CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POWER AND

IDENTITY VERIFICATION IN POWER IMBALANCED DYADS

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

In the present study, I look at the relationship between power and identity verification and the conditions under which this relationship can be disrupted. Specifically, I look at the role of information in disrupting power differences within identity processes. I examine these processes through an experiment with task-oriented, power-imbalanced, dyads (N=144). Priming participants with a task-leader identity, I test how the introduction of *negotiation resources*—or information discrepant and external to a high power actor's self presentation, affect *presentation power*—or the degree to which an actor can maintain identity meanings in light of partner negotiations.

In contrast with existing literature, I did not find a direct relationship between power and identity verification. I did, however, find that those in higher positions of power experience greater identity stability, while those in lower positions of power experience increased identity change. Interestingly, I found that identity change and identity verification varied with identity valence, such that those with dominant task leader identity meanings experienced greater identity stability but less identity verification than their more submissive counterparts. These relationships, however were power dependent, such that differences disappeared among power-high actors, and were magnified for power-low actors. *Negotiation Resources* did not have a significant main effect, but showed a significant interaction with identity valence when predicting identity verification among power-low actors.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my insightful and patient committee members: Jane Sell,

Sarah Gatson, Dudley Poston, Alex McIntosh, and the always remembered Stuart

Hysom. It is further dedicated to my wonderful and caring family: Ziegen, Roscoe, Ellen

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

1. INTRODUCTION

In the present work, I look at the relationship between power and identity verification and the conditions under which this relationship can be disrupted. I do so experimentally, testing several hypotheses using power imbalanced, task-oriented, dyads. Specifically, I look at the role of power position and information as participants work to verify their identity meanings surrounding the instrumental identity of "task leader."

The issue of power has been a concern of sociologists since the onset of the discipline. It seems that power relationships pervade almost all aspects of social life, including, according to recent research, identity verification processes. Identity control theorists assume that actors work to verify their identity meanings through interpersonal interactions. The verification of one's identity[1] is a desirable outcome, as it elicits positive emotion, while failing to do so elicits negative emotion (Burke 2004b; Burke and Harrod 2005; Burke and Stets 1999; Robinson and Smith-Lovin 1992; Stets and Burke 2005b Swann 1987). Importantly, the drive for verification applies symmetrically to both positive and negative identity meanings.

Recent work within Identity Theory shows that those in higher positions of power are viewed as more competent, more worthy of deference, and are therefore

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[1] By "identity", I refer to the internalized set of meanings that people attach to themselves as a person, as an occupant of a role, holder of a status, or as a member of a group (Burke 2004a; Stets and Burke 2000; Stryker and Burke 2000; Stets and Cast 2007; Smith-Lovin 2007).

deferred to in defining the situation, as well as self and other within the situation (Burke, Stets and Cerven 2007; Cast 2003; Cast, Stets, and Burke 1999; Stets and Harrod 2004). Empirically, this manifests such that those in higher positions of power are better able to achieve identity verification, or a match between situational meanings and self views (Burke 2004a; Stets and Burke 2000; Stryker and Burke 2000 Stets and Cast 2007). Overall, this means that structural positions of power transpose into interpersonal interaction, and actors in powerful positions within the social structure disproportionately achieve desired micro-level outcomes.

By "power", I refer to structurally determined advantageous access to resources. Resources are the structurally provided tools that allow for the maintenance of a system of interaction (Freese and Burke 1994). In terms of identity negotiation, resources refer to the attributes (potential and actual, ascribed and achieved, material and immaterial) which make an actor appear more competent within the social structure, more worthy of deference, and therefore, more in control of the definition of the situation (Burke, Stets and Cerven 2007. Cast 2003; Cast, Stets, and Burke 1999; Stets and Cast 2007; Stets and Harrod 2004).

