influence attempts. These include the goals of accuracy (parallels the need for justification), affiliation (parallels belongingness), and the maintenance of a positive self-concept (parallels self-worth). The authors suggest that individuals comply with, or conform to others because they have a need to correctly interpret and react to incoming information, to create and maintain meaningful social relationships with others, and to behave in ways that allow them to sustain positive self-ascribed traits (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004).

Drawing from these models, Bourgeois et al. (2009) proposed that *having* influence may similarly satisfy five underlying human goals. These include the three needs from Cialdini and Goldstein's (2004) social influence framework (accuracy, belongingness, and self-worth) and the two remaining needs from Baumeister's (1991) framework: meaningful existence (purpose) and control (efficacy). Bourgeois et al. note that these five needs (in some form) appear in nearly all need-based theories of human behavior, attesting to their importance in the literature (Bandura, 1977; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995; Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Solomon, 1997; Smith & Williams, 2004).

Although other needs may also be served by influence, the list of needs identified by Bourgeois et al. (2009) appears fairly exhaustive and provides a good starting place for exploring the fulfillment that may come from influencing others. The term need fulfillment used in the present dissertation refers specifically to these five needs. Below I elaborate each need and provide specific examples of how each need might be met by having an influence on others.

Need for accuracy (justification). The need to believe that one's behaviors are acceptable and correct is defined as the need for accuracy (Baumeister, 1991; Bourgeois et al., 2009). People often face moral dilemmas that involve promoting good social relations, upholding

favorable self-concepts, and justifying self-interested behavior (Krebs & Denton 1997). Despite these challenges, people want to think highly of themselves. Whether behaviors are considered right or wrong is a product of one's culture; therefore, feedback from others within one's culture may play a vital role in satisfying the need for accuracy. For example, when people sense that their behavior may have been immoral, they often distort the details while relaying the incident to their audience in order to receive confirmatory feedback that their behavior was accurate, thereby reducing personal guilt (Baumeister & Newman, 1994).

Reliance on the evaluations of others in order to determine the accuracy of one's opinions is also a central tenant of social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954). According to Festinger (1954), people evaluate their own opinions and abilities by comparing them to the opinions and abilities held by others who are similar to them. People presume that if others have particular beliefs then they must be appropriate. If people can influence others to think or behave in ways similar to themselves, they have reason to believe that their own line of thinking or way of behaving is justified or appropriate (and by implication that they are moral and respectable people).

Need for belongingness (affiliation). The need for at least a minimum quantity of frequent, ongoing, and positive interactions is referred to as the need for belongingness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Belongingness is rooted in evolutionary theory. Having a set of connections with others can increase one's chances for survival because groups can share food, provide mates, help care for offspring, and provide protection (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

Having influence may be indicative of one's importance to others and foster a sense of cohesiveness and connection with others. According to participative decision-making theory (Yukl, 1989), the more influence an individual work group member has in the decision-making

process, the more positively that member evaluates his or her own position within the group. It is likely that being able to contribute something of value to others allows people to feel needed and to believe that others will maintain contact with them in the future. Additionally, influencing others allows people to stand out and make unique contributions to their relationships. As a result of their contributions, they become affiliated with and indispensable to the group. Therefore, having influence should satisfy the need to belong.

Need for self-worth. In order to satisfy their need for self-worth, people must find a basis for believing that they are commendable and admirable people (Baumeister & Wilson, 1996). Successfully influencing the ideas or behaviors of others may provide that basis. Harter, Waters, and Whitesell (1998) hypothesized that people's perceptions of their own worth can be temporarily impacted by the validation they receive from others. Self-worth, therefore, will be contingent upon whom a person is interacting with and how much validation that partner typically provides. Felt validation is proposed to come from others' displays of approval, signs of being taken seriously as a person, and attempts made by others to demonstrate respect and interest in what one says, thinks, and feels (Harter et al., 1998). Harter et al. (1998) found a strong positive correlation between perceived validation in a particular context and self-worth in that context. It is likely that having influence is a form of validation. By successfully influencing others, sources can be confident that they have the approval, respect and interest of those whom they successfully influenced (Yukl, 2006). Therefore, assuming that successful influence is a form of validation, the results of the Harter et al. (1998) study imply that a person who is able to have influence over someone else may consequently receive a boost to his or her sense of self-worth.

Need for control. Control can be defined as the extent to which people believe that they are able to effectively produce desired outcomes or prevent undesired outcomes in their environment (DeCharms, 1968; Skinner, 1996). Having a sense of control is adaptive as it leads to cognitive, motivational, and affective processes that motivate people to face challenges and endure in the face of obstacles (Bandura, 1989). A strong sense of control is widely recognized by researchers as an important predictor of intellectual achievement and physical health (Lachman & Burack, 1993); mental health and well-being (Lachman & Burack, 1993; Smith, Kohn, Savage-Stevens, Finch, Ingate, Lim, 2000); optimism, persistence, motivation, coping, self-esteem, personal adjustment, and success and failure in a variety of life domains (see Skinner, 1996 for a review of correlates of control).

Having influence could be one mechanism through which people gain a sense of control. Influence is defined as inducing change in others. Successfully altering a target's thoughts or actions should enhance an agent of influence's perception of his or her ability to change the surrounding environment.

Need for meaningful existence (purpose). People need to believe that something they have done or created is of lasting value in order to regard themselves as commendable and to feel that their lives have meaning (Drolet, 1990; Pyszczynski et al., 2004). According to Terror Management Theory (TMT), people develop a goal of preserving a symbolic sense of continuity in order to cope with the ever present knowledge that at some point, they must die (Pyszczynski et al., 2004). Striving to create something of lasting value allows people to continue to interpret their lives as meaningful despite their unavoidable death (Drolet, 1990). It is argued here that having influence may provide people with a sense of symbolic immortality and protect them from fears of death by allowing them to view their existence as meaningful.

One way to ensure perennial influence is to become a parent. By having a child, an individual can leave behind something that would not have otherwise existed; the child will go on to affect the world in the absence of the parent. If only through genetics, that child's life is shaped by his or her parents. Some parents may additionally hope that they will always be remembered by their children, that their children will go on to carry out their family name, their business, or perhaps even their ideology. The desire to have children has been found to be associated with the fear of death. In a series of three studies, Wisman and Goldenberg (2005) found that men desired more children after being reminded of their death, as compared to other aversive thoughts (e.g., such as going to the dentist). Women exhibited the same tendency when the compatibility of having children and a career was made salient. The authors suggested that reminders of death may have intensified participants' fear of death and consequently strengthened their goal of achieving symbolic immortality and purpose through reproduction.

The struggles to achieve symbolic immortality, influence others, and obtain a sense of meaning in life are also components of Erikson's (1950) theory of life stages. Erickson argues that in the last phase of development, people struggle to develop a sense of generativity versus stagnation. Failure to achieve generativity may lead to difficulties akin to a midlife crisis. Generativity is generally achieved by contributing something of lasting value to other generations. Producing, nurturing, and guiding the next generation, raising offspring, transmitting values, mentoring younger workers, and contributing to the world through art or literature may lead to a sense of generativity (Lachman, 2004; Peterson & Stewart, 1996). Moreover, these are all mechanisms for ensuring lasting influence over others.

The evidence above suggests that having influence over others may protect people from their fear of death by providing them with a sense of symbolic immortality. Being able to see

one's influence as capable of outlasting one's physical existence may lead to the interpretation that one's existence is meaningful.

While the five needs that are expected to be fulfilled by having influence were described here as distinct constructs, it is important to note that they are likely to be interrelated (Bourgeois et al., 2009). For example, feeling that one is liked and accepted by others may contribute to high self-esteem and a sense of purpose in life. Therefore, statistical overlap is expected among the five needs.

Social Influence and Interpersonal Relationships

In addition to satisfying several core psychological needs, having influence may also enhance emotional bonds between the source and target of influence. Of particular interest are the relationships between members of organization. Below, I emphasize the importance of fostering emotional bonds among coworkers. I will also describe several ways in which having influence could enhance relationships and coworker relationships in particular.

Organizations could benefit from promoting positive relationships among employees. One indicator of relationship quality is an employee's willingness to perform interpersonal organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs). Within the context of the workplace, the term OCB is used to describe voluntary behaviors performed by an employee of an organization that promote the effective functioning of the organization (OCB-Os), or other individuals within the organization (OCB-Is), but are not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system (Organ, 1988). Helping behavior has been identified as an important form of citizenship behavior by almost everyone who has done research in the area (see Podsakoff, Mackenzie, Paine, & Bachrach, 2000 for a review). Research has shown that organizational citizenship behaviors, and interpersonal helping behaviors in particular, benefit both the employee and his or her employing

organization. More specifically, helping behavior has been shown to be positively related to performance evaluations and key managerial decisions, including salary and promotion recommendations (Podsakoff et al., 2000). In addition, helping behaviors predict markers of organizational effectiveness, including performance quantity, quality, functional efficiency indicators, and customer service (Podsakoff et al., 2000).

Helping may be a behavioral reflection of interpersonal attraction, as researchers have found that people are more likely to provide help to people they like compared to those they dislike (Carnevale, Pruitt, & Carrington, 1982; Kanekar & Merchant, 2001). As liking and helping behaviors have important implications for employees and their employer, uncovering antecedents to interpersonal attraction and helping behaviors is extremely important.

Having influence might serve as an antecedent to both interpersonal attraction and helping behavior (Bourgeois et al., 2009; Bruno et al., 2008). There are several mechanisms through which these links could exist. First, social influence might motivate prosocial behavior and interpersonal attraction as a consequence of need-fulfillment. When people's needs are met, they are no longer focused on fulfilling their own needs. Instead, they are naturally inclined to pay more attention to the needs of others. Gagné (2003) found a strong positive relationship between self-reported need-fulfillment (autonomy, competence, and relatedness) and the number of hours people volunteered at an animal shelter. In addition, evidence suggests that need fulfillment promotes positive affect (Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010), which is an antecedent to both helping behavior (Organ, Podsakoff, & MacKenzie 2006; Williams & Shiaw, 1999) and interpersonal attraction (May & Hamilton, 1980; Staw, Sutton, & Pelled, 1994). Therefore, the psychological need-fulfillment that accompanies a successful influence attempt could provide one explanation for links between influence, interpersonal attraction and helping behavior.

Social exchange theory and the norm of reciprocity may also explain how having influence might promote interpersonal attraction and helping behavior. According to Homans's (1958) social exchange theory, people want to be similar to their social relationship partners in terms of their ratios of inputs to outcomes. If having influence provides psychological need fulfillment, then people who allow others to influence them are responsible for making those psychological benefits possible. In an effort to maintain an even exchange of inputs and outcomes, sources might want to perform a selfless act that will benefit the target. As such, sources of influence might be willing to assert their attraction for the target and be willing to help the target if need be.

Similarly, the norm of reciprocity dictates that people should help those who have helped them (Gouldner, 1960). If people are genuinely pleased after having influenced a target, they may feel it necessary to return that good feeling by helping that target when help is requested or visibly needed. Additionally, studies have shown that people responsible for a reciprocal arrangement are liked more than those responsible for a nonreciprocal arrangement (Staub, 1972). Therefore, the norm of reciprocity may explain why having influence can enhance relationships and helping behavior among coworkers.

Having influence might also promote interpersonal attraction independently of need fulfillment. For example, people may see themselves as similar to those they influenced because they were able to get their targets to think or behave in a way that was congruent to their own way of thinking or behaving. Research clearly demonstrates a relationship between perceived or actual demographic, personality, or attitudinal similarities and interpersonal attraction (Batchelor & Tesser, 1971; Selfhout, Denissen, Branje, & Meeus, 2009; Stroebe, Insko, Thompson, & Layton, 1971). The relationship between similarity and interpersonal attraction was found even

after controlling for the tendency for people to like others who have desirable traits (Tenney, Turkheimer, & Oltmanns, 2009). These findings have been also explained in terms of implicit egotism, or people's bias towards anything reminiscent of the self (Jones, Mirenberg, Pelham, Carvallo, 2004; Tenney et al., 2009); a general exposure effect in which people prefer familiar over novel stimuli because the former are easier to interpret (Tenney et al., 2009); and reinforcement, whereby similarity reinforces individuals' own opinions, views and feelings (Selfhout et al., 2009; Tenney et al., 2009).

Outcomes Associated with Perceived Influence

The arguments presented above explain why influence should satisfy several core psychological needs and enhance interpersonal relationships. I now turn to a review of evidence linking influence to indicators of high subjective well-being, satisfaction, and liking (attraction) and a lack of influence to indicators of low subjective-well being, frustration, and disliking. This review is meant only to provide preliminary evidence to support the idea that positive outcomes may be associated with perceived influence and to emphasize the need to examine more closely the psychological benefits of having influence.

Evidence from Developmental Psychology

Developmental psychologists have conducted studies that link failed influence with frustration and discontent and successful attempts at influence with well-being during the earliest stages in life. For example, infants are likely to display signs of stress as well as engage in attention-seeking behavior when presented with a non-responsive face (Adamson & Frick, 2003; Moore & Calkins, 2004; Weinberg & Tronick, 1996). These studies typically begin with a normal infant and mother interaction, followed by a period in which the adult becomes verbally and nonverbally unresponsive to the infant (i.e., "still-faced"). They end in a period where

normal play resumes. When the infant is initially presented with the still face, he or she usually responds by smiling, cooing, or clapping his or her hands, perhaps in an attempt to repair the disrupted face-to-face interaction. When this attempt at interaction is not reciprocated, the infant usually responds with a sober-faced pause, and then more smiling and cooing. Lastly the child usually begins to cry or withdraws from the interaction by orienting his or her face and body away from the adult with a remote and hopeless facial expression (Adamson & Frick, 2003; Carpenter et al., 1970). In comparison, mutually reciprocal relationships are relationships in which both mother and child respond adequately to each other's influence and are marked by positive affect. This type of environment has been shown to facilitate proper socialization in children and lead to long-term consequences such as the development of a conscience later on in life (Kochanska & Murray, 2000).

Developmental research also suggests that the inability of preschool to school-age girls to influence boys of the same age may explain same-sex attraction and cross-sex avoidance in peer groupings (Maccoby, 1988). In same-sex groups, boys attempt to gain control of resources by relying on physical force or making demands while girls rely on verbal persuasion and polite suggestions. In cross-sex interactions, the influence tactics employed by girls are often ineffective on boys. Maccoby (1988) argues that children gravitate to and find more satisfaction in relationships in which both parties can influence the behavior of the other.

Evidence from Social Psychology

Social psychologists have also conducted numerous studies that link influence to interpersonal attraction. Chartrand and Bargh (1999) found that participants who had their behaviors (e.g. posture, mannerisms) mimicked by a confederate during an interaction rated both the interaction and the confederate more favorably than participants whose behavior was not

mimicked. The results could be interpreted to mean that perceived influence, even on an unconscious level, causes greater liking and smoother interactions.

Social psychology research also suggests that a lack of perceived influence may be associated with low subjective well-being, distress, dislike, and an unwillingness to engage in helping behaviors. One line of research in which this link becomes apparent is the work on social ostracism. When people are socially ostracized, they perceive that their presence has no impact on those around them. In comparison, when people are socially included, not only is their presence known, they also have an impact on the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of others. Many studies on social ostracism found that ostracized (compared to included) participants report deprivation of four out of the five needs purported to be served by having influence: meaningful existence, control, self-esteem, belongingness (Bourgeois et al., 2009; Eisenberger, Lieberman, & Williams, 2003; Smith & Williams, 2004; Williams & Sommer, 1997; Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2004). Additionally, other studies show that targets of ostracism (compared to inclusion) report greater dislike of sources (Williams, Govan, Croker, Tynan, Cruickshank, & Lam, 2002) and lower willingness to engage in helping behaviors (Hitlan, Kelly, Schepman, Schneider, & Zarate, 2006). As ostracism is related to need deprivation, dislike of sources of ostracism, and unwillingness to engage in helping behaviors, it is logical to expect that having influence more broadly will be associated with heightened levels of need fulfillment, liking of targets of influence, and willingness to help targets of influence.

Evidence from I/O Psychology

The effect of mutual influence on relationship and life satisfaction is also evident in the leadership literature. According to Hollander's idiosyncrasy credit model (1958; 1960), if a leader appears competent and conforms to group norms early on (allowing followers to feel

influential), then followers will benefit by gaining a sense of direction and self-worth. In exchange, followers become more welcoming of their leaders' influence, more responsive to their leaders, and afford them greater latitude to make important decisions (Hollander, 1960; 1986). This increased freedom permits leaders to make necessary changes without follower resistance (Hollander, 1992; 2004). The existing empirical work on the idiosyncrasy credit model is consistent with the proposition that mutual influence strengthens leader-follower relationships (Hollander, 1960; Hollander, 1961).

A similar conclusion could be drawn from another prominent leadership theory known as Leader-Member Exchange theory (LMX). According to LMX, leaders form different relationships with each subordinate. Followers who are afforded influence in decision-making and are given challenging tasks tend to form relationships with their leaders that are marked by mutual trust, support, and positive psychological and work-related outcomes (Martin, Thomas, Charles, Epitropaki & McNamara, 2005; Scandura, Graen, & Novak, 1986). The literature on voice also indicates that social influence could impact coworker relationships. People have voice when they are given the chance to provide input into decisions that are being made (Cawley, Keeping, & Levy, 1998). Researchers have argued that people value the chance to express themselves because it validates feelings of self-worth and belongingness (Cawley, Keeping, & Levy; Tyler & Lind, 1992). Others contend that people value having voice only if they believe that their viewpoints are being considered in the decision-making process (i.e., that they have influence in addition to voice) (Cawley, Keeping, & Levy, 1998; McFarlin & Sweeney, 1996). Research has shown that having voice can enhance perceptions of procedural justice, evaluations of supervisors, and satisfaction with performance appraisals (Cawley, Keeping, & Levy, 1998;

Douthitt & Aiello, 2001; McFarlin & Sweeney, 1996). I will return to a discussion of the voice literature in Chapter 3.

Research Directly Assessing the Outcomes of Social Influence

The findings from the developmental, social, and I/O literatures seem to indicate that a lack of impact on (or acknowledgement by) others is associated with unease, dislike, and other indicators of low subjective well-being; conversely, perceived influence is associated with indicators of emotional fulfillment, liking for targets, and willingness to engage in helping behaviors. The studies reviewed in the previous section never actually manipulated or assessed influence. Therefore, the interpretation of the results is speculative. Due to a dearth of experimental research investigating perceived influence, it is uncertain whether influence or some other factors may have been operating to cause the aforementioned outcomes. In the still-faced studies, it is possible that the responses of children to unresponsive caregivers were caused by fear or separation anxiety. The mimicry results might be better explained by perceived similarity. Because of the potential confounds with perceived influence in prior research, additional studies that specifically assess or manipulate perceptions of influence are necessary in order to determine the impact influence has on well-being. Additionally, even if perceived influence were found to increase subjective well-being and liking, experimental studies are needed in order to determine whether need fulfillment or some other processes are mediating this effect.

A study by Morris, Hulbert, and Abrams (2000) was one of the few to systematically investigate the outcomes associated with perceived influence. Participants were placed in a group with three other participants and one confederate. They were instructed to make a recommendation to their group leader (confederate) regarding the financial settlement in a

hypothetical lawsuit scenario. Influence was manipulated by providing each participant with false feedback indicating how much his or her personal recommendation and the group's recommendation influenced the group leader's final decision. The results of the study indicated that perceptions of high personal and low group (compared to low personal and low group) influence over leader decisions led to higher satisfaction (with the procedure, the decision, and one's role in the group) and higher commitment. Perceptions of low personal and high group influence (compared to low personal and low group) predicted only commitment. A condition wherein both group and personal influence were high was not included. While Morris et al. (2000) clearly manipulated perceived influence, their findings are still difficult to interpret. It is possible that participants may have compared the amount of influence they had over their leader's decision to the amount of influence exerted by other group members. Depending on condition, these comparisons may have resulted in feelings of inferiority or superiority in relation to other group members. Thus, in the absence of a condition in which both group and personal influence were high, it is difficult to ascertain whether having less influence than other group members might have been responsible for the lack of increase in satisfaction when group influence was high. One solution would be to examine the impact of perceived personal influence on satisfaction and commitment in the absence of group influence. Attempts should also be made to provide an understanding of the psychological mechanisms that may underlie this effect.

Six recent studies were specifically designed to examine the ideas proposed by Bourgeois et al. (2009) (Bourgeois, Sommer, Morris, & Gillis, under review; Bruno, Sommer, Bourgeois, & Lo, 2008; Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010; Sommer, Parson, Bruno & Bourgeois, 2012). Sommer and Bourgeois (2010) examined the hypothesis that influence leads to need fulfillment, general

satisfaction in life and positive affect. Participants were asked to complete self-report measures assessing their perceived ability to influence others, need-fulfillment, and subjective well-being. The results indicated that perceived ability to influence was positively and significantly correlated with measures of satisfaction in life, positive affect and three of the five needs identified by Bourgeois et al. (2009): self-worth, control and meaningful existence, (The authors did not include measures of belongingness and accuracy in this study). Results of meditational analyses further revealed that the relationships between the perceived ability to influence others and life satisfaction and positive affect were mediated through self-worth, meaningful existence, and control.

In a follow-up study, Sommer and Bourgeois (2010) included measures of belongingness and accuracy. Results revealed that the perceived ability to influence others at work was positively related to perceptions of control, accuracy, belongingness, and meaning at work as well as overall satisfaction with one's job. Similarly, perceived ability to influence one's romantic relationship partner was positively related to perceptions of the same four needs as well as overall satisfaction with one's partner. Importantly, perceived influence in either context was not associated with need fulfillment in the opposing context. The domain specificity of the findings rules out common method variance and socially desirability responding as alternative explanations for the findings in Study 1. Further, path analyses revealed that need fulfillment mediated relationships between perceived influence and domain-specific subjective well-being (operationalized as job satisfaction and relationship satisfaction).

Another set of studies (Bourgeois et al, under review) employed experimental designs. In Study 1, participants were asked to write a persuasive essay and told that their essay would be exchanged with another participant. Participants then received false feedback in response to their

essay which ostensibly came from the peer. Participants were led to believe that their partner either first disagreed with them, then came to agree after exchanging questionnaires (successful persuasion condition), agreed with them before and after exchanging questionnaires (consistent agreement condition), disagreed with them before and after exchanging questionnaires (unsuccessful persuasion condition), or agreed with them before exchanging questionnaires, then disagreed afterward (anticonformity). Results indicated that participants in the successful persuasion condition reported a higher sense of self-esteem, meaningful existence, mastery (control) and belongingness than those in the unsuccessful persuasion condition. Measures of perceived accuracy were also higher in the successful persuasion condition than the unsuccessful persuasion condition, but the difference was not significant. Need fulfillment in the consistent agreement and unsuccessful persuasion conditions did not differ, and participants in the anticonformity condition reported significantly lower need fulfillment than those in both the successful persuasion and the consistent agreement conditions. These results indicate that having a positive influence on others provides psychological need fulfillment while having a negative influence on others provides less psychological fulfillment.

In Study 2, Bourgeois et al. (under review) sought to rule out the possibility that success on any task, rather than successful influence per se, leads to increases in need fulfillment. Participants were asked to take a stance on an issue and provide a rationale for their position. Half of the participants were led to believe their opinions would be shared with another participant (social task condition) whereas the other half were told that their responses would be rated by text analysis software (nonsocial task condition). Participants in the social task conditions were either told that they had persuaded their partner (actually a confederate) to change his or her stance on the issue or that they had failed to persuade their partner. Participants

in the nonsocial conditions were told that the software indicated that their arguments were either strong or weak compared to other participants. Results indicated that successfully influencing a partner led to an increased sense of fulfillment of each of the five needs while succeeding on the nonsocial task did not. The findings provide evidence for the claim that the psychological benefits of influence observed in Study 1 were due to successful *influence* per se rather than successful task completion in general.

In the final study, Bourgeois et al. (under review) sought to determine whether successful and unsuccessful influence impacts behavioral outcomes. Specifically, they examined whether successful influence reduces a known tendency for people to demonstrate an ingroup bias following reminders of their own mortality (Jonas, Schimel, Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 2002). Participants were asked to write about their feelings regarding their own death (vs. a control condition topic) after being given false feedback indicating whether or not they successfully persuaded someone. Following the manipulations, participants were asked if they wanted to donate any of their experimental payment to a national (ingroup) or international (outgroup) charity. The results indicated that participants who believed that they had persuaded someone did not exhibit an ingroup bias following mortality salience, whereas those who failed to persuade demonstrated this bias regardless of mortality salience. The authors speculated that successfully persuading someone buffered the effects of mortality salience on ingroup bias because believing that one is influential over others increases self-esteem, and self-esteem buffers the biasing effects of mortality salience (Harmon-Jones, Simon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & McGregor, 1997).

Sommer, Parson, Bruno, and Bourgeois (2012) examined whether the inability to influence others leads to negative emotional reactions and disliking of targets of influence.

Participants assuming managerial roles were obeyed or disobeyed during a simulated leadership task. The results indicated that male participants who were disobeyed compared to obeyed reported decreases in belongingness and control, which then led to higher levels of negative affect. Males dispositionally high in the need for power also reported less positive affect and more anger following disobedience. The results provide evidence that having influence in a workplace context has important implications for the well-being of managers (particularly those with strong power needs), and therefore is important to investigate.

Lastly, Bruno et al. (2008) found that having influence fosters interpersonal attraction and an increased willingness to help. In this experiment, participants playing the role of a manager provided another manager (played by a confederate) with a suggestion on how to discipline a subordinate who violated company rules. In the *successful influence* condition, the confederate told the participant that she planned to take a different punitive approach but was swayed to instead go along with the participant's suggested disciplinary action. In the *unsuccessful influence* condition, the confederate said that she liked the participant's idea, but still preferred to take a different approach. In a *control* (baseline) condition, the coworker simply thanked the participant for his or her contribution but did not give any feedback as to whether she accepted or rejected the idea. Following this manipulation, participants' need-fulfillment and liking for the confederate were assessed. Assessments of willingness to help were based on whether participants acquiesced to a request made by the confederate to help post flyers around the campus after the experiment. The results of the study indicated that participants who successfully influenced their coworkers liked and were more willing to help the coworker than those whose influence attempts were unsuccessful. Reports of attraction and helping rates for participants in the control condition fell directly between those in the influence and no-influence conditions.

These findings suggest that having influence can enhance liking for, and willingness to help, the target of influence while failure to influence may decrease liking and willingness to help the target. Contrary to predictions, no effects were found for need fulfillment. Bruno et al. (2008) reasoned that the non-significant relationships between influence and need-fulfillment might have been due to the very subtle way in which influence was operationalized. I return to this issue in more detail later when describing hypotheses for the proposed studies.

Summary

The results of research findings across several disciplines in psychology indicate that having influence may be related to subjective well-being, liking for targets of influence, and willingness to help the target of influence, whereas a lack of influence may be related to distress, dislike, and an unwillingness to help the target of influence. Additionally, theory and empirical work suggest that having influence may be related to the fulfillment of the needs for accuracy, belongingness, self-worth, control, and meaningful existence. However, additional experimental work is needed, both to explain why the relationship between influence and need fulfillment might have been undetectable in the Bruno et al. (2008) study and to uncover the conditions under which successful influence is likely to have its largest impact. Of particular interest in the present dissertation is the role of power. Distinctions between power and influence are often overlooked in the scientific literature. However, the degree to which an influence attempt is coupled with power, and whether the power holder is the source or the target of influence, could affect the way a successful influence attempt is interpreted by the source. The additive and interactive effects of power and influence on coworker relationships will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Social Influence and Power

Theorists have often confused power with influence, implicitly treating the two concepts as synonymous (Bass, 1981; McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982). Empirical research establishing their independence is virtually non-existent, yet important differences between the two constructs exist (Hinkin & Schriesheim, 1990). In this chapter, I will provide a definition of power, discuss how it relates to influence, and describe how the possession of power by either the source or the target of influence has the potential to moderate the psychological benefits of having influence.

Comparison of Power and Influence

Writers have provided several definitions of power and influence. Hollander (1985) defines both power and influence as processes of obtaining compliance but argues that influence relies on persuasion while power demands coercion and control. Similarly, Bennett (1988) argues that influence might entail a give-and-take relationship in which the influencing agent gives some respect to the preferences or ideas of the target, and the target voluntarily changes his or her behavior. He further argues that power, in contrast, involves altering the behavior of a target by manipulating positive and negative sanctions and relying on force and coercion (Bennett, 1988). In contrast, Hinkin and Schriesheim (1990) define power as the potential for one person to cause another to act a certain way, while influence is the actual act or process of obtaining the desired outcome. Finally, Fiske (1993) defines power as control over others' outcomes. All of these definitions of power relate to the amount of control or types resources people possess, which can be used to facilitate attempts to change the attitudes or behaviors of others. The definitions of influence all relate to the degree to which a person's behavior change was voluntary because of the resources that were used to bring about that change.

For the present dissertation, I will adopt the Raven (2008) definitions of influence and power, which distinguishes among multiple forms of resources one can use in order to change another person's behavior, and the degree to which a successful influence attempt using each resource could be perceived as voluntary. According to Raven, a person has influence if he or she can successfully change the beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors of another person. Power is defined as the resources agents possess in order to bring about such change. The more influence agents rely on manipulative forms of control rather than those that are based on logic and persuasion, the less agents will perceive a target's behavioral changes to be voluntary.

French and Raven (1959) distinguish among five bases for social power: reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, referent power, and expert power. Reward power refers to the extent to which one person can give others valued material rewards such as benefits, time off, and gifts. Coercive power is the ability to demote or withhold valued material rewards. Legitimate power is given to a person because of the relative position and duties he or she performs within an organization. Referent power relates to the ability of individuals to attract others and build loyalty through the use of their interpersonal skills. Expert power pertains to the level of skill or expertise a person possesses and how desirable those attributes are to the organization. One additional base – information power – was later added (Raven, 1965). Information power pertains to the amount of current knowledge a person possesses and the ability to use that knowledge to make rational arguments. Power holders can draw upon one or more of these power bases in order to influence others (Gupta & Sharma, 2008).

Powerholders (Leaders) as Agents of Influence

Power and influence are almost always important in organizations (Gupta & Sharma, 2008). The effectiveness of a leader depends on his or her ability to influence subordinates,

peers, and supervisors to carry out requests, support proposals, and implement decisions. The title a leader holds or some of the functions he or she performs (e.g., evaluating subordinates' performance and determining compensation, assigning work, building loyalty, disseminating knowledge) may provide a leader with various bases of power from which he or she can draw in order to successfully influence subordinates (French and Raven, 1959; Hollander, 1985).

The base of power supervisors draw from in order to influence others could affect the way they interpret a successful influence attempt. The six bases of power are often sorted into two categories: soft and harsh. Soft bases of power (information power, expert power, referent power) involve less coercion, force, or threat of force when compared to harsh bases of power (coercive power, reward power, position power) (Raven, Schwarzwald, & Koslowsky, 1998). Behavior change associated with influence based on soft power could be interpreted by a leader as a voluntary change. For example, with the use of rational arguments as an influence tactic, a leader relies on factual evidence and logic in order to persuade the target. The target is likely to internalize the arguments and voluntarily submits to the agent's will (Yukl & Tracey, 1992). As the change is perceived to be voluntary, a successful influence attempt could be interpreted as an endorsement of the self and consequently fulfill the leader's basic psychological needs.

At the other end of the spectrum, when leaders rely on harsh bases of power in order to alter the behavior of a target, such as their ability to give or withhold material rewards, behavior change by a target is assumed to be largely involuntary. The leader would perceive the influence as a consequence of the manipulation rather than the self. Consequently, influence in these scenarios may be less psychologically fulfilling than voluntary behavior change achieved through soft power bases.

Some work supports this idea. Kipnis and colleagues (Kipnis, 1976; Kipnis, Castell, Gergen, & Mauch, 1976; O'Neal, Kipnis, & Craig, 1994; Rind & Kipnis, 1999) found that involuntary changes in behavior were associated with relatively negative outcomes for the source of influence. A study by Rind and Kipnis (1999), for example, found that instructing participants to use manipulative and controlling influence techniques (e.g., foot-in-the-door and door-in-the-face techniques) to persuade a peer caused participants to describe themselves as more dominant and unfriendly and to describe their peers as less cognitively competent and more submissive, as compared to when participants were instructed to use rational arguments to persuade a peer. Kipnis and colleagues (Kipnis et al., 1976; O'Neal, Kipnis, & Craig, 1994; Rind & Kipnis, 1999) argued that when influence agents successfully use controlling influence tactics, they believe that targets are no longer able to control their own behavior. As a result, agents evaluate targets less favorably because they no longer view targets as equal to themselves. Rind and Kipnis (1999) further argued that agents tend to devalue themselves as a result of having used threat, force, or deception in order to trick people into compliance compared to agents who persuade using reasoning.

In the Kipnis studies described above, all of the participants were led to believe that they successfully persuaded their peers using compliance techniques that prior research has shown to be effective (O'Neal, Kipnis, & Craig, 1994; Rind & Kipnis, 1999). In other words, all of the participants were led to believe that they had influence. Their research did not examine whether successfully influencing others with harsh power-based tactics is more rewarding than a complete lack of influence. A successful influence attempt should be more fulfilling and lead to greater interpersonal attraction than an unsuccessful influence attempt, regardless of the source of power. Even though targets' behavior change is more readily attributed to the manipulation

than the self when sources rely on harsh bases of power, sources may still appreciate that they were able to produce a desired change, regardless of the means. In addition, sources will presumably like followers more than they like critics. Therefore, successfully influencing a target with harsh power-based tactics is expected to lead to higher need-fulfillment and interpersonal attraction than an unsuccessful influence attempt. The impact of harsh versus soft bases of power on the agent's perception of the voluntariness of the behavior change, his or her need fulfillment, and liking for targets remains to be examined.

The desire to influence others has also been examined from an individual difference rather than situational perspective. According to McClelland and Burnham (1976), managers could either be driven primarily by the need for power (desire to have impact or a concern for influencing people), need for affiliation (need to be liked) or need for achievement (focused on setting and achieving goals and recognition).After analyzing the content of numerous stories told by managers and their subordinates during a management workshop, the authors found that managers motivated by the need for power were most effective and had subordinates with the highest morale scores. McClelland and Burnham (2003) explained that many of today's organizations are large and complex, which prohibits managers from performing all of the necessary job duties themselves. Managers highest in the need for achievement want to accomplish things independently and therefore do not make the best managers. Similarly, managers motivated by the need for affiliation might not be able to complete all of the work required because much of their effort spent trying to be liked. In comparison, managers with a high need for power (and lower needs for achievement and affiliation) recognize that getting things done in an organization requires influencing those around you. They often stimulate their employees to be more productive and make their subordinates feel strong rather than weak. They

also express their power motivation in a democratic way. Rather than forcing others to do things, they help them figure out ways of getting their jobs done better for the company. Managers highest in the need for power were most likely to report that they liked their discipline of work. Consequently, it appears that managers highest in the need for power are most likely to rely naturally on soft bases of power. Their use of power leads them and their subordinates to feel content.

In sum, leaders' success depends on their ability to influence those around them (Gupta & Sharma, 2008). Power enables leaders to change the thoughts, actions, or behaviors of others effectively and efficiently (Raven, 1965). Successfully influencing others should lead to the fulfillment of the leader's basic psychological needs and enhance interpersonal attraction. However, the greater the extent of force and manipulation associated with the base of power a leader uses, the less he or she will perceive the target's behavior change as voluntary. The perceived voluntariness of the target's behavior change should be positively related to need fulfillment and liking for the target of influence.

Powerholders as Targets of Influence

While leaders often serve as agents of influence, there are also times when they are the targets of influence. Subordinates may attempt to influence the way their leader solves a workplace problem, evaluates their work, or implements a new policy. All leaders typically have power (of some type). Their possession of power could impact whether an influential subordinate interprets a leader's behavior change as voluntary and the incident as satisfying. While researchers have begun to identify specific types of behaviors used by employees to influence their coworkers and the effectiveness of these behaviors (Ferris & Judge, 1991; Hinkin & Schriesheim, 1990; Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980; Yukl, 2006; Yukl, Lepsinger, & Lucia,

1991), comparatively little is known about how subordinates responds to successfully influencing a leader versus a peer.

Leaders may have greater position, referent, expert, information, reward, or coercive power than their subordinates. Additionally, subordinates are not typically expected to influence their leader. Any behavior change a leader makes as a result of the influence of a subordinate can more readily be perceived as voluntary. Therefore, if a subordinate is able to influence a leader without the crutch provided by various sources of power, the achievement can more readily be attributed to the self. This may be both very satisfying as well as enhance liking for the leader.

Subordinates, on the other hand, may not be at a power disadvantage relative to their peers. A successful influence attempt may not be considered a large accomplishment and may instead be viewed as commonplace. Consequently, influencing a leader, compared to influencing a colleague, may provide even greater fulfillment of the five needs that Bourgeois et al. (2009) proposed would be satisfied by having influence over others. As people in power are often expected to be knowledgeable or experts, influencing a leader may contribute to a subordinate's sense of accuracy even more than being able to influence a peer. Influencing a leader may also lead to greater fulfillment of belongingness and self-worth. Attention and consideration from someone of higher status in the workplace may validate subordinates' self-worth and reinforce feelings of positive standing with that person (Mossholder, Kemery, & Wesolowski, 1998). Because leaders are often responsible for making decisions that affect subordinates, being in the unique position of being able to influence a leader may provide a subordinate with a sense of control over the supervisor and the work environment. Lastly, influencing a leader should provide a subordinate with a greater sense of meaningful existence than influencing a peer, as a

leader should have the resources and contacts that may be necessary in order to bring a subordinate's influential ideas to fruition.

While no research exists comparing the effects of influencing a peer versus a leader, research indicating that having influence over a leader is psychologically beneficial to subordinates can be found in the procedural justice and participative leadership literatures. Procedural justice is defined as the perceived fairness of the process by which outcomes are determined (Thibaut & Walker, 1975). The literature contains two competing theories to explain why people provided with the opportunity to be involved in decision-making (or have "voice") often report higher perceived fairness and satisfaction than those who are not given such an opportunity (Cawley, Keeping, & Levy, 1998). Supporters of the *value-expressive* explanation claim that employees perceive the chance for self-expression as procedurally just regardless of whether they actually have any impact on the outcome. This is because the opportunity to voice one's opinion is a desired end in itself (Tyler, Rasinski, & Sodick, 1985). People value voice because it validates their self-worth and their feelings of belongingness to a valued group (Cawley et al., 1998; Tyler & Lind, 1992). Results from this line of research provide support for the value-expressive explanation. Specifically, experimental and correlational studies indicate that subordinates who are given the opportunity to express their opinions to a supervisor report heightened judgments of procedural justice, score high on various indices of satisfaction, and express high leadership endorsements, even when explicitly told that their input would not influence the final results (Cawley et al., 1998; Tyler et al., 1985). Other studies have found evidence for the notion that social or emotional goals (self-worth, belongingness) may explain the relationship between voice and procedural justice (De Cremer & Blader, 2006; Van Prooijen, Van den Bos, & Wilke, 2004). The results imply that merely being listened to by a supervisor

may provide subordinates with fulfillment of two of the needs hypothetically fulfilled by influence (Bourgeois et al., 2009), as well as lead to heightened perceptions of procedural justice and satisfaction with leaders.

Proponents of the *instrumental perspective* claim that the opportunity to voice is only useful if it contributes to the belief that one's viewpoints are considered by the listener in making decisions. That is, people seek influence in addition to voice (Cawley, Keeping, & Levy, 1998; McFarlin & Sweeney, 1996). According to the instrumental perspective, perceptions of control and influence drive the relationship between the opportunity to express one's opinions about a decision (voice) and procedural justice. Several studies have revealed that subordinates who are given the opportunity to participate in performance appraisals and influence the end result report higher satisfaction with the performance appraisal process, satisfaction with supervisors, procedural justice, and willingness to engage in extra-role behavior than subordinates who are not given the opportunity to voice their opinions (Cawley et al, 1998; Platow, Filardo, Troselj, Grace, & Ryan, 2006). The results imply that subordinates find it satisfying to have influence over the decisions supervisors make during the performance appraisal process. Because proponents of the value-expressive explanation have found evidence for the notion that need-fulfillment drives the effects of voice alone on procedural justice and satisfaction, it is likely that need-fulfillment has similar, mediating effects when voice is coupled with influence.

The value-expressive and instrumental explanations diverge on whether opportunities for subordinates to voice their opinions, or actually influence a leader, are responsible for enhancements in procedural justice and satisfaction. However, this distinction appears obscure. A subordinate who voices his or her opinion to a leader and does not actually observe a change in the leader's behavior may attribute the lack of change to situational or logistical limitations.

The subordinate may believe that he or she changed or affected the leader's attitudes or beliefs and behavioral change may occur in the future. Therefore, voice and influence are difficult to disentangle. Indeed, according to Shapiro (1993), perceived or anticipated influence could be driving the reported effects of voice alone on procedural justice and satisfaction.

The participative leadership literature also suggests that subordinates who influence their leaders will derive psychological and interpersonal benefits. Participative leadership is defined as shared influence among individuals who are otherwise hierarchical unequals (Kim, 2002). Participative leaders may grant subordinates' influence in activities often reserved for management, such as solving problems that affect employees, customers, or the organization (Kim, 2002). Research has indicated that participative leadership is associated with empowerment and innovation (Somech, 2005); employee satisfaction at work (Kim, 2002; Marchant, 1982; Miller & Monge, 1986); productivity (Miller & Monge, 1986); service improvements and enhanced staff-client relations (Marchant, 1982).

One form of participative leadership that has received substantial attention is participative decision making. Researchers have found that subordinates report the highest job satisfaction when managers use a delegative decision making style (in which subordinates are given substantial influence in the decision making process), less satisfaction when managers employ a consultative decision making style (in which subordinates suggestions and concerns are solicited but the manager makes decisions alone), and the lowest satisfaction when managers use an autocratic decision making style (in which managers grant no influence in decision making) (Blake, Kester, & Stoller, 2004). A positive relationship was also found between the amount of perceived participation in decision-making and the subordinates' satisfaction with their immediate supervisors (Blake et al., 2004). Other studies have found that participation in

decision making promotes commitment (Scott-Ladd, Travaglione, & Marshall, 2006) and job satisfaction (Cotton, Vollrath, Froggatt, Lengnick-Hall, & Jennings, 1988; Scott-Ladd, Travaglione, & Marshall, 2006; Wright & Kim, 2004); improves performance (Cotton, Vollrath, Froggatt, Lengnick-Hall, & Jennings, 1988); helps employees see their work as important or significant (Wright & Kim, 2004); enhances employees' sense of supervisory support to them, and promotes organizational citizenship behavior (Van Yperen, van den Berg, & Willering, 1999).

One limitation of the research on participative leadership is a lack of clarity regarding its definition (Greiner, 1973). A large portion of the latest management fads are all labeled participative management (Sashkin, 1984). Therefore, it is unclear why different forms of participative leadership (e.g., participative decision making, mutual goal setting, or enhanced listening) are effective in improving employees' job satisfaction (Greiner, 1973). It appears that providing employees with an opportunity to voice their opinions or to successfully influence their leaders is a common thread among the numerous forms of participative leadership initiatives. Isolated research on the effects of successful influence and need fulfillment on worker outcomes could help to explain the benefits of participative leadership.

While scant empirical research has examined successful influence as an antecedent to the outcomes listed above, several studies suggest that the fulfillment of psychological needs could provide the best explanation for the relationship between forms of participative leadership and desirable work-related outcomes. Miller and Monge (1986) conducted a meta-analysis to determine which of three clusters of explanations best accounts for the effects of participation on fulfillment and productivity. *Cognitive models* attribute the effects of participative leadership to increases in the flow and use of important information in organizations. *Affective models* posit

that participative leadership fosters subordinates' high-order psychological needs, which in turn increase their morale and satisfaction. Lastly, c*ontingency models* posit that the effects of participation on satisfaction and productivity will vary depending on the employee and the situation. In line with arguments made in the present paper, the results provided the strongest support for affective models. Similarly, Sashkin (1984) provided research and theoretical arguments to support his claim that participative leadership results in many desirable work outcomes due to increases in felt autonomy, meaningfulness, and coworker relations. These three needs are similar to control, meaningful existence and belongingness, respectively.