Specifically, actors gain resources through their status characteristics, positions of authority, and/or relative levels of dependence. Research shows that having higher relative status, less relative dependence, and being in a legitimate position of authority increases an actor's control over the definition of the situation, and so increases her ability to verify identity meanings (Burke, Stets and Cerven 2007. Cast 2003; Cast, Stets, and Burke 1999; Stets and Harrod 2004). I therefore conceptualize power in terms of

2

relative resources, broken down into: *relative status, relative dependence, and legitimate position of authority.* A high power actor therefore holds higher relative status, is less dependent, and/or resides in a legitimate position of authority in juxtaposition to her interaction partner (see Appendix C for conceptualizations of status, dependence, and legitimate authority). This definition is necessarily relational, in that "power" is not an objective state, but established against the interactional positions of others.

My interest is in disrupting the link between power position and identity verification. This follows a burgeoning line of research which attempts to understand the conditions under which power structures hold, or fail to hold, within identity processes (Stets and Harrod 2004; Burke, Stets and Cerven 2007). Very briefly, these studies show that existing power structures can be tempered when low power actors either focus on expressive identities (at the cost of instrumental identities) (Stets and Harrod 2004), or when a high power actor legitimates the low power actor into a position of authority (Burke et al. 2007). I will discuss the specifics of these studies and their implications in greater detail below. For now, it will suffice to say that these findings suggest that power relations are indeed pliable. However, these works construct an image of the low power actor as passive, and of the social structure as inevitably reinforced at the micro level.

The purpose of the present work is to explore the vulnerabilities of structural power, while avoiding the above mentioned pitfalls. In particular, I explore access to and control over information as a means of disrupting/maintaining power hierarchies as they play out in negotiated processes of self and identity construction. My overall argument is

that information, possessed by a low power actor, about a high power interaction partner, can be a tool used in the process of negotiating the definitions of self and situation. I test this experimentally by creating a power imbalanced interaction situation, and then introducing (or not introducing) particular kinds of information about the actor in the higher position of power. By constructing an experimental design that does not employ confederates, I am able to examine how the manipulation affects the content of the interaction process itself, as well as the verification of those in both power high and power low positions.

I begin with a review the literature at the nexus of identity verification and power. I then set up a theoretical argument for the use of (a particular kind of) information as a variable in power imbalanced identity negotiations. I then put forth a set of hypotheses, and test them experimentally.

2. LITERATURE

Structural symbolic interactionists see the self as socially constructed within existing social structures (Stryker 1980). Identity Theory makes sense of identity processes within this framework. Research within Identity Theory can be broken down into two main foci: internal processes and external processes (Stryker and Burke 2000). Although the focus of the present work is on the former, these internal processes cannot be understood as something separate from the external.

Stryker and colleagues (Stryker 1980; Merolla, Serpe, Stryker, and Schultz 2012; Stryker, Serpe, and Hung 2005) focus on external identity processes. They argue that the self is made up of several identities, organized into a hierarchy of salience. We seek out situations in which we can enact our most salient identities (Stryker 1980). The hierarchical location of each identity is a function of one's commitment to it, and commitment is a function of frequency of enactment, as well as network ties associated with the identity (Stryker and Serpe 1994). A key point is that social actors call out identities based upon situational relevance. Once the actor calls out the identity, internal identity processes begin (Stryker and Burke 2000).

When an actor enters a situation, she calls forth particular relevant identities. Each identity holds a set of meanings for the actor— referred to as an identity standard. The actor works to verify the identity standard through negotiated interaction (Burke 2004a). The goal is to have situational meanings match identity meanings—achieving identity verification. When the actor accomplishes identity verification, it elicits positive emotion (Burke 2004b; Burke and Harrod 2005; Burke and Stets 1999; Robinson and

Smith-Lovin 1992; Stets and Burke 2005b Swann 1987). When the actor fails to accomplish identity verification, it brings about negative emotion (Burke 1991; 2004b; Burke and Harrod 2005; Stets and Burke 2005a).

Identity Theory (Burke 2004a) envisions the interaction process as a cybernetic feedback loop, through which actors present themselves in accordance with an identity standard, receive feedback from their interaction partner(s), and then work to adjust their behavioral outputs accordingly. It is through this process of negotiated interaction that social actors collaboratively construct selves. More formally, the identity process is represented by four key components: *identity standard, inputs, comparator, and outputs* (Burke and Stets 2009).