One specific variable that has been found to mediate the relationship between participative leadership and innovation is empowerment (Somech, 2005). Empowerment is a motivational construct that is manifested in meaningfulness, self-efficacy, autonomy and impact (Somech, 2005). This is yet another reason to believe that some of the needs that are proposed to be satisfied by successful influence may be satisfied among employees who work under participative leaders.

The research summarized here suggests that leader and subordinate relationships characterized by perceptions of mutual influence yield many positive behavioral and psychological work-related outcomes for subordinates. Studies further suggest that need fulfillment may explain these results. Extending this research, it is argued that the need fulfillment and positive work related outcomes exhibited by subordinates who influence their leaders may be greater in comparison to employees who successfully influence a peer.

Chapter Summary

This chapter described how the possession of power by either the source or target of influence could affect the psychological and interpersonal benefits that arise from a successful

influence attempt. A source of influence (e.g. a leader in an organization) could have multiple bases of power to draw upon in order to facilitate an influence attempt. A leader's reliance on bases of power that are "soft" rather than "harsh" in order to influence a subordinate is more likely to lead to behavior changes that could be interpreted as voluntary. Voluntary compared to involuntary behavior change is expected to have more psychological benefits for the source of influence and enhance his or her attraction to the target.

While leaders often serve as sources of influence, there are times when leaders serve as targets of a subordinate's influence attempt. Subordinates generally do not have bases of power at their disposal (in comparison to a leader) and are generally not expected to influence their leaders. Any changes made by a leader that result from the subordinate's influence could be perceived as voluntary and consequently need-satisfying. In comparison to leader-subordinate relationships, peer relationships do not involve a power disadvantage. Successfully influencing a peer may not be as challenging and is likely to be more common. Consequently, influencing a leader should provide greater psychological and interpersonal benefits than influencing a peer.

In the following chapter, I will introduce tangible rewards as a second potential moderator of the relationship between having influence and positive interpersonal and psychological outcomes. While some research suggests that rewarding a subordinate for successfully influencing his or her leader may detract from some of the benefits derived from successful influence, research also exists to support the notion that rewards might enhance the psychological benefits of influence. Evidence from both sides of the debate will be provided.

Chapter 4: Social Influence and Rewards

Demographic changes, emerging technology, and employers' inability to continue providing lifetime employment and generous pension plans have left organizations struggling to motivate and retain their employees (Hall, 2002). Many companies rely on financial rewards and incentives as a means of controlling employees' behavior and bringing about a competitive advantage to their organization (Pfeffer, 1998). While research exists supporting the effectiveness of providing employees with financial rewards to enhance motivation, other research indicates that financial rewards could actually be detrimental to employee motivation (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999; Rynes, Gerhart, & Parks, 2005). Of special concern are the effects of rewards on intrinsically motivated behavior, or activities that one finds inherently interesting and satisfying. Because influencing a supervisor purportedly fulfills psychological needs, a successful influence attempt is by definition an intrinsically satisfying activity. Investigating the effects of rewards on agents of influences' need fulfillment and willingness to engage in further influence opportunities informs researchers of the utility of rewards in promoting desirable work behavior (Gagne & Forest, 2008). The results of such a research endeavor could be useful for organizations struggling to maximize productivity.

In this chapter, theory and research supporting the claim that tangible rewards inhibit need fulfillment, motivation and performance will be presented. Counterarguments will then be presented, supported by research suggesting that tangible rewards can be advantageous. It will be argued that both positions are valid, and that rewards for successful influence attempts can only have positive effects on need-fulfillment and motivation if certain contingencies are met.

Review of Research Criticizing Pay for Performance Practices

A variety of criticisms have emerged regarding pay for performance initiatives. Some researchers have acknowledged that pay could be a powerful motivator but warn that pay-for-

performance initiatives could work too well (Beer & Cannon, 2004; Benabou & Tirole, 2003). Beer and Cannon (2004) claim that financial rewards could motivate employees to focus solely on activities that are rewarded and neglect other activities that would help the organization. Similarly, others claim that rewards could detract employees' attention from learning a task and instead lead them to focus on how they need to perform in order to get rewarded (Benabou & Tirole, 2003). Research has shown that praising people for performance rather than mastery of the material is associated with state anxiety, poor performance, setting lower goals for the self, and lower academic, task, and job performance (Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Payne, Youngcourt, Beaubien, 2007). Lastly, researchers point out that incentives may motivate effort but do not guarantee that employees have the training and knowledge that is needed to obtain their desired reward (Locke, 2004).

Surprisingly little research in psychology examines the consequences of linking pay to performance. A handful of popular theories and articles may be responsible for the dearth of research (Rynes, Gerhart, & Parks, 2005). These works provide compelling reasons why monetary rewards do not motivate employees. Specifically, Jeffrey Pfeffer (1998) states in an article published in a journal that is popular among practitioners that the best way for an organization to thrive is through quality, customer service, product or service innovation, leadership, and creating a culture of honesty and openness. The author further maintained that attempting to gain a competitive advantage through individual incentive pay is dangerous as it undermines teamwork, encourages short term focus, and teaches people to work only when they are rewarded. A similar negative picture regarding the practice of coupling pay and performance is provided by the hierarchy of needs theory, the motivation-hygiene theory, and cognitive evaluation theory.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory (1943) alleged that people are motivated to fulfill a series of needs in a particular sequence. Once a need is satisfied, its impact on an individual's behavior largely diminishes and the individual is instead motivated by higher order needs. Basic physiological (e.g. breathing, food, water) and safety needs are of primary importance followed by social, esteem, and aesthetic needs. Maslow claimed that the primitive physiological needs are easily satisfied with a minimal amount of money. Furthermore, he asserts that monetary rewards would only motivate employees at low income levels. He argued that in a workplace, it is best to focus on higher order psychological needs, and that the best way to meet these needs is through meaningful work, not financial incentives. Similarly, Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory (Herzberg, Mausner, Peterson, & Capwell, 1957) claims that pay does not contribute to satisfaction; it merely has the potential to cause or prevent dissatisfaction (and that job satisfaction and dissatisfaction are best viewed as two separate and parallel continua). According to this theory, employee motivation is fostered through activities and challenges that allow one to grow. Providing financial incentives to motivate an employee is only successful in the short run because the factors that determine satisfaction are intrinsic to the job itself.

A final popular theory that may have undervalued the effects of pay on performance is self-determination theory (SDT; Deci, 1971; Deci & Ryan, 2000). According to the theory, understanding human motivation requires a consideration of innate psychological needs that specify the necessary conditions for psychological growth, integrity and well-being. SDT specifically considers the needs for competence, relatedness and autonomy (self-determination). The needs for competence and relatedness are similar to the needs for accuracy and belongingness, respectively. The need for autonomy refers to a person's desire to endorse one's own actions and behave volitionally. It is loosely related to the need for control. The theory

claims that people are drawn to social contexts and activities that support the satisfaction of these basic needs and resist constraints on freedom of action. The act of choosing to perform an activity that one finds inherently interesting and enjoyable, without having to be pushed or prodded, is defined as intrinsic motivation. Intrinsically motivated behaviors are purportedly driven by need fulfillment (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

Cognitive evaluation theory (CET; Deci, 1971) is a component of self-determination theory. CET addresses the impact that external factors (e.g. rewards, punishments, feedback) may have on the internal motivation associated with an interesting and enjoyable task. According to CET, external factors that support need fulfillment tend to increase intrinsic motivation whereas those that undermine need fulfillment tend to decrease intrinsic motivation (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999). Tangible rewards are assumed to be a form of social control that detract from a person's sense of autonomy and thereby reduce the enjoyment associated with intrinsically motivated activities (Eisenberger, Rhoades, & Cameron, 1999).

Many researchers and practitioners oppose pay-for-performance initiatives for a variety of reasons. Specifically, it is argued that providing employees with financial incentives could inhibit learning goals, undermine teamwork, and fail to motivate a large segment of the workforce. Critics further claim that pay-for-performance initiatives fail to provide organizations with a competitive advantage and lead employees to feel as though they are being manipulated and controlled. The amount of empirical research examining pay-for-performance initiatives has been impeded by these claims of deficiency.

Research Supporting Pay for Performance Practices

Proponents of pay-for-performance initiatives argue that the hierarchy of needs and motivation-hygiene theories underestimate the importance of pay as a motivator. A survey of

employees from various jobs and organizations found strong correlations between pay satisfaction and internal motivation (Tiegs, Tetrick, Fried, 1992). Additionally, in opposition to the motivation-hygiene theory, small samples of white- and blue-collar workers reported that pay contributed to both satisfying and dissatisfying incidents in the workplace (Harris & Locke, 1974). Lastly, an empirical study found that pay is important for fulfilling the needs in Maslow's hierarchy and fostering employee motivation (Schneider & Olson, 1970). The study compared nurses from two hospitals located in the same city with the same entering salary schedule. However, one hospital rewarded nurses explicitly on effort and performance and provided minimal biennial increases in salary for tenure (effort condition) while the other hospital based pay policies solely on tenure (time condition). Effort, as rated by each nurse's immediate supervisor, was greater in the effort compared to time condition. Employees of the two hospitals equally valued each of the intrinsic rewards defined in Maslow's hierarchy. However, in only the effort condition, the hardest working nurses most highly valued the intrinsic rewards and were also most satisfied with their pay.

Other proponents of pay-for-performance initiatives argue that traditional compensation systems that base pay on tenure instead of performance can counteract efforts to make organizations less hierarchical and more competitive, focused, adaptable and collaborative (Beer & Cannon, 2004). It is argued that employees may experience a sense of injustice when merit increases do not differentiate performance and effort (Van Herpen, Van Praag, & Cools, 2005). This argument is based mostly on equity theory's emphasis on the importance of fairly rewarding differences in performance among workers (Adams, 1965). Accordingly, pay-for-performance practices in organizations, such as profitsharing, stock options, and gainsharing, have been found

to be related to positive employee attitudes, organizational profits, performance improvements, and greater concern for cooperative behavior (see Rynes et al., 2005 for a review).

Agency theory, the prominent theory on compensation in economics, also raises support for pay for performance initiatives. The theory claims that paying employees for behavior that brings them closer to their employer's goals is a mechanism by which the employer influences employees' behavior. Incentives promote effort and performance because contingent rewards serve as positive reinforcers for the desired behavior (Benabou & Tirole, 2003; Gagne & Forest, 2008). In personnel economics, many sophisticated mathematical models clearly support the position that employees should be paid on the basis of their output (Benabou & Tirole, 2003; Lazear, 2000).

In sum, supporters of pay-for-performance initiatives claim that people are motivated by financial rewards. They further claim that pay that is based on performance is perceived by employees as fair. Employers can use pay to effectively reinforce desired behaviors.

Moderators of Pay-for-Performance Initiatives

Both proponents and opponents of pay-for-performance initiatives present strong arguments for their stance on the effectiveness of financial rewards. The data that has been collected from organizations examining pay-for-performance practices has provided mixed support. For example, Lazear (2000) observed over a 19 month period 3000 workers from a glass installation company whose compensation was changed from being based solely on the number of hours worked to being based on the number of glass units installed, plus a guaranteed pay. Results indicated a 44% gain in average levels of worker output. Additionally, enhancements in quality and customer satisfaction were found when installers were held accountable for addressing any complaints on jobs they performed. In contrast, others have found that pay-for-

performance initiates are ineffective. Beer and Cannon (2004) analyzed interviews, production data, and employee surveys from financial incentive programs implemented in 13 divisions of Hewlett-Packard in the mid 1990s. Managers reported that the costs of these programs were higher than the benefits. They concluded that alternative managerial practices such as effective leadership, clear objectives, coaching, or training programs are better investments than pay-for-performance initiatives.

Perhaps a position that recognizes both the strengths and drawbacks of financial rewards is the most sensible. Researchers and practitioners should recognize that pay could be an effective and powerful motivator of performance. However, more research is needed in order to understand some shortcomings in the design, maintenance and implementation of pay-for-performance initiatives. Accordingly, it may be difficult for an organization to identify which activities to reward, determine how to measure performance, calculate the amount of reward to provide, and determine how to take into account factors that affect performance that may be out of an employee's control (Beer & Cannon, 2004). Additionally, variables that could moderate the effects of tangible rewards on need-fulfillment, performance, and motivation should be examined.

Performance-Contingent Rewards

One variable that could make rewards more or less satisfying and motivating to the recipient is the timing of the reward. Deci et al. (1999) distinguish between task-contingent rewards and performance-contingent rewards in discussing the effects of rewards on intrinsic motivation. Task-contingent rewards are given for engaging in a target activity (engagement-contingent rewards) or completing a target activity (completion-contingent rewards), regardless of performance. Performance-contingent rewards are awarded for meeting or surpassing a

criterion of excellent performance. According to CET, engagement-contingent rewards and completion-contingent rewards are expected to consistently decrease feelings of autonomy and detract from intrinsic motivation to perform the desirable task. The effects of performance-contingent rewards on intrinsic motivation are not as predictable. The imposition of a performance standard associated with performance-contingent rewards could easily be interpreted by the recipient as controlling. As a result, this type of reward may undermine the recipient's sense of autonomy and, consequently, intrinsic motivation. On the other hand, the receipt of a performance-contingent reward could also indicate to the recipient that he or she has performed exceptionally. This may bolster the recipient's perceptions of competence (accuracy), offset some of the negative effects of external control, and enhance intrinsic motivation (Deci et al, 1999). Therefore, the potential remains for performance-contingent rewards to actually enhance a recipient's intrinsic motivation.

The results from research examining the effects of rewards on intrinsic motivation are summarized in several meta-analyses (Cameron & Pierce, 1994; Deci et al, 1999; Tang & Hall, 1995; Wiersma, 1992). Perhaps the most comprehensive review on the topic was conducted by Deci et al. (1999). According to their analyses, engagement-contingent and completion-contingent rewards significantly undermined behavioral and self-report indicators of intrinsic motivation in rewarded tasks. While performance-contingent rewards also negatively impacted behavioral indicators of intrinsic motivation, the effects were weaker, and performance-contingent rewards did not affect self-report measures of intrinsic motivation. The effects of performance-contingent rewards on perceptions of autonomy and competence were not examined. Therefore, the assertion that performance-contingent rewards decrease intrinsic motivation because of a loss of perceived autonomy requires empirical investigation. It is

possible that performance-contingent rewards actually enhance perceptions of autonomy and competence or have no effect on need satisfaction.

Contrary to CET, Eisenberger et al. (1999) argue that tangible rewards should enhance perceived autonomy. They believe that rewards convey that a) the person, group, or organization giving the reward lacks control over the performance of potential reward recipients, and b) potential recipients can choose whether or not modify their behavior in order to pursue the reward. Therefore, regardless of any loss of autonomy produced by the imposition of tasks and performance objectives, overall perceptions of autonomy should increase with imposition of performance-contingent rewards.

In a study designed to test these predictions regarding performance-contingent rewards, participants were told that they would achieve a high level of performance in a picture task if they could find more differences (between two cartoons) than 80% of their classmates (normative standard) or could find more than 3 differences (absolute standard) (Eisenberger et al., 1999). While all participants were told that they had met the performance standard, those in reward conditions were also given a $3 payment. Participants were then left alone with more pairs of drawings and a general interest magazine. The results indicated that participants who were financially rewarded reported greater perceptions of autonomy, greater task enjoyment, and spent more free time performing the task than those who were not rewarded. Only rewarded participants in the absolute standard condition exhibited higher perceived competence than their non-rewarded counterparts. The authors point out that unlike meeting normative performance standards, meeting absolute performance standards fails to provide information regarding one's performance relative to others. Consequently, the addition of a reward is more informative and impactful in the absolute standard condition. The results imply that participants rely more

heavily on rewards to provide them with feedback when ambiguity exists regarding their performance.

In a second study, Eisenberger et al. (1999) sought to extend their findings to employees carrying out their usual job responsibilities. Surveys were administered to 348 employees in 9 organization sites. Performance-contingent rewards were operationalized using a survey item in which respondents were asked to indicate their expectation of being rewarded by their employer for high performance in usual job activities (performance-reward expectancies). After controlling for pay rate and tenure, results indicated a positive relationship between employees' performance-reward expectancies and perceptions of autonomy concerning how they carried out their usual job activities. Perceived autonomy partially mediated a positive relationship between performance-reward expectancies and perceived organizational support, positive mood, and performance at work. The results of both studies imply that, contrary to the detrimental effects of reward on autonomy predicted by CET, rewards appear to actually bolster perceptions of autonomy and competence.

While theory and research often discuss the effects of rewards on intrinsic motivation, little research directly assesses the effects of performance-contingent rewards on basic human needs. The preliminary evidence summarized above suggests that such rewards enhance perceptions of autonomy and competence. As performance-contingent rewards provide reward recipients with information about how to obtain rewards, performance-contingent rewards are likely to foster recipients' sense of control (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999; Eisenberger, Pierce, & Cameron, 1999). Performance-contingent rewards are also likely to enhance perceptions of self-worth and belongingness, as the receipt of a reward by an employer communicates to the

recipient that he or she is praiseworthy and of value to the organization. In line with CET, enhanced need-fulfillment should lead to an increase in motivation.

In sum, theory and research examining whether the receipt of a tangible reward enhances employees' intrinsic motivation has provided mixed support. Research suggests that rewards have the most beneficial impact under conditions in which they are made contingent on a performance standard. With performance-contingent rewards, being offered a reward to perform at a specified level implies that the financier lacks control over the recipient and that the recipient has performed exceptionally. Therefore, any decrements to autonomy caused by the imposition of performance standards should be offset by the implications that go along with being rewarded for one's performance. The recipient has the freedom to decide whether to perform the rewarded behavior, and his or her sense of control, competence, self-worth and belongingness should also increase. Enhancements in need fulfillment should lead to a boost in motivation.

The same logic for rewarding intrinsically interesting activities could be applied to predict the outcomes of rewarding a successful influence attempt. Having influence is an example of an intrinsically interesting activity as it purportedly fulfills several core psychological needs. Therefore, it can be expected that rewarding employees for simply attempting to influence a coworker may detract from their sense of control and decrease motivation. However, rewarding employees only if they are able to successfully influence a coworker will have an additive effect on the fulfillment of their needs for accuracy, belongingness, self-worth and control. Employees' motivation to continue to influence workplace activities and coworkers should also be comparatively higher than that of employees who are not rewarded for their influential contributions. These propositions were tested within the current research.

The following chapter provides a summary of the research questions under investigation in the present dissertation. A brief description of the studies that were conducted and their potential contributions to the existing literature are also provided.

Chapter 5: The Present Research: Purpose and Overview

Influence is an integral part of many workplaces. As viewpoints often vary, people might need to influence their coworkers to obey a particular rule, endorse a proposed plan, or change an aspect of their work performance. Theory and research suggest that having influence satisfies several psychological needs (Bourgeois et al., 2009; Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010) and enhances the relationship between the person making the influence attempt and the person being influenced (Bruno et al., 2008). Therefore, people might be motivated to influence others for both practical and psychological reasons. The present studies were designed to examine the psychological benefits of having influence and to explore how variables common in a workplace environment could enhance or detract from those benefits.

The results of past research directly examining the relationship between perceptions of influence and need fulfillment have provided evidence of a connection among these variables (Bourgeois et al., under review; Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010). Bruno et al. (2008) found that having influence did not lead to enhancements in need fulfillment, but it did enhance interpersonal attraction and helping behavior. The inability of Bruno et al. to detect a relationship between influence and need-fulfillment might be attributed to the subtlety of the type of social influence that was examined. Bourgeois et al. (2009) predicted that the more a source intends to influence a target and the more pressure he or she places on the target to change, the greater the effects of successful or failed influence on need-fulfillment. In the Bruno et al. study, participants were not instructed to attempt to change their partner’s (a confederate's) opinion on how to appropriately resolve a workplace problem. Participants were merely asked to provide their partner with a suggestion on how to resolve the problem. Participants in the influence condition were led to believe that their suggestion inadvertently persuaded their partner to

change her intended course of action to adopt a solution in line with their proposed suggestion. Influence, as defined in the Bruno et al. study, would fall close to the unintentional end of an intentionality continuum and consequently would be expected to be minimally related to need-fulfillment. Additionally, participants had little incentive for pressuring their partner into adopting their suggestion. Again, the expected effects of this form of influence on a source's well-being would be minimal when compared to types of influence that motivate sources to work hard to get targets to change their attitudes or behaviors. It is possible that a more overt or deliberate attempt to influence others may have a greater impact on sources' need-fulfillment than the effects reported by Bruno et al.

The lack of a connection between influence and need fulfillment in the Bruno et al. (2008) study raises questions as to why having influence still led to enhancements in interpersonal attraction and willingness to help. As discussed in Chapter 2, perceptions of similarity and a need to reciprocate could potentially explain the relationship among these variables. Consequently, perceptions of similarity and need to reciprocate were examined in the present study as potential mediators of the relationships between influence, interpersonal attraction, and willingness to help.

While perceptions of similarity and reciprocity might explain relationships among influence and several outcomes, other variables that are common to a workplace environment could enhance or detract from the purported outcomes of social influence. The possession or use of power is one such variable. In Chapter 3, I argued that leaders who rely on harsh forms of power (e.g. rewards or threats) to facilitate an influence attempt are likely to interpret targets' behavior change to be involuntary and a result of the manipulation rather than the self (Rind & Kipnis, 1999). The reliance on force and coercion is likely to detract from psychological need

fulfillment and lead sources to frown upon targets for being so easily controlled. In comparison, leaders who rely on soft forms of power (e.g. factual evidence and logic) are likely to interpret behavioral changes as voluntary or willful (Yukl & Tracey, 1992). Applying what psychologists know about power to an influence context, I predicted that leaders who influence others with the aid of soft rather than harsh forms of power would experience greater need fulfillment and report higher attraction to, and willingness to help, targets of influence. Both forms of influence, however, were expected to result in higher need fulfillment and attraction than failed influence.

The second set of predictions related to the role of target status in the influence-need fulfillment link. As subordinates are generally at a power disadvantage relative to their supervisors, subordinates who influence their leaders can readily attribute any changes in the leader's attitudes or behavior to the self. Further, such changes could be readily perceived by the subordinate as voluntary and non-coercive, as subordinates are not generally expected to influence their leaders. As such, successfully influencing a leader could be perceived by a subordinate as rare and valued feat. In comparison, subordinates are generally not at a power disadvantage relative to their peers, and influence in this context is more commonplace. Consequently, influencing a leader was expected to provide greater psychological benefits than influencing a peer.

Finally, the presence or absence of tangible rewards was also expected to moderate the effects of influence on need fulfillment, interpersonal attraction, and willingness to help. As discussed in Chapter 4, studies inspired by self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000) suggest that the impact of rewards is likely to depend on the type of reward. Rewards that are given for merely attempting to influence another person (engagement-contingent) could be perceived by the recipient as controlling, and detract from the psychological benefits associated

with performing enjoyable tasks (Deci et al., 1999). Motivation in these cases is expected to decline. In comparison, rewards that are given only for *successful* influence attempts (performance-contingent) could be interpreted to mean that the recipient has performed exceptionally. As such, this type of reward should enhance perceptions of self-worth and accuracy and offset some of the negative effects of control. In addition, performance-contingent rewards could actually enhance perceptions of control as the potential recipient has the choice of whether or not to modify his or her behavior in order to pursue the reward (Eisenberger et al., 1999). While several studies have examined the effects of rewards on need fulfillment and intrinsic motivation, whether rewards are ultimately harmful or beneficial is still the subject of much debate. More research is needed to assess the effects of different types of rewards on need fulfillment and motivation. The final study in my dissertation reflects an attempt to do just that.

In summary, the present studies were designed to address the shortcomings of prior research and contribute to the social influence literature in four important ways. First, the failure of prior research to detect changes in need fulfillment following a successful influence attempt was addressed by employing a more robust manipulation of social influence (e.g. influence that exerted greater pressure on the target to change and required stronger effort on the part of the source). Second, the present studies attempted to replicate the interpersonal attraction and helping results found by Bruno et al. (2008) using alternative procedures and behavioral assessments of helping. Replicating results using alternative procedures enhances the generalizability of research results. Third, perceptions of similarity to the target of influence and the desire to reciprocate were examined as alternative mediators of the relationships between influence, interpersonal attraction and helping. Lastly, two variables that are common within workplace environments (power and rewards) were examined as potential moderators of

relationships between influence, need fulfillment, interpersonal attraction, and helping. A summary of all of the variables under investigation can be found in Table 1.

A brief review of my methodology is as follows: In Study 1, participants attempted to persuade a subordinate to adhere to unwanted design parameters in a fund-raising task using either harsh or soft forms of power. In Study 2, participants attempted to persuade either a leader or a peer to change his or her stance on the issue of mandatory comprehensive exams. Participants were given false feedback indicating whether their influence attempts were successful. In Study 3, some participants received a reward for making an influence attempt. Specifically, participants were either rewarded regardless of the outcome (engagement-contingent reward), were rewarded only if they successfully influenced a peer (performance-contingent reward), or were asked to influence a peer without any mention of rewards. Participants were given false feedback indicating whether their influence attempts were successful and rewarded accordingly. In all three experiments, participants' need-fulfillment, liking for and willingness to help the target of the influence attempt were assessed. These studies were expected to provide researchers and practitioners with a better understanding of the psychological and interpersonal benefits of workplace influence.

Chapter 6: Study 1- Influence with Harsh versus Soft Power

The first study examined how leaders' use of various forms of power affects the psychological and interpersonal benefits of having influence. Participants were assigned the role of a leader in a team-based fund-raising task. Participants were asked to influence their subordinate (a pseudo partner) using either soft (logic and reasoning) or harsh (rewards and punishment) forms of power. The task involved selecting a charity organization and motivating a subordinate to create donation cup labels for that organization using design parameters that were contrary to the subordinate's preference. Participants were given false feedback indicating whether or not they successfully persuaded their subordinate to adhere to the unwanted parameters.

Following the manipulation, perceptions of similarity with one's subordinate, need to reciprocate the other's help, and perceived voluntariness of the subordinate's behavior change (for successful influence conditions only) were assessed along with self-reported measures of need fulfillment, interpersonal attraction (liking for the subordinate), and task satisfaction (the extent to which participants enjoyed the fund-raising task). In order to assess helping behavior, participants were asked if they would be willing to make a financial donation to a charity walk on behalf of their partner, and if so, how much money they would be willing to pledge. The following specific predictions were offered:

H1-H3: Participants in the successful compared to unsuccessful influence conditions will report a higher sense of need-fulfillment (H1) and interpersonal attraction (H2), and exhibit greater helping behavior (H3).

H4-H6: An interaction between power type and influence is expected such that the positive effects of successful (versus unsuccessful) influence on need fulfillment (H4),

interpersonal attraction (H5) and helping behavior (H6) will be greater for participants who attempt to influence with the aid of soft rather than harsh forms of power.

Exploratory analyses were also conducted to examine whether perceptions of influence impacted similarity, reciprocity and voluntariness. Lastly, as prior research has shown that having influence is associated with domain specific well-being (Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010) task satisfaction was also explored as a dependent variable.

Participants

Undergraduate students from a large multi-cultural Northeastern college served as participants in this study. Participants were randomly assigned within a 2 (successful vs. unsuccessful influence) X 2 (soft vs. harsh power) between-subjects design. A power analysis indicated that 18 participants were necessary in each of the four experimental conditions in order to achieve an 80 percent chance of correctly rejecting a false null hypothesis with an effect size of .4 (Bourgeois & Sommer, 2010; Bruno et al., 2008; Cohen, 1992). A total of 82 students participated in this study. In exchange for participation, participants received credit toward a mandatory research requirement.

Measures

The following questionnaires were administered to participants. Unless otherwise noted, all items were rated on 5-point Likert type scales with options ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Given a sufficiently high reliability of .7 or higher, items within each scale were averaged, with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of the construct. A list of all self-report items administered in this study is included in APPENDIX A.

Self-worth. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) was administered in order to assess self-worth. The questionnaire is composed of 10 Likert type items. Five items are

worded in the positive direction and five items are worded in the negative direction. Recent studies using this scale as a dependent measure reported alphas between .77 and .89 (Bourgeois & Sommer, 2010, Bruno et al., 2008, Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010). Rosenberg (1965) reported an internal consistency reliability ranging from .85 to .88 for college samples. In the present study, the internal consistency of the responses to this measure was .77.

Control. The Mastery Scale (Pearlin, Menaghan, Lieberman, & Mullan, 1981) was used to assess how useful, effective, and efficient one perceives the self to be as well as how much control one feels the self has over forces that affect one's life. This measure consists of seven items. Two items are reverse scored. Prior research using this scale reported alphas ranging from .76 to .87 (Bourgeois et al., under review, Bruno et al., 2008, Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010). In the present study, the internal consistency of the responses to this measure was .80.

Meaningful existence. The Presence subscale of the Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006) was used to assess perceptions of meaning in life. This measure consists of five items. One item is reverse scored. Prior research using this scale reported an alpha of .81 (Steger et al., 2006). In the present study, the internal consistency of the responses to this measure was .83.

Accuracy. Existing measures (outside of our research program) do not exist to assess perceived accuracy. Consequently, perceived accuracy was assessed using a six item scale developed by Bourgeois et al. (2010). One item is reverse scored. Prior research using this scale reported alphas between .7 and .75 (Bourgeois et al., under review, Bruno et al., 2008, Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010). In the present study, the internal consistency of the responses to this measure was .69.

Belongingness. Existing measures (outside of our research program) do not exist to assess perceived belongingness. In order to assess the extent to which participants feel accepted and valued by others, new items were created and others were adapted from the Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, and Schreindorfer (2007) Need to Belong scale. The new Belongingness scale (Bourgeois et al., 2010) contains six items. Two items are reverse scored. Prior research using this scale reported alphas between .77 and .82 (Bourgeois et al., under review, Bruno et al., 2008, Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010). In the present study, the internal consistency of the responses to this measure was .73.

Interpersonal Attraction. Liking for targets of influence was assessed using four items (Wayne & Ferris, 1990). Previous research using this scale reported an alpha of .94 (Wayne & Ferris, 1990). In the present study, the internal consistency of the responses to this measure was .86.

Task Satisfaction. Overall task satisfaction was assessed with four items (Roberson, Moye, & Locke, 1999). Prior research using this scale reported an alpha of .80 (Roberson et al., 1999). In the present study, the internal consistency of the responses to this measure was .88.

Voluntariness. Participants were asked to respond to two items (written for this study) that assess whether participants believe their partner's behavior change was voluntary. One item is reverse coded. In the present study, the internal consistency of the responses to this measure was .51.

Similarity. Perceived similarity was assessed using three items drawn from Turban and Jones (1988). The authors reported an alpha of .81.In the present study, the internal consistency of the responses to this measure was .85.

Reciprocity. Participants were asked to compare the support and help they had given to their subordinate with what they had received from their subordinate. They were asked to indicate whether they received more support (1), the same support (2), or less support (3) (Vaananen, Buunk, Kivimaki, Penti, & Vahtera, 2005). Items were averaged such that higher scores indicated less perceived reciprocation. Prior research has shown that global measures of reciprocity such as the one that was used here are valid in terms of their construct validity (Van Horn, Schaufeli, & Taris, 2001).

Manipulation check. Participants were asked to respond to two items written for this study to assess the effectiveness of the power and influence manipulations.

Procedure

Four participants entered the lab and received informed consent forms to read and complete. Participants were then randomly paired with another participant and were given five minutes to get acquainted. The experimenter then informed participants that they would be completing an experiment on leader/subordinate teamwork and fund-raising. They would be given a brief questionnaire on prior fund-raising experience in order to determine which member of the pair would be the team leader (APPENDIX B).

The experimenter gave participants a "Fund-raising Preferences" sheet (APPENDIX C). On this sheet, participants were asked to select from a list of Baruch College Undergraduate Student Organizations that they would like to support (APPENDIX D). They were also asked to provide a description of their ideas on how to decorate a label for a collection cup that could be used by the organization to solicit donations and which materials (e.g. crayons versus markers) should be used to decorate the label. While participants completed the fund-raising preferences sheet, the experimenter claimed that she would be looking over the prior fund-raising experience

sheets in order to determine which member of the team will be the leader of the main task. After several minutes, the experimenter returned to each participant's individual room to collect the fund-raising preferences sheet. She returned again and gave each of them false feedback indicating that they were selected to be the team leader.

Participants were told that leaders are often responsible for influencing their subordinates to perform a task a certain way and with rigid specifications. In this task, it was their job as leaders to instruct their subordinates to construct and design labels for donation cups that meet their design preferences and for the organization they chose. They were given a fund-raising preferences sheet that purportedly came from their subordinate. The sheets were actually completed by the experimenter and were intentionally inconsistent with the participants' own fund-raising preferences (e.g. different organization selected, different design for the label, and different materials selected). Participants were instructed that they must motivate their subordinate to make the most and highest quality donation cup labels possible and that a minimum of five labels must be created. As the leader, they must also motivate the subordinate to adhere to their own fund-raising preferences. Participants were given a sheet containing specific instructions that varied based on condition (APPENDIX E & F).

Participants in the *harsh power* conditions were given ten raffle tickets that could be traded in for candy and small prizes that were contained in a large jar visible in the lab. Participants were led to believe that their subordinates would receive exactly three of these raffle tickets at the end of the experiment unless subordinates lost them or earned additional tickets (up to seven) based on the team leader's (participant's) evaluation. Any unearned raffle tickets would be given back to the experimenter. Participants were told that as leaders, they would receive candy and prizes from the jar regardless of their subordinates' performance. Their task in the

experiment was to design a motivation strategy to influence their subordinates to make a minimum of 5 labels that adhered to their specified fund-raising preferences. The evaluation plans was to include a way to evaluate the subordinate's performance using points that could be traded in for raffle tickets. Leaders were told that their motivation plan would be given to their subordinate along with their fund-raising preference sheet that they completed earlier.

In the *soft power* conditions, participants were told that they must motivate their subordinates by writing a motivational passage that would inspire their subordinates to make a minimum of 5 labels that adhered to their specified fund-raising preferences. They were to provide a rationale for their preferences and urge subordinates to adhere to them. The leader's instructions would be collected ostensibly to give to their subordinate. Leaders were given a filler task (word puzzles) to work on for ten minutes while their subordinates were ostensibly making the labels.

After the 10 minutes has passed, participants in all conditions were given an evaluation from the experimenter indicating that their subordinate earned a score of 4 out of 5 on creativity, precision, and accuracy based on a comparison of their work to work performed by previous participants (APPENDIX G). In the *influence* conditions, participants were told that their subordinates complied with their fund-raising preferences and made more than the minimum required number of labels. They were given a sample label purportedly made by their subordinate that adhered to their specifications. In the *unsuccessful-influence* conditions, participants were told that their subordinate did not comply with their fund-raising specifications and made the minimum required number of labels. They were given a sample label purportedly made by their subordinate that did not adhere to their specifications. All participants were then told that they would receive a performance appraisal from their subordinate (APPENDIX H). In

the harsh power influence condition, the appraisal stated that their subordinate complied with their instructions “because a good evaluation from my supervisor could help me retain the highest reward points and avoid penalties.” In the harsh power no-influence condition, the appraisal stated that their subordinates did not comply with the participant's fund-raising preferences because “earning a few more points from my supervisor or avoiding a penalty isn’t enough of a reason to do something other than the way I think is best.” In the soft power influence condition, the appraisal stated that their subordinate complied because “my supervisor carefully explained the decisions he/she made and his/her prior fund-raising experience means that he/she knew the best way to do the job.” In the soft power no-influence condition, the appraisal stated that their subordinates did not comply with the design preferences because, “my supervisor didn’t provide me with good reasons for why we should design the labels the way he/she wanted and that his/her chosen organization deserves the help more. He/she might have more fund-raising experience than me but that doesn’t prove that he/she knows the best way to do the job.”

After receiving the feedback, participants were asked to complete the need fulfillment, interpersonal attraction, task satisfaction, voluntariness, similarity, reciprocity, and manipulation check measures (APPENDIX A). After the questionnaires were collected, the experimenter handed the participants a hand written note, which she claimed was written by their partner, asking if they would be willing to make a pledge for a donation to a Heart Disease Walk. Whether participants pledged to sponsor their partner and the amount of the pledge was noted as behavioral assessments of willingness to help (no money was actually collected). Participants then met in the main room for a thorough debriefing.

Results

Correlations among all outcome variables appear in Table 2, and all descriptive and inferential statistics associated with the manipulations are reported in Table 3.

Manipulation checks. A chi-square statistic confirmed that participants in the harsh power conditions (80%) were more likely than those in the soft power conditions (20%) to indicate that they used coercion (rather than logic) get their partner to comply with their fund-raising preferences $\chi^2(1, N = 81) = 10.79$, $p < .01$. Another chi-square analysis revealed that participants were more likely to indicate that their partner adopted their fund-raising preferences if they were in the successful influence (98%) compared to unsuccessful influence (2%) conditions $\chi^2(1, n = 82) = 74.19$, $p < .01$. Thus, the manipulations appeared to be successful.

Need fulfillment. To correct the possibility of making a Type I error due to correlated dependent measures (*r*s = .11 to .59), a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to compare the direct and interactive effects of the independent variables on measures of accuracy, belongingness, self-worth, efficacy and meaningful existence. A MANOVA can take into account the relationships among the need fulfillment dependent variables and detect whether groups differ along a combination of dimensions. Contrary to expectations, results of the MANOVA revealed no significant differences between the successful and unsuccessful influence conditions in need fulfillment, nor did influence condition interact with power condition to explain variance in need fulfillment. Thus, no support was found for Hypotheses 1 and 4. Because prior research suggests that some needs might be affected more or less by certain types of influence (Bourgeois et al., under review; Sommer et al., 2012), separate Univariate ANOVAs were conducted on each need. These results revealed no significant main effects or interactions (all Fs ≤ 2.44, all ps $\geq .12$).

Interpersonal attraction. Next, an ANOVA was conducted to examine the effects of perceived influence on interpersonal attraction. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, participants in the successful influence conditions reported greater attraction to the target of influence (M = 4.32; SD = .65) than did participants in the unsuccessful influence conditions (M = 3.68; SD = .59). The main effect for power type on interpersonal attraction and the interaction between influence and power on interpersonal attraction were not significant (see Table 3). Therefore, no support was found for Hypothesis 5.

A series of exploratory analyses were conducted using the Baron and Kenny (1986) procedures to examine whether perceptions of task satisfaction mediated the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction. As mentioned above, support was found for the existence of a relationship between influence and interpersonal attraction, $\beta = .65$. Analyses confirmed significant relationships between influence and task satisfaction (see Table 3), and task satisfaction and attraction $t(1, 80) = 5.12$, $p < .01$, $\beta = .39$. Because paths from the independent variable to the mediator and from the mediator to the outcome measures had been established, mediation could then be tested. In the first block of a hierarchical regression, the condition variable (influence vs. no influence) was entered as the sole predictor of interpersonal attraction. In the second block, task satisfaction was added as a predictor. The results indicated that task satisfaction was a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction $t(2, 80) = 4.48$, $p < .01$, $\beta = .32$ when controlling for the effects of influence. If task satisfaction were fully mediating the relationship between perceptions of influence and interpersonal attraction, then influence in this second equation (with task satisfaction added as a predictor) should no longer be significant. Contrary to expectations, influence remained a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction

$t(2, 80) = 4.12$, $p < .01$, $\beta = .52$. A follow-up Sobel test indicated that task satisfaction partially mediated the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction, $z = 1.96$, $p < .05$.

Similarity was also examined as a potential mediator of the relationship between perceptions of influence and interpersonal attraction. As shown in Table 3, the influence manipulation had an impact on similarity ($p < .05$). Regression analyses confirmed a significant relationship between similarity and interpersonal attraction $t(1, 81) = 3.88$, $p < .01$, $\beta = .35$. The results of the mediation analysis indicated that similarity was a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction $t(2, 80) = 2.06$, $p < .05$, $\beta = .20$ when controlling for the effects of influence. However, influence remained a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction $t(2, 80) = 3.33$, $p < .01$, $\beta = .50$. A follow-up Sobel test indicated that similarity did not partially mediate the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction, $z = 1.90$, $p = .06$.

Reciprocity was also examined as a potential mediator of the relationship between perceptions of influence and interpersonal attraction. As shown in Table 3, the influence manipulation had an impact on reciprocity ($p < .05$). Regression analyses confirmed a significant relationship between reciprocity and interpersonal attraction $t(1, 81) = -1.99$, $p < .05$, $\beta = -.22$. However, reciprocity was not significantly related to interpersonal attraction when controlling for influence $t(1, 81) = -.80$, $p = .42$, $\beta = -.08$.

Willingness to help. As shown in Table 3, a three-way log-linear analysis revealed a significant main effect for influence on helping behavior, such that participants in the successful influence condition were more willing to help the target than those in the unsuccessful influence condition. This provided support for Hypothesis 3. The analysis also revealed a significant interaction between influence and type of power on helping. To break down this effect, chi-square tests on the effect of influence on willingness to help were performed separately for harsh

and soft power types. For soft power, there was a significant association between perceptions of influence and participants willingness to help $\chi^2(1) = 12.09$, $p < .01$. In the harsh power conditions, the relationship between perceptions of influence and participants willingness to help was not significant $\chi^2(1) = 1.45$, $p < .23$ (see Figure 1). This provides support for Hypothesis 6.

Finally, the Baron and Kenny (1986) procedures described earlier were used to explore whether perceptions of similarity, reciprocity, interpersonal attraction, task satisfaction or voluntariness mediated the effects of influence and power on willingness to help. As shown in Table 2, none of these possible mediators were significantly correlated with helping behavior. Thus no support for mediation among these variables was found.

Discussion

Research findings from multiple areas of psychology suggest that having influence is associated with need-fulfillment and liking for targets of influence, whereas lacking influence is related to distress and disliking of targets (Adamson & Frick, 2003; Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Hollander, 1992). Bourgeois et al. (2009) proposed that social influence may satisfy needs for accuracy, belongingness, self-worth, efficacy, and meaningful existence as well as predict liking and helping behavior. The purpose of present study was to provide empirical support for these predictions, and to examine how the use of power to facilitate an influence attempt adds to or detracts from the proposed psychological and interpersonal benefits of having influence.

An experiment was designed in which participants attempted to influence their subordinate (a pseudo partner) to create donation cup labels for a college campus-based club using design parameters that are contrary to the subordinate's preference. Participants used either soft (logic and reasoning) or harsh (rewards and punishment) forms of power and were given false feedback indicating whether or not they successfully persuaded their subordinate to adhere

to the unwanted parameters. Finally, participants were asked if they would be willing to make a financial donation to a charity walk on behalf of their partner, and if so, how much money they would be willing to pledge.

Need fulfillment. Contrary to predictions, influence had no impact on participants' sense of accuracy, belongingness, self-worth, efficacy and meaningful existence. One explanation for the inability to detect a relationship between perceptions of influence and need fulfillment in the present study could be that participants did not find the task to be important. Participants were led to believe that they were either successful or unsuccessful in getting a partner to create donation cup labels using their color, material, and style preferences. In reality, whether or not the partner designs the label one way or another may not be sufficiently meaningful so as to have a significant impact on the satisfaction of basic human needs. In contrast, influence that occurs in the context of the workplace or within a person's social network often has more relevance to the self. The absence of influence in the context of the present study might not have impacted participants the way a lack of influence would in everyday life.

Another way to enhance the strength of the manipulation would be to position it within the context of an ongoing relationship. In the present study, the manipulation was short lived and happened between two people who met moments earlier and would likely not interact in the future. While prior research has established effects of successful and unsuccessful influence on need fulfillment with strangers (Bourgeois et al., under review), long-term relationships are more meaningful and have greater implications for need fulfillment than interactions with strangers. Future research may wish to investigate whether successfully influencing a decision being made by a long-time relationship partner or colleague would have an effect on need fulfillment.