The *identity standard* represents the meanings that an actor holds about a particular identity. These meanings may be positive or negative. Taking the example of "leader" identity, an actor may see himself as either dominant or submissive (Swann and Hill 1982). In practice, identity meanings are located upon a continuum between poles of meaning. For instance, one may see herself as more dominant than submissive, more submissive than dominant, or equally dominant and submissive. More concretely, if we place leadership identity on a scale of 1(highly submissive)-10(highly dominant), an actor may score himself anywhere along this scale. Identity Theory assumes actors work to uphold their identity standards through interaction.

Inputs are the situational meanings that actors utilize to determine the extent to which their identity standards are interactionally verified. These situational meanings may include environmental cues, one's own behavior, and the behavior of others. Of

6

particular relevance here, are *reflected appraisals*, or the actor's perception of how others see her.

Reflected appraisals and other inputs are placed into the *comparator*, the mechanism by which actors compare situational inputs to their identity standards. When the actor *perceives* that situational meanings match self views, the actor achieves identity verification. When the actor *perceives* incongruence between situational meanings and self-views, they experience non-verification.

As I noted, identity verification elicits positive emotion, whereas non-verification elicits negative emotion. As such, when an actor perceives a discrepancy between situational meanings and her identity standard, she works to repair this schism through *outputs*. These can be cognitive or behavioral. For instance, an actor can reinterpret situational inputs to better match identity meanings, or work harder to behaviorally display the meanings held in the identity standard. When identity non-verification is persistent, the actor may experience identity change (Burke 2006).

This process, however, does not take place in the same way for all (types of) people, at all times. Rather, actors' relative positions of power affect the ease (or difficulty) with which they can achieve identity verification (Burke, Stets and Cerven 2007; Cast 2003; Cast, Stets, and Burke 1999; Stets and Harrod 2004). More specifically, those with higher relative status, less relative dependence, and those in positions of legitimate authority are more likely to be seen as worthy of deference, deferred to in defining the situation, and are therefore better able to verify identity meanings than their relatively less powerful interaction partner(s) (Burke et al. 2007; Cast 2003; Cast, Stets, and Burke

7

1999; Stets and Harrod 2004). What this means more generally, is that social structures both shape, and are reinforced through interaction. Although it is a well supported idea that social structures are reinforced at the micro level, my interest is in thinking about ways in which this can be disrupted.

In order understand how micro-level interactions can break free from (rather than reinforce) social structures, it is important to understand the active and collaborative work that goes into constructing definitions of self and situation. Theorists of identity verification assume that actors work to verify identity meanings, and so actively work to control situational meanings. Existing literature shows three means by which actors accomplish this control: 1) behavior of self, 2) affecting the behavior of others, and 3) resisting the identities imposed upon the self by others (Cast 2003). Adding to this, I suggest that the inclusion of control over self-identity information (i.e. information about the self) is a fourth mechanism of control over situational meanings.

One way to control situational meanings is through the actor's own behavior. An actor can work to define the situation by behaving in ways consistent with her self views (McNulty and Swann 1994). In addition, she can limit her interaction partners to those who see her as she sees herself. The actor can therefore present herself as she wants to be seen, and have this presentation reinforced by her interaction partners (Robinson and Smith-Lovin 1992; Swann 1987).

A second way to control situational meanings is through controlling the behaviors of others within the interaction. To properly perform one's own role, the actor depends upon the counter-roles performed by interaction partners (Burke 1980; Stryker 1980).

8

One can therefore maintain identity meanings by literally casting others into complimentary positions (i.e. altercasting) (Weinstein and Deutschberger 1963). Finally, situational meanings can be controlled through *resistance* to altercasting. If each actor works to verify identity meanings, conflict arises when these meanings contradict one another. When a tension arises between the identity meanings of interaction partners, it may behoove the actor to resist the role into which her partner casts her (Burke et al. 2007; Cast et al. 1999; Stets and Harrod 2004; Swann 1987; Turner 1976).