There were also deficiencies in the operationalization of power-types, which may have contributed to an inability to detect an interaction of influence and power on need fulfillment and other outcomes assessed in the study. The manipulation, while effective, was perhaps not as clear to participants as anticipated. The responses to the power-type manipulation check item indicated that the majority of participants in both the harsh power conditions (59%) and soft power conditions (91%) indicated that that they used logic rather than coercion to get their partner to go along with their fund-raising preferences. This might have occurred because in the harsh power conditions, participants were asked to a design compensation system using raffle tickets that could be traded in for candy. Participants claimed during the debriefing that, in devising a compensation system, they had to use logic in order to decide how participants could earn or loose raffle tickets. Therefore, if they were successful in their attempt to influence their partner, they could attribute that success both to their ability to administer rewards/punishments and to themselves for being able to come up with an effective compensation system. Therefore, an ability to use logic to persuade a partner seems to have been apparent in both soft and harsh power conditions. This is one reason why the impact of a successful or unsuccessful influence attempt on need-fulfillment might not have varied based on power condition. Future research examining the impact of power on influence attempts should try use a more discrete operationalization of the different types of power.

Interpersonal attraction. The results of the study indicated that participants who successfully influenced the subordinate reported greater attraction to the subordinate than participants who were unsuccessful in their influence attempt. These findings lend credence to the notion that having influence leads to greater liking and may consequently foster interpersonal bonds. Corroborating evidence can also be found in the research on LMX, participative

leadership, mimicry, and reciprocation reviewed earlier (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Cotterell, Eisenberger, & Speicher, 1992; Gerstner & Day, 1997; Hollander, 1992; Yukl, 2006). Empirical evidence of this relationship was also reported in Bruno et al. (2008). The present study contributes to this finding by providing additional empirical evidence for the existence of this relationship using alternate procedures and by exploring the nature of this relationship through several follow-up mediation analyses.

The present study provided evidence that the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction can be partially explained by participants' satisfaction with the experimental task. This finding was in line with predictions and with prior research. The Sommer and Bourgeois (2010) study reviewed earlier also found a relationship between perceptions of influence in a particular context and overall satisfaction in the same domain. The results of the present study suggest that people enjoyed engaging in activities more when they believe that they were able to have an impact on others during the task than when they were led to believe that they did not have an impact on the person they were working with. Apparently, participants attribute some of that satisfaction with the task to their partners, and consequently, give them high appraisals. While other studies have found the same relationship between influence outcome and interpersonal attraction (Bruno et al., 2008), this was the first study to provide an explanation of one potential underlying mechanisms driving the effect. Perceived similarity and reciprocity were also examined as potential mediators of the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction. While influence predicted these two variables and both in turn predicted interpersonal attraction, no support for mediation was found.

Willingness to help. The results of the study indicated that participants who successfully influenced the subordinate were more willing to make a financial donation on behalf of the

subordinate than participants who were unsuccessful in their influence attempt. This finding is also consistent with those reported in Bruno et al. (2008) and suggests that having influence promotes cooperation within interpersonal relationships.

The effects of influence on helping were qualified by the type of power that was used. Specifically, participants were more likely to help their subordinate if they were successful (vs. unsuccessful) in influencing them using soft power, whereas this effect did not hold among participants using harsh power. This finding was in line with predictions. The experience of influencing another person might not be interpreted as a big accomplishment when the influence attempt is facilitated by the use rewards and punishments. Sources of influence could easily attribute the successful influence attempt in these circumstances to the position in which they were arbitrarily placed during the study. Additionally, influencing another person using tactics that might be construed as controlling and manipulative, despite using them in conjunction with logic and reasoning, could lead people to think less of themselves (Kipnis, 1976; Kipnis, Castell, Gergen, & Mauch, 1976; O'Neal, Kipnis, & Craig, 1994; Rind & Kipnis, 1999). In comparison, successfully influencing a person using only logic and reasoning could more easily lead to evaluations of the self as non-controlling and non-manipulative and a greater motivation to strengthen self-evaluations by helping others.

None of the exploratory mediation analyses examining the relationship between perceptions of influence and willingness to help were supported. This means that perceived similarity to the target of influence, beliefs that the target's behavior change was voluntary (in successful influence conditions), and/or a need to reciprocate the other's "good will" do not explain why influence impacts one's willingness to help nor do they explain the interaction between influence and power on willingness to help. Prior research has shown that interpersonal

attraction (Bruno et al., 2008), job attitudes (Bateman & Organ, 1983), and impression management (Bolino, 1999) impact organizational citizenship behavior. However, in the present study, interpersonal attraction and task satisfaction did not mediate the relationship between influence and willingness to help. Bolino et al. (2006) claim that employees might engage in organizational citizenship behavior or volunteerism as an impression management tactic. In other words, people might be motivated to donate time or money because they want to create a good impression on their coworkers. It is possible that if people successfully influence a coworker using non-manipulative techniques, their desire to form a good impression is heightened because they want to maintain that coworker's confidence. In contrast, if participants used harsh power techniques, they might feel that the coworker perceives them as manipulative and that there is no basis for a positive impression from which to build upon. Therefore, impression management might explain the relationship between influence and willingness to help reported here for participants in the soft power condition. While it is not yet certain why having influence enhances helping behavior, the findings revealed in Study 1 provide an important first step in demonstrating the implications that having influence over others has in the workplace.

Limitations. There are several notable limitations that may be important to keep in mind when interpreting the results. Participants in all conditions were given evaluation feedback indicating that their subordinate scored 4 out of 5 on creativity, precision, and accuracy. However, participants in the successful influence conditions were also given feedback indicating that their subordinates complied with their fundraising preferences and created more than the minimum required number of labels whereas participants in the unsuccessful influence conditions were given feedback that their subordinates did not comply with their fundraising preferences and met rather than exceeded the minimum performance requirements. The

manipulation was intended to lead participants to believe that they were either successful or unsuccessful in influencing their subordinates to design the labels a certain way and work hard at the task. However, there is a potential confound as participants might also view the successful influence feedback as indicative of performing exceptionally well in the experiment. Therefore, it is unclear whether the results reported here are attributable to successful or unsuccessful influence versus exceptional or mediocre performance in the study. Future research should include survey items which directly probe participants' satisfaction with the amount of influence they had on someone and their satisfaction with their own performance in the experiment in addition to the general task satisfaction items included in this study. Doing so would provide a better understanding of why participants who had influence reported liking the experiment more than those who were unsuccessful in their influence attempt.

A second potential confound pertains to differences in self-attributions related to the use of harsh versus soft power tactics. It was argued earlier that leaders using harsh power tactics would interpret targets' behavior change to be involuntary and a result of the reward or punishment rather than the self (Rind & Kipnis, 1999). The reliance on force and coercion was expected to detract from psychological need fulfillment and lead sources of influence to look down on targets for being so easily controlled; it was also expected to lead sources to view themselves as dominant and unfriendly. On the other hand, soft power tactics rely on people taking an active role in persuading others, which is why using such tactics was expected to lead to greater need fulfillment. Following this logic, participants who are unsuccessful in influencing subordinates using harsh power tactics might view the reward rather than the self as deficient whereas participants who are unsuccessful using soft power tactics might be more likely to take the feedback personally, for example, as a reflection of their poor persuasion or communication

skills. It would be interesting to examine how self-attributions impact how people respond to successful and unsuccessful influence attempts using harsh and soft power tactics. It is possible that the unsuccessful use of soft power tactics lead to more negative self-attributions than the unsuccessful use of harsh power tactics and this leads to greater decreases in need fulfillment.

Future research might also examine individual differences in people's preferences for soft and harsh influence tactics. It is also conceivable that some people prefer using methods that are efficient and easy (e.g., harsh power tactics) and that they may gain enjoyment out of being able to effortlessly influence others. Rind and Kipnis (1999) claimed that using logic and reasoning to persuade is often inefficient because it increases uncertainty of desired outcomes, takes a lot of time, and gives too much control to the person being influenced. Similarly, Cialdini and Goldstein (2004) claim that people are motivated to achieve their goals in the most effective and rewarding manner possible. People who pride themselves on being efficient might prefer harsh tactics that do not require much effort, might find the use of such tactics as quite satisfying, and might report more positive self-appraisals when using harsh rather than soft tactics. (This idea is revisited in the Future Research section of Chapter 9). It is also possible that whether people prefer using soft versus harsh tactics depends on a particular situation. For example, harsh tactics may be preferred when there are important time constraints. Future research might benefit from the inclusion of assessments of people's preferred means of influencing others and analyses of whether need fulfillment is affected by the degree of fit between the preferred and used mode of influence. It is likely that people experience the greatest need satisfaction when they are successful in using the influence tactics that they prefer using.

Chapter 7: Study 2 – Influencing a Leader versus a Peer

Study 1 provided insight into how a leader's use of power affects the psychological and interpersonal benefits of having influence. Study 2 sought to build upon this research by examining how the target's possession of power affects the same outcomes. In this study, participants were given false feedback regarding whether they were able to successfully persuade either a peer (low power) or a university leader (high power) to halt efforts aimed at implementing mandatory comprehensive exams. Following the manipulation, perceptions of similarity with the target, need to reciprocate and perceived voluntariness of the target's behavior change (for successful influence conditions only) were assessed along with need fulfillment, interpersonal attraction, and task satisfaction. Willingness to help was assessed using an alternative behavioral assessment to the one used in Study 1. The following specific predictions were offered:

H1-H3: Participants in the successful compared to unsuccessful influence conditions will report a higher sense of need-fulfillment (H1) and interpersonal attraction (H2), and exhibit greater helping behavior (H3).

H4-H6: An interaction between target power and influence is expected such that the effects of successful (versus unsuccessful) influence on need fulfillment (H4), interpersonal attraction (H5) and helping behavior (H6) will be greater for participants who attempt to influence a leader versus a peer.

As in Study 1, meditational analyses were conducted to isolate the processes underlying any differences in attraction and helping behavior.

Participants

Undergraduate students from a large multi-cultural Northeastern college served as participants in this study. Participants were randomly assigned within a 2 (successful vs. unsuccessful influence) X 2 (peer vs. leader power) between-subjects design. A power analysis indicated that 18 participants were necessary in each of the four experimental conditions in order to achieve an 80 percent chance of correctly rejecting a false null hypothesis with an effect size of .4 (Bourgeois & Sommer, 2010; Bruno et al., 2008; Cohen, 1992). A total of 90 students participated. In exchange for participation, participants received credit toward a mandatory research requirement.

Measures

The same measures that were used in Study 1 were used again in Study 2. However, the manipulation checks for influence and target power were worded to coincide with the current study (APPENDIX A).Most measures yielded a sufficiently high reliability of .70 or higher. The exceptions were the accuracy scale (α =. 57), and the voluntariness scale (α =.55). Items within each scale were averaged, with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of the construct.

Procedure

Upon entry to the lab, four participants were given informed consent forms to complete. They were told that they would be participating in survey research designed to gather students' opinions about an issue facing the college. Participants were separated into a private room with a computer. They were given an information sheet regarding a proposal to implement mandatory comprehensive exams as a new graduation requirement (APPENDIX I). Participants were asked to think about the issue and indicate whether they were for or against comprehensive exams (APPENDIX J). The results indicated that 83% of participants disagreed with imposing a requirement on students to pass a comprehensive exam prior to being eligible for graduation. In

the present study, students opposed to comprehensive exams were given an instruction sheet informing them that they would be communicating over e-mail with someone who supported the imposition of comprehensive exams (see APPENDIX K for instructions given in each condition). The students who supported the proposed comprehensive exam requirements were given an instruction sheet stating that they would be communicating over e-mail with someone who was opposed to the imposition of comprehensive exams.

In the two *peer* conditions, the instruction sheet indicated that the person participants would be chatting with via the Internet was a member of a group of college undergraduate students looking to publish an article in the college Newspaper supporting/opposing comprehensive exams. This student was ostensibly looking to solicit feedback from fellow undergraduate students before publishing the article and fighting for/against comprehensive exams. The peer's username was DJBrown.baruchcuny@gmail.com. In the *leader* conditions, the instruction sheet stated that the person the participant would be chatting with via the Internet was a respected faculty member on a committee with other faculty who were trying to institute/fighting to stop the new comprehensive exam requirement. They wanted to allow students the opportunity to express their position before they move forward with their movement. The leader's username was Dr.J.Brown.baruchcuny@gmail.com.

Participants composed and sent an email describing their position on the issue. They received a response via e-mail (from a research assistant sitting in another room, out of view of the participants).In the *influence* conditions, the response read, "Thank you for your thoughtful input into this issue. Your point about (a specific argument the participant made) is a valid argument and something we have not yet taken into consideration. Our committee/group should give this issue more thought and discussion before proceeding. Do you mind if I bring your name

and ideas up to the committee/group at our next meeting?" In the *no-influence* conditions, the response read, "Thank you for your thoughtful input into this issue. The arguments you made about (a specific argument the participant made), although valid, have already been taken under consideration. The benefits/costs (depending on the student's own position) of instituting comprehensive exams still outweigh the costs/benefits and we will proceed with our plans." In all conditions, in the response e-mail, the committee/group member asked participants if they would be willing to volunteer time at an upcoming fundraiser they were organizing to help low-income students pay for textbooks, and to also indicate how many hours they would be willing to donate. Whether or not participants were willing to help was noted, along with the number of hours they pledged. Participants then completed the similarity, reciprocity, need fulfillment, interpersonal attraction, and task satisfaction measures. Participants in the successful influence conditions also completed a measure assessing whether they perceived the target's behavior change to be voluntary. Participants were then asked to meet back in the main room for a thorough debriefing.

Results

Correlations among all outcome variables appear in Table 4, and all descriptive and inferential statistics associated with the manipulations are reported in Table 5.

Manipulation checks. A chi-square statistic confirmed that more participants in the successful influence (80%) compared to unsuccessful influence (30%) conditions indicated that they were able to persuade the e-mail correspondent to take their position on comprehensive exams into further consideration before proceeding with implementation plans $\chi^2(1, N=89) = 22.75$, $p < .01$. A marginally significant larger number of participants in the leader (70%) compared to peer (51%) conditions indicated that they would consider the e-mail correspondent

to be an authority figure rather than a peer $\chi^2(1, N=89) = 3.49$, $p < .06$.Thus, the manipulations appeared to be only partially successful.

Need fulfillment. Contrary to expectations, results of a MANOVA revealed no significant differences between the successful and unsuccessful influence conditions in need fulfillment, nor did influence condition interact with power condition to explain variance in overall need fulfillment. Therefore, no support was found for Hypotheses 1 and 4. Follow-up Univariate analyses revealed significant relations between perceptions of influence and a sense of belongingness $F(1, 87) = 5.18$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .06$, control $F(1, 87) = 5.07$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .06$ and self-esteem $F(1, 87) = 3.89$, $p = .05$, $\eta^2 = .04$. However, these relationships were in the opposite direction than predicted, such that participants in the unsuccessful influence conditions reported higher belongingness, control, and self-esteem than those in the successful influence conditions.

Interpersonal attraction. Next, an ANOVA was calculated to examine the effects of perceived influence on interpersonal attraction. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, participants in the successful influence conditions reported greater attraction to the target of influence ($M = 3.89$; SD = .63) than did participants in the unsuccessful influence conditions ($M = 3.21$; $SD = .75$). The main effect for target power on interpersonal attraction and the interaction between influence and target power on interpersonal attraction were not significant. Therefore no support was found for Hypothesis 5.

A series of exploratory analyses were conducted using the Baron and Kenny (1986) procedures to examine whether perceptions of task satisfaction mediated the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction. As mentioned above, support was found for the existence of a relationship between influence and interpersonal attraction, $\beta = .68$. Regression analyses confirmed significant relationships between influence and task satisfaction (see Table 5), and

task satisfaction and attraction $t(1, 88) = 2.83$, $p < .01$, $\beta = .60$. The results of the mediation analysis indicated that task satisfaction was a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction $t(2, 87) = 1.98$, $p < .05$, $\beta = .21$ when controlling for the effects of influence. Contrary to expectations, influence remained a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction $t(2, 87) = 4.09$, $p < .01$, $\beta = .60$. A follow-up Sobel test indicated that task satisfaction did not mediate the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction, $z = 1.52$, $p = .13$.

Similarity was also examined as a potential mediatior of the relationship between perceptions of influence and interpersonal attraction. As shown in Table 5, the influence manipulation had an impact on similarity (all *ps* < .05). Regression analyses confirmed a significant relationship between similarity and interpersonal attraction $t(1, 88) = 5.58$, $p < .01$, $\beta = .53$. The results of the mediation analysis indicated that similarity was a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction $t(2, 87) = 3.77$, $p < .01$, $\beta = .40$ when controlling for the effects of influence. However, influence remained a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction $t(2, 87) = 2.46$, $p < .05$, $\beta = .38$. A follow-up Sobel test indicated that similarity partially mediated the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction, $z = 3.09$, $p < .01$.

Willingness to help. A chi-square statistic revealed no differences among participants in the successful compared to unsuccessful influence conditions on willingness to help the target of influence (see Table 5). However, participants in the successful influence conditions volunteered to assist for a marginally significant larger number of hours ($M = 1.10$; $SD = 2.17$) than those in the unsuccessful influence ($M = .41$; $SD = 1.00$) conditions, $F(1, 89) = 3.72$, $p = .06$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Therefore partial support was found for Hypotheses 3. No support was found for Hypotheses 6 as a log-linear analysis did not reveal a significant two-way interaction between power type and influence on willingness to help (see Table 5).

Discussion

Influence in the workplace is often accompanied by environmental factors that could enhance or detract from its impact. Whether the target of the influence attempt is a peer or one's supervisor is one potential factor. Subordinates are generally at a power disadvantage relative to their supervisors. Therefore, subordinates could readily perceive any impact they have on their supervisor to be voluntary and caused by the self. Study 2 predicted that while influencing any co-worker's decisions or actions would fulfill psychological needs and enhance interpersonal attraction and willingness to help, influencing a leader would provide greater psychological and interpersonal benefits than influencing a peer.

In order to test these predictions, a study was designed in which participants attempted to persuade either a school leader or a peer to change his or her stance on the issue of mandatory comprehensive exams. Several outcome measures were assessed. Below is a summary and discussion of relevant findings.

Need fulfillment and task satisfaction. The results of the study indicated that participants who were unsuccessful in their influence attempts reported higher belongingness, control, and self-esteem than those who were successful. These findings were in the opposite direction to what was predicted. It is possible that participants in the successful influence condition may have felt that they were merely being placated by the e-mail correspondent and skeptical that their position would be accepted by a larger group of people. Anecdotal evidence supports this assertion, as many participants who were successful in their influence attempts claimed during the debriefing that they did not think that their arguments would have a large impact on the issue of comprehensive exams at the college. They claimed that they were not sure if they even changed the e-mail correspondent's mind as the e-mail correspondent merely said that the

"committee should give the issue (comprehensive exams) more thought and discussion before proceeding" and perhaps was only "being nice" by saying that the ideas the participants raised were useful. Additionally, several participants claimed that because they were asked to share their name and ideas, they felt worried and intimidated that their ideas would be the subject of further scrutiny by other people.

In contrast to the findings that having influence decreases perceptions of belongingness, self-esteem, and control, the results also indicated that participants who successfully influenced the e-mail correspondent reported higher task satisfaction than those who did not. The juxtaposition of these findings is intriguing, suggesting that people can be happy about having had influence while simultaneously worrying about how this might impact self-image and acceptance. Although participants who had influence were able to express their contentment, they may still have been plagued with doubt that their impact was genuine. Because these findings were neither predicted nor consistent with prior work, replication is needed before drawing definite conclusions.

Interpersonal attraction. Despite differences in methodology, the results of Study 2 are consistent with those reported in Study 1. Specifically, participants who successfully influenced another person reported greater liking for that target than those who were unsuccessful. The results indicated that only perceived similarity served as a partial mediator of the relationship between influence and interpersonal attraction. This result could be interpreted to mean that when people are able to influence other people, they see those people as similar to the self, which leads to greater interpersonal attraction. Evidence for this assertion could also be found in earlier studies that reported a relationship between perceived or actual similarities and interpersonal attraction (Batchelor & Tesser, 1971; Selfhout et al., 2009; Stroebe et al., 1971); research

demonstrating people's bias towards anything reminiscent of the self (Jones et al., 2004; Tenney et al., 2009); research demonstrating that people prefer familiar over novel stimuli because they are easier to interpret (Tenney et al., 2009); and reinforcement research, which explains that similarity reinforces individuals' own opinions, views and feelings (Selfhout et al., 2009; Tenney et al., 2009). The results imply that one way to enhance attraction among coworkers is to provide them with opportunities to influence one another, which will allow them to see commonalities among one another.

Willingness to help. The present study found that participants who successfully influenced the e-mail correspondent were equally likely to volunteer to help when compared to those who were unsuccessful. However, those who were successful volunteered a slightly (albeit not significantly) greater number of hours than those who were not. Therefore, partial support was found for the notion that having influence has a positive impact on how much people are willing to help another person. Whether participants were attempting to influence a peer versus a leader had no bearing on their willingness to help. The findings imply that regardless of whether people influence others who have the same or more power than the self, they will be willing to provide greater assistance to coworkers who they are able to influence than those who they are unable to impact.

Limitations. The present study did not find any main effects or interactions with the target power manipulation. However, it is important to note that while attempts were made to ensure that peers and leaders were as relevant and realistic as possible by describing both as members of the same college, the fellow student (peer condition) may have been more readily perceived by participants as an ingroup member than the Dean of Students (leader condition). People often evaluate members of their own groups more favorably than members of different groups,

presumably to enhance or maintain their self-esteem, as people often define themselves in terms of their group membership (Aberson, Healy, & Romero, 2000). Therefore, it is possible that the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction and willingness to help would have been greater for participants in the leader compared to peer conditions as predicted had ingroup bias not have been operating against leaders. Greater effort should be made in future studies to ensure that participants in both leader and peer conditions feel that they are communicating with fellow member of an important social group.

Chapter 8: Study 3- Influence and Rewards

Studies 1 and 2 examined how power could impact the outcomes of a successful influence attempt. Study 3 sought to extend this work by exploring whether the presence or absence of tangible rewards moderate the effects of successful or unsuccessful influence on need fulfillment, interpersonal attraction, and willingness to help. The research on tangible rewards does not allow one to make a clear prediction as to whether rewards enhance or detract from need fulfillment and, consequently, motivation to perform an intrinsically rewarding activity (Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999; Rynes, Gerhart, & Parks, 2005). Some findings suggest that the psychological outcomes associated with tangible rewards depend on whether rewards are given for simply participating in an activity or for excelling in it (Deci & Ryan, 2000). The effects of reward contingencies on the outcomes of influence were examined in the present study.

Participants were instructed to convince a partner to change his or her stance on the issue of comprehensive exams through the use of rational arguments. Participants were led to believe that they would 1) be given a financial reward for participating in the study, regardless of whether they are able to successfully persuade their partner (engagement-contingent reward), 2) be rewarded only if they are able to successfully persuade their partners (performance-contingent reward), or 3) not be rewarded at all (no-reward). The following specific predictions were offered:

H1-H3: Participants in the successful compared to unsuccessful influence conditions will report a higher sense of need fulfillment (H1) and interpersonal attraction (H2) and exhibit greater helping behavior (H3) and persistence (H4).

H4-H6: An interaction between rewards and influence is expected such that the effects of successful (versus unsuccessful) influence on need fulfillment (H5), interpersonal

attraction (H6), willingness to help one's partner (H7), and persistence (H8) will be greatest for participants in the performance-contingent reward condition, moderate for participants in the no-reward condition, and still weaker for participants in the engagement-contingent reward condition.

Analyses were also conducted to examine the effects of influence outcome and reward contingencies on task satisfaction and motivation to perform an intrinsically satisfying task. Motivation to perform an intrinsically satisfying task was operationalized as motivation to make a second influence attempt. Prior research has already shown that need fulfillment, task satisfaction, and motivation to perform an intrinsically satisfying task are affected by the receipt of rewards (Deci et al., 1999). In this study, need fulfillment, reciprocity, similarity, and task satisfaction were analyzed as potential mediators of relationships between influence outcome and interpersonal attraction, helping behavior, and motivation to make a second influence attempt.

Participants

Undergraduate students from a large multi-cultural Northeastern college served as participants in this study. Participants were randomly assigned within a 2 (successful vs. unsuccessful influence) X 3 (task-contingent, engagement-contingent, no-reward) between-subjects design. A power analysis indicated that 14 participants were necessary in each of the six experimental conditions in order to achieve an 80 percent chance of correctly rejecting a false null hypothesis with an effect size of .4 (Bourgeois et al., under review; Bruno et al., 2008; Cohen, 1992). A total of 98 students participated in this study. In exchange for participation, participants received credit towards a mandatory research requirement.

Measures

The measures used in Study 1 were used in the present study, with three exceptions (APPENDIX A). Perceived voluntariness was not assessed in this study as rewards, unlike power, are not expected to affect perceptions of voluntariness. Second, the study included a behavioral assessment of participants' motivation to make a second influence attempt. Finally, the manipulation checks for this experiment were worded to assess this specific study's manipulation of reward contingencies and perceptions of influence. Most measures yielded a sufficiently high reliability of .70 or higher. The only exception was the task satisfaction scale, in which the internal consistency of the responses was .60.

Procedure

The procedure for this experiment was modeled after Bourgeois et al. (under review) and Rind and Kipnis, (1999). Upon entry to the lab, a group of six participants were asked to complete informed consent forms and then were randomly paired with another participant. The pair was given five minutes to speak freely with each other in order to get acquainted. Participants were then told that they would be participating in two experiments examining persuasion techniques. For both experiments, one member of the pair would write a persuasive passage while the other member of the pair would provide the other with feedback on the passage. They were told that they would be given more specific instructions for the second experiment after they completed the first. Participants were then separated into different rooms. The experimenter provided participants with a survey instructing them to rate their agreement (on 7 point Likert-type scales) with various requirements for graduation, including competency in a foreign language, a comprehensive exam, and 1000 hours of community service (APPENDIX M).

After a few minutes, the experimenter returned to examine each participant's survey. The experimenter informed participants that she just saw his or her partner's survey and that they disagreed on several issues. Participants were given a form purportedly completed by their partner indicating that the issue they disagreed on the most was comprehensive exams. Participants were instructed to use this issue to test rational arguments as a persuasion technique. Participants were told that they were selected to be the "communicator" of a persuasive message while their partner would be the "listener." They were asked to come up with a list of reasons explaining why they took a particular stance on the issue. In the *engagement-contingent reward* conditions, participants were told that they would receive a $2 reward after writing the passage regardless of whether they were able to successfully persuade their partner. In the *performance-contingent reward* condition, participants were told they would receive a $2 reward at the end of the experiment only if they were able to successfully persuade their partner with their arguments. In the *no-reward* condition, no mention of rewards was made.

Participants were given 10 minutes to write the passage and were then told that their passage would be delivered to their partner. When the experimenter came in to collect the passage, participants in the engagement-contingent reward condition were given $2. After a few minutes, all participants were given a questionnaire that was purportedly completed by their partner (APPENDIX N). The questionnaires given to half of the participants in each of the three reward conditions indicated that their partner came to agree after reading the arguments (*successful influence condition*). Questionnaires given to the other half of the participants indicated that their partner still disagreed even after reading the arguments (*unsuccessful influence condition*). Participants in the successful influence/performance-contingent reward condition were rewarded at this time. Participants were then given the need-fulfillment, task

satisfaction, and interpersonal attraction measures. After the questionnaires were collected, the experimenter handed the participants a handwritten note, which she said was written by their partner. The note contained a message asking participants if they would be willing to make a pledge for a donation to a Diabetes Walk. Participants had to circle yes or no on the note and indicate a donation amount. Whether participants pledged to sponsor their partner and the amount of the donation was noted as behavioral assessments of willingness to help.

Participants in the reward conditions were told that for that for the second experiment, there would be no rewards administered. The experimenter asked all participants whether they wanted to be the communicator again or the listener this time. The participants' responses were noted as an indicator of motivation to influence. As there actually was no second experiment, participants were then asked meet in the center of the room for a thorough debriefing.

Results

Correlations among all outcome variables appear in Table 6, and all descriptive and inferential statistics associated with the manipulations are reported in Table 7.

Manipulation checks. A chi-square confirmed that participants in the successful influence conditions (100.0%) were more likely than those in the unsuccessful influence conditions (10.4%) to indicate that they persuaded their partner to take their position on comprehensive exams $\chi^2(1, N = 98) = 79.81$, $p < .01$. Another chi-square analysis revealed that participants in the no reward (62%), performance reward (81%), and engagement reward (75%) correctly identified which reward condition they were assigned to $\chi^2(1, N = 98) = 76.11$, $p < .01$. Thus, the manipulations appeared to be successful.

Need fulfillment. Contrary to expectations, results of a MANOVA revealed no significant main effect for successful versus unsuccessful influence on overall need-fulfillment nor did

influence condition interact with reward to explain variance in need fulfillment. Thus, no support was found for Hypothesis 1. Follow-up ANOVAs of each need separately revealed a significant relationship between perceptions of influence and a sense of purpose F (1, 95) = 4.17, $p < .05$. However, this relationship was in the opposite direction than predicted such that participants in the unsuccessful influence condition reported a higher sense of purpose than those in the successful influence condition. No other significant main effects or interactions were found (all Fs $\leq$ 1.35, all ps $\geq$ .25). Therefore, no support was found for Hypothesis 5.

Interpersonal attraction. An ANOVA was conducted to examine the effects of perceived influence on interpersonal attraction. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, participants in the successful influence conditions (M = 4.23, SD = .64) reported greater attraction to the target of influence than did participants in the unsuccessful influence conditions (M = 3.76, SD = .47). The main effect for reward contingency on interpersonal attraction and the interaction between influence and reward contingency on interpersonal attraction were not significant (see Table 7). Therefore, no support was found for Hypothesis 6.

A series of exploratory analyses were conducted using the Baron and Kenny (1986) procedures to examine whether perceptions of task satisfaction mediated the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction. As mentioned above, support was found for the existence of a relationship between influence and interpersonal attraction. Regression analyses confirmed significant relationships between influence and task satisfaction (see Table 7), and task satisfaction and attraction t(1, 95) = 4.01, $p < .01$, β = .43. The results of the mediation analysis indicated that task satisfaction was a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction t(2, 94) = 3.39, $p < .01$, β= .35 when controlling for the effects of influence. Contrary to expectations, influence remained a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction t(2, 94) = 3.58, $p < .01$, β =

.40. A follow-up Sobel test indicated that task satisfaction partially mediated the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction, $z = 2.23$, $p < .05$.

Similarity was also examined as a potential mediatior of the relationship between perceptions of influence and interpersonal attraction. As shown in Table 7, the influence manipulation had an impact on similarity ($p < .05$). Regression analyses confirmed a significant relationship between similarity and interpersonal attraction $t(1, 95) = 2.19$, $p < .05$, $\beta = .23$. The results of the mediation analysis indicated that similarity was no longer a significant predictor of interpersonal attraction $t(2, 94) = .77$, $p = .44$, $\beta = .08$ when controlling for the effects of influence. Therefore, similarity did not mediate the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction.

Willingness to help. As shown in Table 7, a three-way log-linear analysis revealed a significant main effect for influence on helping behavior, such that participants in the successful influence conditions were more willing to help the target of influence than those in the unsuccessful influence condition. This provided support for Hypotheses 3. The analysis also revealed a main effect for reward condition, such that participants in the engagement contingent reward condition were most willing to help their partner (78%), followed by those in the performance contingent (66%), and lastly no reward condition (47%). Finally, this analysis revealed a marginally significant interaction between reward contingency and influence on willingness to help (see Table 7, *p = .13)*, providing some support for Hypothesis 7. Rosnow and Rosenthal (2009) claim that the adoption of .05 as the dividing point between significant and not significant is somewhat arbitrary. A slightly larger *p* value should not be dismissed as a "zero effect." Additionally, tests of interactions within log linear analyses require large sample sizes to obtain sufficient power (Cohen, 1992). Therefore, a marginal interaction could be considered

grounds for following through with planned comparisons. The results indicated that the effect of influence on willingness to help was greatest for participants in the performance reward conditions $\beta = 3.47$, Wald $X^2 = 8.82$, $p < .01$, Exp(β) = 32.0, marginally significant in the engagement reward conditions $\beta = 2.20$, Wald $X^2 = 3.62$, $p < .06$, Exp(β) = 9.0 and not significant for participants in the no reward conditions $\beta = .96$, Wald $X^2 = 1.85$, $p = .17$, Exp(β) = 2.62 (see Table 7). These results are depicted in Figure 2.

Persistence. Persistence was assessed by asking participants whether they wanted to attempt the communicator role again or instead try the listener role. The results indicated that more participants in the influence condition (22%) than those in the unsuccessful influence conditions (4%) were willing to try to influence their partner again, $X^2(1, N=98) = 6.77$, $p = .01$, providing support for Hypothesis 4. Additionally, a marginally significant interaction between influence and reward contingency ($p = .06$) was found such that the effect of influence on persistence was largest for participants in the performance reward conditions $X^2 = 12.48$, $p < .01$, and not significant for those in the engagement reward conditions $X^2 = .37$, $p = .54$, or the no reward conditions $X^2 = 0.00$, $p = 1.0$, providing some support for Hypothesis 8 (see Table 7). These results are depicted in Figure 3. None of the other study variables were significantly correlated with persistence (see Table 6). Therefore, no follow-up mediation analyses were conducted.

Discussion

The research on the effects of rewards on intrinsically motivated behavior has provided mixed claims and theoretical perspectives. Some researchers claim that providing financial incentives enhances satisfaction and internal motivation to perform an inherently interesting and satisfying activity (Schneider & Olson, 1970; Tiegs et al., 1992); others claim that external rewards are psychologically harmful and detrimental to persistence because they could be interpreted as controlling (Deci & Ryan, 2000); and still others argue that financial incentives may enhance perceptions of control, satisfaction and persistence, but only when they are performance-based (Eisenberger et al., 1999). Most of the studies that have been conducted only included self-reported and behavioral assessments of persistence. Few research studies have empirically examined the impact of different types of rewards on the psychological needs (such as control) that are purported to underlie intrinsic motivation. The present study sought to address this gap in the literature by examining the impact of financial incentives on need fulfillment and persistence. An experiment was designed in which an intrinsically satisfying task was operationalized as a successful influence attempt, as having influence was expected to lead to increases in need fulfillment. This made it possible to examine some of the same predictions regarding influence, need fulfillment, interpersonal attraction, and willingness to help examined in Studies 1 and2 using an alternative scenario, thus binding the three studies.

Need fulfillment. Contrary to predictions, having influence had no impact on a sense of accuracy, belongingness, self-worth, or efficacy and actually detracted from participants' sense of purpose. The lack of relationship between perceptions of influence and need fulfillment has implications for many of the predictions made in the present study. Prior research on external rewards mostly examines their impact on intrinsically satisfying activities. Deci et al. (1999)

argue that tasks that are naturally enjoyable provide their own inherent reward and that external rewards might thwart that satisfaction and lead people to attribute any sense of pleasure that arises from completing the activity to the reward rather than the activity. The present study assumed that a successful influence attempt would be an intrinsically satisfying activity – a relationship that would be reflected in a link between influence outcome and need satisfaction. Though influence outcome was related to task satisfaction, it was not related to the satisfaction of any of the needs that were examined. One might conclude that the study ultimately examined the impact of rewards on a mundane activity. However, it is also possible the needs assessed here do not directly parallel those that purportedly drive intrinsic motivation as outlined by CET. Most notably absent is the need for autonomy. Future studies examining the impact of rewards on need satisfaction associated with an intrinsically satisfying activity would be worthwhile. Such studies should directly assess intrinsic satisfaction and the need for autonomy in particular.

Interpersonal attraction Consistent with Studies 1 and 2, the results of Study 3 indicated that participants who successfully influenced their partners reported greater attraction to them than those who were unsuccessful. Task satisfaction partially mediated this relationship. While similarity was also examined as a potential mediator of this relationship, no support for mediation was found.

Willingness to help. As predicted, participants who successfully influenced their partner were more willing to help their partner by making a financial pledge to support them in a fundraiser than those who were not successful. The results imply that allowing the self to be influenced by another person might be advantageous as it could promote a cooperative relationship.

An effect of influence on willingness to help was observed for participants in the performance-contingent reward condition but not in the engagement-contingent and no reward conditions. This finding was mostly driven by an unwillingness to help among participants in the performance-contingent reward condition who were given feedback that their influence attempt was not successful and hence did not receive the prospective reward. Participants in both performance- and engagement-contingent reward conditions who received successful influence feedback were more willing to help than participants in the no reward conditions who received successful influence feedback. While several participants in the engagement contingent reward condition were unwilling to help following unsuccessful influence feedback, there were still many who did agree to help.

These findings have important implications for the research on tangible rewards. Eisenberger et al. (1999) claim that performance contingent rewards communicate competence, control, and accuracy, which could promote helping behavior. The results suggest that while this may be true when a reward is earned, failure to earn a prospective reward might diminish one's willingness to help. This finding is in line with goal-setting theory which claims that goals should be challenging yet attainable (Locke & Latham, 2004). Therefore, if there is a chance that participants will not meet a performance benchmark, engagement-contingent rewards might be a better alternative.

Persistence. As hypothesized, participants who were led to believe they were able (compared to unable) to influence their partner were more likely to want to repeat the experience by having the same "communicator role" in the second part of the study. The results imply that having influence is a pleasing and intrinsically rewarding experience. An interaction between influence and reward contingencies was also found such that only participants whose receipt of a

reward was contingent upon a successful influence attempt were likely to persist. Participants who had the potential to earn a reward and did not do so exhibited persistence levels on par with participants in the remaining experimental conditions.

In sum, Study 3 revealed that having influence impacts task satisfaction, persistence, interpersonal attraction, and willingness to help. In line with predictions made by Eisenberger et al. (1999), being given a reward only if one's influence attempt was successful led to the greatest effects of influence on willingness to help and persistence. However, one should take caution when using such rewards as participants who fail to earn a performance-based reward are unlikely to persist or offer assistance. The results imply that rewards may be useful in impacting certain behavioral outcomes, though a lot of thought must go into determining the optimal administration strategy.

Chapter 9: General Discussion

With influence in an organizational context comes the opportunity to help shape the course of something much bigger than an individual agenda. Social influence provides the ability to have an impact on the lives of many. Aside from the obvious material goals that can be met by influencing others, such as when a politician successfully wins an election, there may also be more subtle psychological benefits to having influence that are not yet well understood. The purpose of the present dissertation was to obtain an understanding of the psychological and interpersonal benefits of successfully influencing coworkers and to learn more about how common workplace elements, namely power and rewards, moderate the outcomes of having influence.

The present dissertation drew upon recent theory and empirical research (Bourgeois et al., 2009; Bruno et al., 2008; Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010) in predicting that successfully influencing coworkers would lead to the fulfillment of five fundamental psychological needs, as well as enhance liking for and willingness to help the target of influence. It was also predicted that when people influence a leader (compared to a peer) and draw upon soft (compared to harsh) forms of power, they would more readily interpret the target's behavioral change as voluntary and that this would consequently enhance the purported benefits of having influence. Finally, based on self-determination theory research (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Eisenberger et al., 2009) it was predicted that the effects of influence on psychological and interpersonal outcomes would vary depending on the presence or absence of tangible rewards as well as the timing of the reward.

Three studies were designed to test these predictions. In Study 1, participants playing the role of a manager attempted to persuade a subordinate (confederate) to adhere to unwanted design parameters in a fund-raising task using either harsh (rewards and punishments) or soft

(logic and reasoning) forms of power. In Study 2, participants communicated over e-mail with either a leader or a peer (both confederates) in an attempt to change his or her stance on the issue of mandatory comprehensive exams. In Study 3, participants received either a monetary reward for writing a persuasive passage in an attempt to influence a peer, regardless of the outcome (engagement-contingent), were rewarded only if they successfully influenced a peer (performance-contingent), or were asked to influence a peer without any expectation of rewards. Participants in all three studies were given false feedback indicating that their influence attempts were successful or unsuccessful. Following the manipulations, participants' need-fulfillment, liking for the target and willingness to help the coworker were assessed. Several possible mediators of attraction and helping were also assessed.

In all three studies, participants in the successful compared to unsuccessful influence conditions reported greater attraction to and willingness to help the target of influence. Task satisfaction and similarity partially mediated the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction. Participants were most willing to help their partners when they were successful in influencing them using soft compared to harsh power tactics (Study 1) and when they received a reward (Study 3). None of the mediators that were examined explained the helping effects that were observed. Also, contrary to predictions and the results of past research (Bourgeois et al., under review), no reliable effects were found for need fulfillment. Below, I elaborate on these results and discuss some possible reasons for the lack of significant relationships between influence and need satisfaction. I also propose alternative mechanisms through which influence, power and rewards may have impacted willingness to help in the present studies. Finally, I end by discussing the implications of the findings for organizations, limitations of the current studies, and ideas for future research.

Interpersonal Attraction and Willingness to Help

All three studies provided support for the notion that successful compared to unsuccessful influence leads to greater liking for, and willingness to help, a new acquaintance. The results of Studies 1 and 3 indicated that task satisfaction partially mediated the effects of influence on interpersonal attraction while Study 2 found that similarity partially mediated the same relationship. The reason for the disparity is unclear. In all three studies, perceptions of influence positively correlated with perceptions of similarity and task satisfaction and both of these potential mediators were positively correlated with interpersonal attraction. Therefore, it is possible that both similarity and task satisfaction play a role in predicting interpersonal attraction.

Study 1 found that willingness to help was more strongly impacted by influence using soft compared to harsh power. This finding was in line with predictions as people were expected to psychologically benefit more from using soft rather than harsh power to facilitate an influence attempt. This was based on research by Rind and Kipnis (1999), which suggests that using controlling or manipulative tactics in order to influence someone leads to unfavorable impressions of the target who is believed to no longer be guided by his or her own abilities and motivations but is instead controlled by the influence tactic. Participants in the study by Rind and Kipnis who used such tactics were also found to view themselves as dominant and unfriendly. However, because this interaction was not mediated by need fulfillment (e.g. self-esteem), it seems that other factors must be operating.

The interaction between influence and rewards on willingness to help reported in Study 3 also contribute meaningfully to the existing literature. As mentioned earlier, some argue that providing employees with rewards are advantageous, whereas others claim that it is better to

seek alternative methods to promoting desired behavior. The findings reported here indicate that when the outcome of interest is helping behavior, providing rewards is useful. However, making the reward contingent upon meeting a difficult performance benchmark is not advisable as failure to earn a potential reward leads to an opposition to help.

The results found here make an important contribution to the literature on OCBs. Most of the antecedents of helping behavior that have been examined thus far relate to individual characteristics (employee attitudes, dispositional variables, employee role perceptions, demographic variables), task characteristics (feedback, routinization, intrinsically satisfying), organizational characteristics (group cohesiveness, perceived organizational support), impression management (ingratiation, exemplification, intimidation, self-promotion, supplication), and leadership behaviors (transformational, transactional, Path-Goal Theory behaviors) (Podsakoff et al., 2000). The three studies reviewed here and the study conducted by Bruno et al. (2008) each provided support for influence as a novel antecedent to helping behavior as well as interpersonal attraction.

While need-fulfillment was expected to mediate the effects of influence on willingness to help and interpersonal attraction, no support for this prediction was found. According to the OCB literature, a positive generalized mood state often mediates the effects of antecedents, such as job satisfaction, on OCBs (Bateman & Organ, 1983). It seems plausible that having influence also puts people in a good mood, which then leads people to be more willing to help the target of influence. Future research attempting to provide an understanding of why influence outcome impacts interpersonal attraction and willingness to help might benefit from testing mood as a mediator.

Need Satisfaction and Task Satisfaction

Contrary to predictions, successful influence did not lead to increases in need fulfillment in any of the three studies. In fact, Studies 2 and 3 found that participants who were successful in their influence attempts reported *lower* levels of some needs than those who were unsuccessful. This was in sharp contradiction to the findings for task satisfaction, which were higher among successful participants. It was noted in Chapter 7 that several participants in the successful influence conditions expressed skepticism that they genuinely influenced their partner and were particularly intimidated by the prospect that their ideas would be subjected to scrutiny by other people. I argued that people can be happy about having influence while simultaneously worrying about how this might impact self-image, acceptance, and their sense of control. The current findings suggest that there may be some situations in which having influence is threatening to people, despite conferring other benefits in the form of attraction and helping.

Bourgeois et al. (2009) argued that influence may be more or less impactful depending on whether influence results in public or private change in attitudes or behaviors. The authors suspected that when a source of influence perceives that he or she successfully effected public but not private change, the psychological benefits of having influence would be less apparent. Further, they claimed that people are happier when their partners do things for them because they genuinely want to. The present dissertation found that not only were the need fulfillment benefits not apparent when genuine influence was suspect (based on interviews during the debriefing in Study 2), but that doubt may have been detrimental to certain needs. It is possible that when people suspect that others are complying half-heartedly, doubts arise that the target will continue to behave in the desired manner in the future. Some support for this proposition was provided by Vansteenkiste, Lens, and Deci (2006), who claimed that only when people see the personal relevance of an act will they identify with its importance and engage in it willingly in the future.

Therefore, any influence a person has on a target that is not genuine or feels forced will be short-lived and essentially meaningless. People might enjoy the experience of having influence on another person while simultaneously fearing the effects of future non-compliance. Additional research is needed in order to understand the potentially conflicting emotions that may arise from having influence.

Another explanation for the lack of impact of influence on need fulfillment across all three studies could be that the task examined here was not intrinsically satisfying. Many of the predictions made in the reward literature pertain to rewarding intrinsically satisfying activities (Deci et al., 1999). However, unexciting tasks are also important to examine in future research as many workers within an organization are expected to perform daily tasks that they find uninteresting, and managers must devise ways to motivate workers to perform such tasks.

Persistence

Study 3 found that having influence on another person promotes persistence. Participants whose receipt of a reward was contingent upon a successful influence attempt were most likely to be willing to continue with the task. This finding is also in line with predictions made by Eisenberger et al. (1999) discussed earlier. Performance-contingent rewards were expected to enhance perceptions of competence by providing information that one has met a performance benchmark. Performance-contingent rewards were also expected to enhance perceptions of autonomy by conveying that the giver of the reward lacks control over the employee and by indicating that the employee can to choose whether to pursue the reward. CET assumes that a drive to fulfill these needs, along with a need for belongingness, underlie intrinsic motivation and persistence (Deci & Ryan, 2000). While evidence for the proposed underlying mechanisms was not found, the results imply that an organization might motivate their

employees to persist at a task by providing them with a financial incentive based on their performance. However, in cases in which there is a good chance that a person will be unsuccessful in meeting the performance benchmark, there are no benefits of tangible rewards on persistence.

Implications for Organizations

Taken together, the results of all three studies imply that organizations might benefit from providing employees with the opportunity to work collaboratively with their peers on resolving organizational issues. Having influence seems to cultivate interpersonal relationships. Uncovering antecedents to liking and helping behaviors is important because these variables have been shown to be related to performance evaluations, salary and promotion recommendations, and job performance (Carnevale, Pruitt, & Carrington, 1982; Kanekar & Merchant, 2001; Podsakoff et al., 2000). The results bring researchers one step closer to understanding how relationships could be strengthened in order to promote increases in pro-social behavior. For example, by occasionally taking the advice of coworkers, and acknowledging their contributions, people make their coworkers more willing to help them in the future. This may foster a mutually beneficial and collaborative work environment. Looked at another way, the results imply that denying coworkers of influence puts a damper on interpersonal relations and decrease the likelihood that help will be provided in the future.

The means by which people influence others may also has important workplace implications. Instructing managers to use logic and rationale rather than rewards or punishments in order to motivate their subordinates to comply might lead to greater levels of cooperation. More research is needed in order to understand how and why power can affect these outcomes.

Whether management provides employees with the opportunity to influence a peer versus a leader is also important to consider within a workplace context. The findings reported here suggest that the interpersonal and psychological benefits of having influence are not restricted to leader and follower relationships. Pairing peers to work together with one another in a decision-making assignment could also provide an environment in which influence takes place and consequently attraction and helping could be fostered.

The findings regarding the roles of rewards might be informative to managers within an organization who are responsible for directing the behavior of others. The findings suggest that providing employees with financial rewards might enhance employee persistence and willingness to help coworkers. Rewards appear to be most effective in directing behavior when they are performance-based and the likelihood of being successful (and rewarded) is high. The findings are also important for motivation researchers, as this was one of the few experiments to go beyond examining self-report and behavioral measures of persistence to examine the impact of different types of rewards on the psychological needs that are likely to underlie motivation. While no effects of rewards on the needs examined here were found, future studies should assess the impact of rewards on perceptions of autonomy as a means of understanding why rewards impact persistence and willingness to help.

Limitations

While the studies added meaningfully to the growing literature on social influence and provided several practical implications for organizations, there were also numerous limitations that should be addressed in future research to support the conclusions that were made. First, the operationalizations of soft and harsh power that were used in Study 1 might not have been mutually exclusive. Participants in the soft power conditions were instructed to motivate their

partner by writing an inspiring passage filled with logic and reasoning. It was hoped that this would draw upon information power and expert power. In contrast, participants in the harsh power condition were given the ability to administer (reward power) and take away (coercive power) raffle tickets from their partner. However, participants in both conditions were told that they were chosen over their partners to be the leader in the experiment due to their responses on a prior fund-raising experience questionnaire. This might have given participants in both conditions a sense of legitimate (or position) power, which is classified as a harsh form of power. Additionally, participants in the harsh power condition were told that they must design a compensation strategy that used raffle tickets as rewards or punishments. This task required logic which might have been construed as using a form of expert (soft) power. Because the soft vs. harsh dichotomy was fuzzy at best, the study may have failed to assess fully the impact of power types on interpersonal attraction.

A second set of limitations pertained to the reciprocity measure (used in all three studies) and the voluntariness measure (used in Studies 1 and 2). The reciprocity item required participants to select whether they received more, as much, or less support from their partner than they themselves gave. While this measure is related to reciprocity as it is pertains to assessing the ratio of inputs and outputs, it does not directly assess one's need to reciprocate or trade favors, which could be different. In hindsight, an item that directly assessed the need to repay or compensate the target for past behaviors would have been more appropriate. The voluntariness measure was comprised of two items (one of which was reverse coded), and the internal consistency of responses was low (.51). The ability to detect relationships between perceived voluntariness and various outcome variables may have been improved by using a better measure of voluntariness.

Similarly, the inability to detect an effect of influence on need fulfillment could be attributed to the specific need fulfillment measures that were used. While other studies have shown changes in need fulfillment using these measures (Bourgeois et al., under review; Sommer et al., 2012), it is possible that they were not very sensitive to the experimental manipulations. Most of the items assessed stable trait attributions that are not expected to vary tremendously based on transient events. Measures of need fulfillment that are more state-based and that are better able to capture how a person feels at a given point in time may prove more fruitful for future research.

Another limitation of the present studies was that the manipulations may not have been sufficiently meaningful to participants so as to provide a strong enough test of the impact of influence on need fulfillment. Unlike real-life forms of influence, the tasks employed here did not have any real impact on the lives of others and did not occur within the context of ongoing relationships. Long-term relationships are likely to have greater implications for need fulfillment than interactions with strangers.

Future Research

In response to some of these shortcomings, future research that includes more robust and differentiated use of power tactics, more reliable and face valid measures of reciprocity and voluntariness, trait rather than state measures of need fulfillment and more meaningful influence scenarios embedded within ongoing relationships would be worthwhile. Also mentioned earlier in this chapter were ideas to assess the circumstances in which having influence might actually be threatening to people, such as when people's ideas will be the subject of further scrutiny by others or when one's influence is not perceived as genuine. Such studies would help explain

some of unanticipated findings reported here or what might have been driving relationships that were found.

The consistent link between influence outcome, interpersonal attraction and willingness to help, despite a lack of effect of influence on need fulfillment, also opens up several potential follow up areas for future research. As mentioned earlier, state measures of need fulfillment are sensitive to situational fluctuations whereas trait measures are likely to detect stable individual differences (George, 1991). Therefore, future research using state measures of need fulfillment still have the potential to provide an explanation for the effects of influence on psychological and interpersonal outcomes.

In addition, as was mentioned earlier, it might also be sensible to explore mood as a potential mediator. Earlier research has shown that influence outcome has an effect on positive and negative moods (Sommer & Bourgeois, 2010; Sommer et al., 2012). Research has also shown a relationship between mood and willingness to help. For example, George (1991) surveyed retail sales associates and their supervisors and found that positive mood was significantly and positively related to both role-prescribed helping behaviors (helping customers) and extra-role helping behaviors (helping a coworker). Therefore, a study looking at the impact of influence on helping behavior via changes in mood might be informative. Further, if mood impacts both role-prescribed and extra-role behaviors, it is possible that willingness to help the target of influence might generalize to helping others in general. Research examining the effects of influence on helping others in general, rather than the target of influence specifically, would provide a useful extension of the results reported here.

Another worthwhile avenue would be to examine whether individual preferences for using soft or harsh influence tactics vary from person to person, as this could be another

explanation for the inconsistency between the findings reported here and what was hypothesized. According to McClelland and Burnham (1976), people's specific needs are acquired over time and shaped by their life's experiences. For example, the authors claim that some people might be motivated by a need for personal power, in which people are driven by a need to direct others, versus a need for socialized power, in which people are driven to organize the efforts of others to further the goals of the organization. The strength of these needs in an individual might impact how he or she responds to using different power techniques. It seems likely that people who are motivated by a need for personal power might favor techniques that are self-serving or perhaps easier, even if they are manipulative or controlling. On the other hand, interpersonally-oriented people who are motivated by a need for socialized power or a need for affiliation(a need to be liked or accepted by others) might favor soft power techniques that are perhaps more difficult to use, but are more considerate of the target's abilities and motivations (Falbo, 1977). Therefore, it might be essential to assess whether people are motivated by a need for power (e.g. personal or socialized power) or affiliation in order to predict whether the type of strategies they use in order to facilitate an influence attempt will lead to interpersonal attraction and willingness to help.

While more research needed in order to fully understand the psychological underpinnings that drive people to influence others, the three studies reviewed here contribute to the literature by serving as some of the few attempts to examine influence from the perspective of the source. The results call for more work aimed at understanding how the outcomes of influence attempts interact with power and rewards to drive motivational and interpersonal behaviors of interest to organizations.

Table 1

Summary of all of the variables under investigation.

	Independent Variables	Mediators (exploratory)	Dependent Variables
Study 1	1. Soft vs. harsh power 2. Successful vs. unsuccessful influence	1. Similarity 2. Reciprocity 3. Need-fulfillment 4. Voluntariness 5. Task satisfaction	1. Need-fulfillment 2. Interpersonal attraction 3. Helping behavior
Study 2	1. Leader vs. peer target 2. Successful vs. unsuccessful influence	1. Similarity 2. Reciprocity 3. Need-fulfillment 4. Voluntariness 5. Task satisfaction	1. Need-fulfillment 2. Interpersonal attraction 3. Helping behavior
Study 3	1. Reward contingency (performance-contingent, no-reward, engagement-contingent) 2. Successful vs. unsuccessful influence	1. Similarity 2. Reciprocity 3. Need-fulfillment 4. Task satisfaction	1. Need-fulfillment 2. Interpersonal attraction 3. Helping behavior 4. Motivation to make a second influence attempt

Table 2

Correlations among all outcome measures, Study 1

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Influence														
2	Power	-.05													
3	Willingness to donate	-.31**	.17												
4	Donation amount	.08	-.20	-.35**											
5	Accuracy	.00	.20	.09	-.03										
6	Belongingness	-.10	.17	.18	-.04	.37**									
7	Self-esteem	-.05	.10	.06	-.15	.39**	.59**								
8	Control	-.02	.18	.09	-.19	.33**	.38**	.52**							
9	Purpose	.12	.09	.01	.10	.11	.23*	.40**	.37**						
10	Interpersonal attraction	.47**	-.01	-.07	.03	.00	-.02	.03	.09	.25*					
11	Task satisfaction	.23*	.04	-.06	.25*	-.04	-.08	-.01	.12	.31**	.49**				
12	Voluntariness	.59**	-.23*	-.18	.14	-.16	-.04	.02	-.03	.17	.40**	.12			
13	Similarity	.47**	.18	-.13	-.17	-.08	-.16	-.19	-.15	-.13	.40**	.26*	.21		
14	Reciprocity	--	-.15	-.03	.41*	.00	.30	.13	.21	.21	.18	.18	.23	-.14	

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

Table 3

Descriptive and inferential statistics, Study 1

	Successful Influence		*Unsuccessful Influence*		*Influence F (1, 81)*	*Power Type F (1, 81)*	*Influence X Power F (1, 81)*
	Harsh Power (n = 21)	*Soft Power (n = 23)*	*Harsh power (n =23)*	*Soft power (n =21)*			
Need fulfillment	4.02 (.34)	3.77 (.32)	3.93 (.51)	3.84 (.29)	.83 ($\eta^2 = .05$)	.91 ($\eta^2 = .06$)	.89 ($\eta^2 = .06$)
Task satisfaction	4.17 (.68)	3.62 (1.06)	3.30 (.94)	3.62 (.52)	5.31* ($\eta^2 = .06$)	.39 ($\eta^2 = .01$)	5.28* ($\eta^2 = .06$)
Similarity	3.52 (.66)	2.94 (.74)	2.52 (.58)	2.35 (.77)	27.31** ($\eta^2 = .26$)	6.05* ($\eta^2 = .07$)	1.78 ($\eta^2 = .02$)
Reciprocity	1.72 (.46)	1.87 (.55)	2.13 (.82)	2.32 (.75)	8.46** ($\eta^2 = .10$)	1.28 ($\eta^2 = .02$)	.02 ($\eta^2 = .00$)
Voluntariness[a]	3.78 (.73)	4.15 (.71)	--	--	--	2.72 ($\eta^2 = .07$)	--
Attraction	4.49 (.52)	4.21 (.72)	3.61 (.64)	3.76 (.52)	23.50** ($\eta^2 = .23$)	.21 ($\eta^2 = .00$)	2.54 ($\eta^2 = .03$)
Helping[b]	76.2%	100.0%	59.1%	63.2%	8.39** ($\phi = .32$)	2.34 ($\phi = .03$)	5.24* ($\phi = .25$)

[a]These data were based only on the ratings of participants in the successful influence condition.

[b]These statistics are based on log-linear analyses rather than ANOVAs.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

Table 4

Correlations among all outcome measures, Study 2

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Influence														
2	Power	.00													
3	Willingness to donate	-.13	.08												
4	Donation amount	.20	-.15	-.86**											
5	Accuracy	-.14	.08	-.11	.15										
6	Belongingness	-.22*	-.03	-.11	.10	.42**									
7	Self-esteem	-.19	-.06	-.09	.06	.50**	.64**								
8	Control	-.24*	.04	-.10	.09	.30**	.49**	.61**							
9	Purpose	.02	-.01	-.11	.15	.20	.36**	.47**	.32**						
10	Interpersonal attraction	.44**	.02	-.16	.18	-.03	-.03	.02	.00	.22*					
11	Task satisfaction	.25*	-.09	-.02	-.03	.14	.12	.07	-.07	.05	.29**				
12	Voluntariness		.05	-.13	.12	-.08	.09	.08	.01	.31**	.49**	.28**			
13	Similarity	.50**	-.02	-.05	.13	-.08	.00	.01	-.11	.15	.51**	.34**	.35**		
14	Reciprocity	--	.04	.04	.07	-.03	-.17	-.11	-.17	-.06	-.15	-.13	-.30*	-.19	

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

Table 5

Descriptive and inferential statistics, Study 2

	Successful Influence		*Unsuccessful Influence*		*Influence F (1, 89)*	*Power Target F (1, 89)*	*Influence X Power F (1, 89)*
	Peer (n = 23)	*Leader (n = 23)*	*Peer (n =22)*	*Leader (n =22)*			
Need fulfillment	3.70 (.50)	3.70 (.46)	3.87 (.43)	3.87 (.39)	1.84 (η^2 = .10)	.71 (η^2 = .04)	.53 (η^2 = .03)
Task satisfaction	3.67 (.51)	3.62 (.68)	3.16 (.77)	3.47 (.70)	5.63* (η^2 = .06)	.80 (η^2 = .01)	1.64 (η^2 = .02)
Similarity	2.90 (.47)	3.16 (.54)	2.41 (.75)	2.18 (.79)	28.91** (η^2 = .24)	.02 (η^2 = .00)	3.20 (η^2 = .04)
Reciprocity	2.30 (.56)	2.26 (.54)	2.41 (.59)	2.33 (.66)	.53 (η^2 = .01)	.24 (η^2 = .00)	.25 (η^2 = .01)
Voluntariness	3.67 (.89)	3.55 (.77)	--	--	--	.27 (η^2 = .01)	--
Attraction	4.00 (.14)	3.77 (.14)	3.13 (.15)	3.30 (.15)	21.51** (η^2 = .21)	.04 (η^2 = .00)	1.87 (η^2 = .02)
Helping[a]	21.7%	30.4%	13.6%	18.1%	1.41 (ϕ= .13)	.60 (ϕ= .08)	2.03 (ϕ= .15)

[a]These statistics are based on log-linear analyses rather than ANOVAs.

*p< .05; **p < .01.

Table 6

Correlations among all outcome measures, Study 3

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Influence														
2	Reward Condition	.00													
3	Willingness to donate	-.40**	-.27**												
4	Donation amount	.17	.17	-.53**											
5	Accuracy	-.11	-.12	.19	-.10										
6	Belongingness	-.01	-.04	-.00	-.05	.38**									
7	Self-esteem	.00	-.04	-.03	.04	.50**	.70**								
8	Control	-.02	.14	-.04	-.01	.27**	.39**	.51**							
9	Purpose	-.23*	-.08	.08	-.01	.23*	.35**	.53**	.22*						
10	Interpersonal attraction	.40**	.07	-.29**	.07	.01	.10	.16	.22*	.05					
11	Task satisfaction	.21*	.08	-.10	-.05	-.01	.05	.05	.21*	-.09	.38**				
12	Persistence	-.26**	-.05	.17	-.08	-.10	-.03	.01	-.03	-.06	-.04	-.04			
13	Similarity	.39**	.06	-.11	-.11	-.09	.02	.06	.08	-.12	.22*	.08	.06		
14	Reciprocity	-.06	.06	-.08	-.08	-.02	-.09	-.15	-.32**	-.07	-.11	-.16	.03	-.29**	

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

Table 7

Descriptive and inferential statistics, Study 3

	Successful Influence			*Unsuccessful Influence*			*Influence F (1, 89)*	*Reward Type F (1, 89)*	*Influence X Reward Type F (1, 89)*
	Performance Reward (n = 17)	*Engagement Reward (n = 16)*	*No Reward (n=17)*	*Performance Reward (n =15)*	*Engagement Reward (n =16)*	*No Reward (n=17)*			
Need fulfillment	3.64 (.45)	3.73 (.52)	3.82 (.47)	3.77 (.41)	3.87 (.35)	3.86 (.43)	1.82 (η^2 = .10)	.70 (η^2 = .04)	.52 (η^2 = .03)
Task satisfaction	3.79 (.35)	3.75 (.66)	3.65 (.56)	3.35 (.56)	3.63 (.29)	3.53 (.65)	4.56* (η^2 = .05)	.45 (η^2 = .01)	1.00 (η^2 =. 02)
Similarity	3.04 (.67)	3.13 (.32)	3.31 (.28)	2.91 (.34)	2.79 (.56)	2.47 (.74)	16.76** (η^2 = .16)	.23 (η^2 = .01)	4.03* (η^2 = .08)
Reciprocity	2.12 (.33)	2.06 (.25)	2.07 (.26)	2.00 (.58)	2.25 (.58)	2.12 (49)	.20 (η^2 = .00)	.41 (η^2 = .01)	.96 (η^2 = .02)
Attraction	4.19 (.60)	4.14 (.81)	4.38 (.48)	3.78 (.42)	3.95 (.48)	3.54 (.46)	17.56** (η^2 = .16)	.21 (η^2 = .01)	2.79 (η^2 = .06)
Persistence	47.1%	12.5%	5.9%	0%	6.3%	5.9%	7.40** (ϕ= .26)	5.60 (ϕ= .25)	5.40 (ϕ= .22)
Helping[a]	94.1%	93.8%	58.8%	33.3%	62.5%	35.3%	15.95** (ϕ= .40)	7.06* (ϕ= .27)	4.09 (ϕ= .20)

[a]These statistics are based on log-linear analyses rather than ANOVAs.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

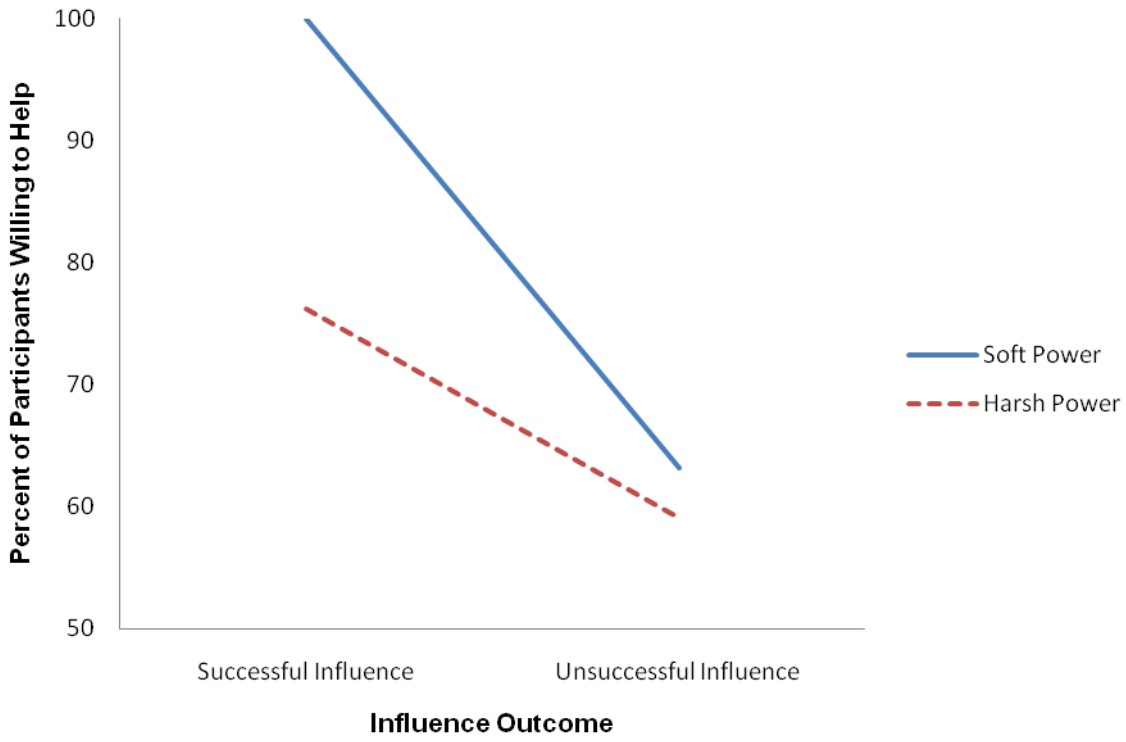

Figure 1. Effects of influence outcome and power type on willingness to help in Study 1.

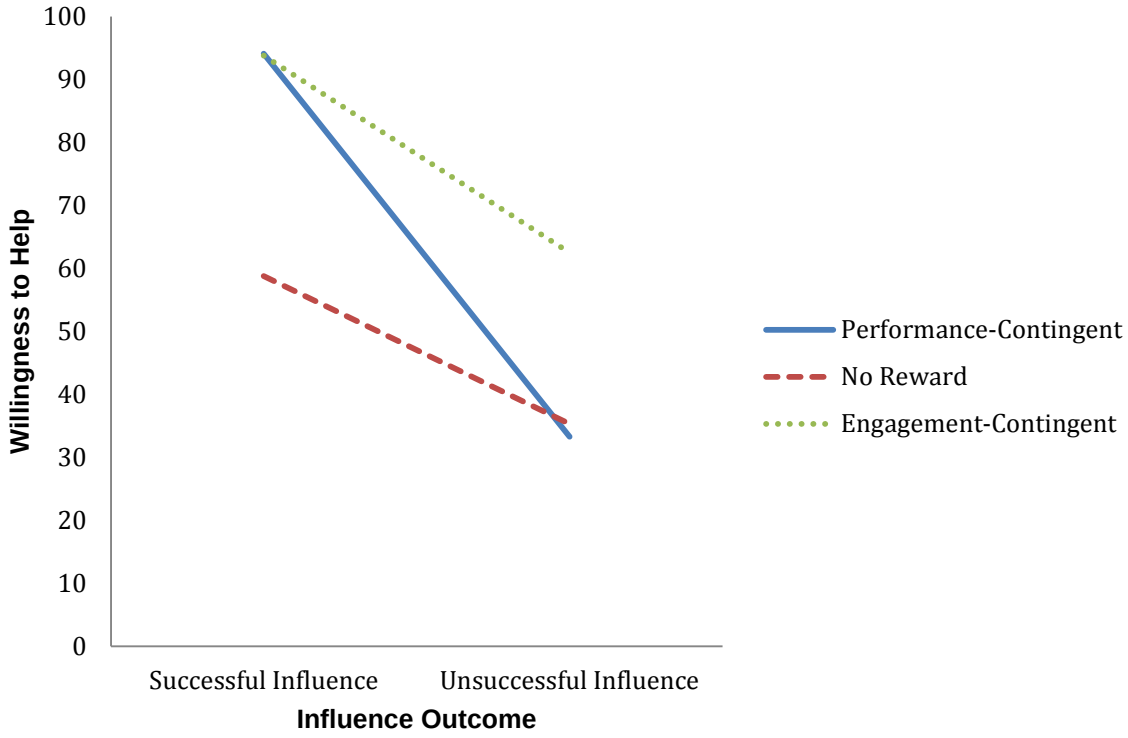

Figure 2. Effects of influence outcome and reward contingency on willingness to help in Study 3.

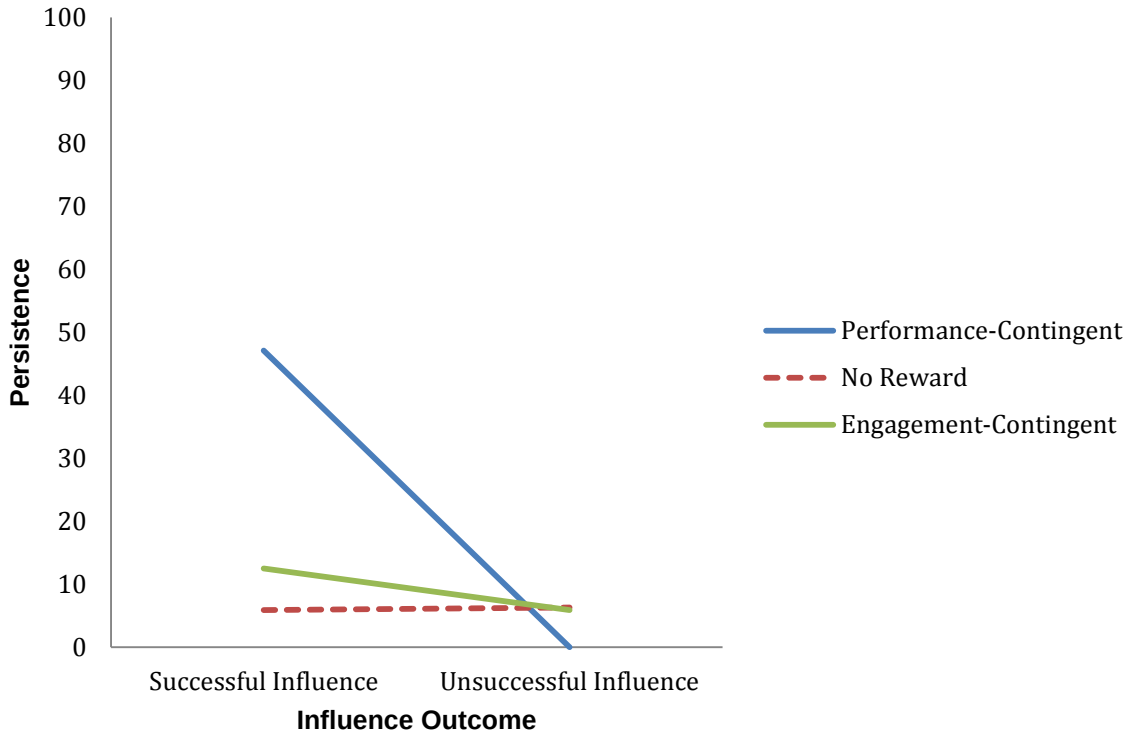

Figure 3. Effects of influence outcome and reward contingency on persistence in Study 3.

Appendix A

Measures of Need Fulfillment, Interpersonal Attraction and Mediation Variables and Manipulation Checks Items

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each item. Try to answer every question, even if you are unsure of your response. (Coded on 5 point scales: Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neither disagree nor agree; Agree; Strongly Agree)

Accuracy

I am usually correct in my judgments.

I tend to be right more often than I am wrong.

I trust my judgments over the judgments of others.

I tend to be accurate in my beliefs.

I often question whether or not I have made the right decision.

If there is a right answer, I will find it.

Belongingness

Other people accept me.

I often worry about people avoiding or rejecting me.

People care about me.

There are people I can turn to in times of need.

I am not alone.

I tend to be excluded from other people's plans.

Self-worth

I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.

I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

I am able to do things as well as most other people.

I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

I take a positive attitude toward myself.

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

I wish I could have more respect for myself.

I certainly feel useless at times.

At times, I think I am no good at all.

Mastery (control)

I have little control over the things that happen to me.

There is really no way I can solve some of the problems I have.

There is little I can do to change many of the important things in my life.

I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.

Sometimes I feel that I'm being pushed around in life.

What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me.

I can do just about anything I really set my mind to do.

Meaning

I understand my life's meaning.

My life has a clear sense of purpose.

I have a good sense of what makes my life meaningful.

I have discovered a satisfying life purpose.

My life has no clear purpose.

Interpersonal Attraction

I got along well with this subordinate.

Working with this subordinate was a pleasure.

I like my subordinate very much as a person.

I think my subordinate would make a good friend.

Task Satisfaction

This fund-raising/persuasion task was very interesting.

I enjoyed doing this fund-raising/persuasion task.

The fund-raising/persuasion task was challenging.

In general, it was satisfying to do this fund-raising/persuasion task.

Voluntariness (Study 1)

My partner voluntarily went along with my fund-raising preferences.

My partner was forced to go along with my fund-raising preferences.

Similarity

My subordinate and I are similar in terms of our outlook, perspective, and values.

My subordinate and I see things in much the same way.

My subordinate and I are alike in a number of areas.

Reciprocity (Select one; Coded on a 3 point scale)

I received more support and help from my subordinate than I gave.

I received as much support and help from my subordinate as I gave.

I gave more support and help to my subordinate than I received.

Manipulation Checks (Study 1)

Influence manipulation check: Did your partner adopt your fund-raising preferences or his or her own?(Response options: a. My partner designed labels according to my fund-

raising preferences; b. My partner designed labels according to his or her own fund-raising preferences)

Power manipulation check: Did you use coercion or logic to try to get your partner to adopt your design preferences? (Response options: a. Coercion (involved coaxing and enticing the subordinate); b. Logic (involved reasoning with the subordinate)

Manipulation Check (Study 2)

Influence manipulation check: Did you persuade the e-mail correspondent to take your position on comprehensive exams into further consideration before proceeding with his plans? (Response options: a. Yes; b. No)

Target power manipulation check: Would you consider the e-mail correspondent to be an authority figure or a peer? (Response options: a. Authority figure; b. Peer)

Manipulation Check (Study 3)

Influence manipulation check: Did you persuade your partner to take your position on comprehensive exams? (Response options: a. No; b. Yes)

Reward manipulation check: Did you receive (or did you have the potential to receive) a reward in this experiment?(Response options: a. No; b. Yes)

Reward contingency manipulation check: If you had the potential to receive a reward in this experiment, would it be given to you just for participating or only if you were able to successfully influence your partner? (Response options: a. I will get a reward from the candy jar at the end of the experiment just for participating in this study; b. I will only get a reward from the candy jar in this experiment if I am able to successfully get my partner to agree on a controversial issue; c. Nobody mentioned anything about receiving a reward)

Appendix B

Prior Work and Fund-Raising Experience

Below is a brief questionnaire designed to gather more information about your current or most recent workand fund-raising experience. Responses will be used to determine the role you will be adopting in the experiment today.

1. Please provide your job title in your current occupation or your most recent occupation. Briefly describe your main responsibilities in the position. If you have never held a job, please write "not applicable."

_____
_____
_____
_____

2. How long have you occupied (or how long did you occupy) the position described in your response to Question 1? (Please circle the most appropriate response).

Less than 1 year 1 year 2 yrs 3 yrs More than 3 yrs

3. Briefly describe any experience you have raising money for a cause or charity. This experience may include work you have participated in through your job, school, religious institution or on your own. If you have never participated in any fund-raising before, please write "not applicable."

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix C

Fund Raising Preferences

Directions: For each question, select one of the following options that best describe how you would prefer to construct and decorate your charity cup label.

1.Which Baruch College Student Organization are you most interested in assisting?

- ☐ American Humanics
- ☐ Billiards & Bowling
- ☐ Cents Ability
- ☐ Colleges Against Cancer

2. What color paper would you like to use to make the label?

- ☐ Blue
- ☐ Green
- ☐ Pink
- ☐ Red
- ☐ White

3. How would you like to attach the label to the cup?

- ☐ Glue stick
- ☐ Liquid glue
- ☐ Tape

4. How do you prefer to make the edges of your label?

- ☐ Peaks and valleys
- ☐ Straight edges
- ☐ Zigzags

5. How do you prefer to decorate your label?

- ☐ Crayon
- ☐ Marker
- ☐ Pen
- ☐ Pencil

Appendix D

Baruch College Student Organizations

American Humanics: American Humanics's purpose is to prepare students for the next level of the real world and persuade them to become actively involved in shaping their future activities. In addition, the AMA helps students to realize their goals and their potential, analyze their skills, as well as provide professional services, including résumé and cover letter writing workshops, interviewing techniques and important seminars on various topics.

Billiards & Bowling: The purpose of BILLIARDS & BOWLING shall be to promote friendship and organize an environment that supports and motivate individuals through recreational activities such as billiards & bowling.

Cents Ability:Cents Ability's mission is to empower high school students across the country to achieve their goals through the prudent and informed management of their financial resources. Cents Ability is a nonprofit organization that strives to provide training on finance management to New York City high school students. The curriculum consists of three separate sessions per group, which emphasize the importance of saving (goal setting), educate about different financial products (savings account, stocks, etc.) and provide an initial exposure to the stock market.

Colleges Against Cancer:Colleges Against Cander's goals are to fight cancer by volunteering for and supporting programs of the American Cancer Society.

Appendix E

Soft Power Manipulation

Team Leader Instructions

Leaders are often responsible for influencing their subordinates to perform a task a certain way and with rigid specifications. As the team leader, you are responsible for influencing your subordinate to produce a minimum of 5 decorated labels for the Baruch Student Organization of your choice that adhere to your fund-raising preferences, regardless of your subordinate's fund-raising preferences. Prior research has shown that the use of reason and logic is a well established technique for influencing people.

a) Please use the space provided below to give your subordinate specific instructions for constructing your team's fund-raising cup labels. This should include explaining any tips you learned from your earlier work and fund-raising experience about how the labels should look in order to solicit the greatest number of financial donations from Baruch College students and faculty.

b) Explain to your subordinates why, based on your past experience as a student or employee, you think it is important to put a lot of effort into the assigned fund-raising task.

Lastly, if you and your partner disagreed on any of the "Fund-raising Preferences," it is important that you try to convince your partner to follow your design preferences instead of his or her own. For any design preferences on which you disagreed (for example, if you disagreed on which organization to devote your time designing labels for), think up solid logical reasons why you believe your preferences are best. Carefully describe those reasons to your subordinate in the space provided.

Appendix F

Harsh Power Manipulation

Team Leader Instructions

Leaders are often responsible for influencing their subordinates to perform a task a certain way and with rigid specifications. As the team leader, you are responsible for influencing your subordinate to produce a minimum of 5 decorated labels for the Baruch Student Organization of your choice that adhere to your fund-raising preferences, regardless of your subordinate's fund-raising preferences. Prior research has shown that the use of rewards and punishments are a well established technique for influencing people.

You will design a reward system that you will use to motivate your subordinate. Subordinates will automatically receive three raffle tickets at the end of the experiment that they can cash in for prizes. It is up to you to decide how subordinates could earn points that will lead to them earn up to an additional eight raffle tickets. The reward system could include earning a certain number of points for fully constructed labels, earning a number of points for using your fund-raising preferences, or it could include penalties (subordinates could lose the three automatic raffle tickets). Please use the space below to describe your reward/punishment plan to your subordinate and any particular instructions. If you and your partner disagreed on any of the "Fund-raising Preferences," be sure to work into your plan a way to convince your partner to follow your design preferences instead of his or her own.

Appendix G

Team Label Construction Evaluation

	Unsatisfactory	Partially Meets Expectations	Meets Expectations	Above Expectations	Exceptional
1. The team showed a lot of creativity in the design of their labels	1	2	3	4	5
2. The labels are appealing enough to motivate people to donate.	1	2	3	4	5
3. The subordinate made the required number of labels (5 labels).	1	2	3	4	5
4. The leader motivated the subordinate to work to his/her potential.	1	2	3	4	5
5. The subordinate adhered to the leader's exact fund-raising preferences.	1	2	3	4	5

Overall team evaluation for fund-raising task: _____

Appendix H

Leader Performance Appraisal

1. Please rate the extent to which you agree with the statement below by circling a response. The leader motivated me to put a lot of effort into the fund-raising task?

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Disagree nor Agree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Did you follow your leader's fund-raising preferences? Yes No
   2a. Please explain _____

_____

_____

Harsh power influence condition: "I followed the leader's fund-raising preferences because a good evaluation from my supervisor could help me retain the highest reward points and avoid penalties."

Harsh power no-influence condition: "I did not follow the leader's fund-raising preferences because earning a few more points from my supervisor or avoiding a penalty isn't enough of a reason to do something other than the way I think is best."

Soft power influence condition: "I followed the leader's fund-raising preferences because my supervisor carefully explained the decisions he/she made and his/her performance on the first task proved to me that he/she knew the best way to do the job."

Soft power no-influence condition: "I did not follow the leader's fund-raising preferences because my supervisor didn't provide me with good reasons why we should design the labels the way he/she wanted and I'm not sure he/she knows the best way to do the job."

Appendix I

Comprehensive Exam Memo

BARUCH COLLEGE
WEISSMAN SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEANS OFFICE
One Bernard Baruch Way
New York, New York 10010
Tel: (646) 312-3870 Fax: (646) 312-3090

MEMO

Baruch College Mandatory Comprehensive Exam Proposal--summary

Baruch College is ranked among the top 15% of U.S. colleges and was named one of the 50 best values in public colleges. In an effort to ensure that our graduates are among the best in the nation, a proposal to impose a mandatory comprehensive examination requirement on all graduation candidates is currently under review. The proposal states that all students who wish to earn a degree from Baruch College must first pass an in-depth examination. This exam will contain multiple-choice and essay questions drawn from all subject offerings. The expected pass rate for all first-time test takers is 75%. Students who fail the exam will be able to retake the exam within three months. Those who fail the exam twice will be allowed to take the exam one additional time but must first enroll in a semester-long remedial course. Those who do not pass on the third attempt will not be permitted to graduate.

Appendix J

Stance on Comprehensive Exams

Instructions: Please read through the "Baruch College Mandatory Comprehensive Exam Proposal Summary" memo. Please carefully consider whether you agree or disagree with the plan to implement mandatory comprehensive exams at Baruch College as a graduation requirement.

Do you support the plan to implement mandatory comprehensive exams (circle one)? YES NO

Appendix K

Study 2 Instructions by Condition

Peer Power Condition for those who oppose comprehensive exams:
Instructions: The Baruch Ticker is a weekly newspaper produced entirely by Baruch students. For this task, you will be communicating via the internet with Drew J. Brown, a Baruch student who works on the Ticker. Drew is writing an article to get students to come together and help implement the new mandatory comprehensive exam policy. Drew is preparing to write the article by hearing the opinions of other Baruch undergraduate students. Please compose an email with up to three detailed arguments for why you agree or disagree with the plan to implement mandatory comprehensive exams. The e-mail address is DJBrown@baruch.cuny.edu. Drew is expecting your e-mail and will confirm that it is received.

Peer Power Condition for those who support comprehensive exams:
Instructions: The Baruch Ticker is a weekly newspaper produced entirely by Baruch students. For this task, you will be communicating via the internet with Drew J. Brown, a Baruch student who works on the Ticker. Drew is writing an article to get students to fight the new mandatory comprehensive exam policy. Drew is preparing to write the article by hearing the opinions of other Baruch undergraduate students. Please compose an email with up to three detailed arguments for why you agree or disagree with the plan to implement mandatory comprehensive exams. The e-mail address is DJBrown@baruch.cuny.edu. Drew is expecting your e-mail and will confirm that it is received.

Leader Power Condition for those who oppose comprehensive exams:
Instructions: The Baruch Dean of Students office staff is a team dedicated to implementing policies that that are in the best interest of Baruch Students. For this task, you will be communicating via the internet with Dr. J. Brown, a professor at Baruch College and a member of the Dean's committee. Dr. Brown would like to move forward with the plan to implement the new mandatory comprehensive exam policy. Dr. Brown is reaching out to students to allow them the opportunity to express their position before the committee moves forward with the movement. Please compose an email with up to three detailed arguments for why you agree or disagree with the plan to implement mandatory comprehensive exams. The e-mail address is Dr.J.Brown@baruch.cuny.edu. Dr. Brown is expecting your e-mail and will confirm that it is received.

Leader Power Condition for those who support comprehensive exams:
Instructions: The Baruch Dean of Students office staff is a team dedicated to implementing policies that that are in the best interest of Baruch Students. For this task, you will be communicating via the internet with Dr. J. Brown, a professor at Baruch College and a member of the Dean's committee. Dr. Brown does not agree with the new mandatory comprehensive exam policy. Dr. Brown is reaching out to students with the hopes that presenting students' opinions on the issue during the next staff meeting will help stop the committee from moving forward with the movement. Please compose an email with up to three detailed arguments for why you agree or disagree with the plan to implement mandatory comprehensive exams. The e-mail address is Dr.J.Brown@baruch.cuny.edu. Dr. Brown is expecting your e-mail and will confirm that it is received.

Appendix L

E-mail Responses

Influence Conditions: "Thank you for your thoughtful input into this issue. Your point about (a specific argument the participant made) is a valid argument and something we have not yet taken into consideration. Our committee should give this issue more thought and discussion before proceeding. Do you mind if I bring your name and ideas up to the committee at our next meeting?"

No-Influence Conditions: "Thank you for your thoughtful input into this issue. The arguments you made about (a specific argument the participant made), although valid, have already been taken under consideration. The benefits/costs of instituting comprehensive exams still outweigh the costs/benefits and we will proceed with our plans."

All Conditions: In all conditions, in the response e-mail, the committee member will ask participants if they would be willing to volunteer time at an upcoming fundraiser they are organizing to help low-income students pay for textbooks, and to also provide email addresses of friends who might also be interested in volunteering.

Appendix M

Stance on Proposed Graduation Requirements

Instructions: Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each proposed graduation requirement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree nor Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Students should be required to become proficient in a foreign language before they are allowed to graduate from Baruch College with a degree so that they are more competitive in the workforce.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Students should be required to perform community service before they are allowed to graduate from Baruch Collegeso that they learn the importance of being a responsible member of their community.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Students should be required to pass competency exams in Math, Science, and English before they are allowed to graduate from Baruch College in order to improve the reputation of the school.	1	2	3	4	5
4. All students, regardless of their major, should be required to take 1 full year of math to earn an Associate's degree and 3 semesters of math to earn a Bachelor's degree.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Baruch students should be required to take a gym course each semester in order to learn to make exercise a part of their everyday routine.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Students should be required to complete the requirements of a minor as well as a major.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix N

False Persuasion Feedback

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you agreed or disagreed with the proposed graduation requirement before hearing the communicator's persuasive message.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree nor Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Students should be required to pass competency exams in Math, Science, and English before they are allowed to graduate from Baruch College in order to improve the reputation of the school.	1	2	3	4	5

Instructions: Please indicate the extent to which you now agree or disagree with the proposed graduation requirement after hearing the communicator's persuasive message.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree nor Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
2. Students should be required to pass competency exams in Math, Science, and English before they are allowed to graduate from Baruch College in order to improve the reputation of the school.	1	2	3	4	5

Please explain: The arguments written by my partner were/were not very well thought out and/or convincing. _____
_____
_____

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