I add to this list by suggesting that actor control over self-identity information can be a fourth mechanism for maintaining situational meanings. If actors can limit audience[2] access to information, then the audience must depend upon the actor's presentation in making sense of the situation, and the actor's identity within it. The converse of this, of course, is *uncontrolled* audience access to an actors' identity information. If the audience possesses information about the actor, outside of the information put forth by that actor, then the audience will have tools with which to negotiate the actor's presented identity, making situational meanings more difficult for the actor to control. This will be the jumping off point for my main argument.

If, all else held constant, high power actors are better able to define the situation

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[2] Of course, within symbolic interaction, it is understood that nobody is ever just an actor, or just an audience. Each person is simultaneously performing a self (i.e. being an actor) as well as receiving, interpreting, and providing feedback on the performances of others (i.e. being an audience). For analytic purposes, however, I disentangle the two positions. The reader should keep in mind that their independence is purely analytical and not empirical.

and the actors within it, then information is an important variable to be considered in this process. I argue that information, when accessed by those in structurally disadvantaged positions, can be used as a resource in the negotiation of situational meanings, making control over those meanings more difficult for the high power actor to maintain. That is, information can be a means by which power structures are disrupted within the interpersonal negotiations of identity construction. As I mentioned above, this concern is in line with existing studies that explore how power hierarchies might be disrupted within identity negotiation processes. I look more in depth at these studies here.

Stets and Harrod (2004) look at the ways in which multiple identities affect the relationship between power and identity verification. They find that for those in lower positions of power, identity verification is more attainable within expressive rather than instrumental identities. Their prescriptive suggestion is that low power actors focus on expressive identities in order to achieve the emotional benefits and avoid the emotional hardships associated with verification/lack of verification respectively.

Looking at instrumental identities, Burke et al. (2007) focus on processes of legitimation. They find that the placement of a relatively low power actor into a legitimate position of authority increases her ability to self verify. Legitimation is therefore a means of subverting the power hierarchy outside of expressive roles.

Together, these works offer two routes for relatively less powerful actors to achieve identity verification. First, less powerful actors can focus on expressive (rather than instrumental) identities. Second, when enacting an instrumental identity, less powerful actors can be placed into a legitimate position of authority.

These works importantly demonstrate the malleable nature of power hierarchies at the micro level. Within these models, however, low power actors remain somewhat passive. In the case of the former, actors must give up particular identities to which they may hold strong attachments. Moreover, the kinds of identities low power actors must forgo (instrumental identities) are the kinds of identities that provide actors with higher status, and its concomitant resources (Gerber 2009; Sell and Kuipers 2009; Webster and Rashotte 2009). In the case of the latter, low power actors must rely upon a high power actor to improve their positions. Further, once authorized into a legitimate position of authority, low power actors *become* high power actors. A powerful position therefore remains necessary for the successful verification of instrumental identities. In both cases, the social structure of power is reinforced, even as the consequences of that power structure are ameliorated for the individual actor.

Following the lead of the authors above, I too explore the conditions under which low power actors garner more influence in the negotiated definitions of self and situation. I attempt, however, to approach this in a way that grants the low power actor greater agency. In particular, I am interested in the ways in which relatively less powerful actors can achieve identity verification without relying upon more powerful actors, and without foregoing attachments to instrumental identities.

3. THEORY

Often, when we think about the disruption of power, we think about uprisings, revolutions, and large scale social movements. These, while important, are quite rare. Instead, most forms of resistance are mundane, implicit, and take place at the micro level (Scott 1985). As Goffman (1959, 1967) aptly shows, less powerful actors, though often unable to change the social structure, are skilled navigators of the structure, resisting in subtle ways their deferent positions. In short, *all* social actors exercise agency, and power relationships, though structurally based, are played out, negotiated, reinforced, and resisted by individual social actors, engaging in the affairs of everyday life.

I am therefore interested in the vulnerabilities of power hierarchies as they manifest at the micro-level of interpersonal interaction. Specifically, I am interested in the role of information in this process, and the ways in which low power actors employ information as a means of agentic negotiation. This, I hope, provides an active way to think about power disruption at the micro level. At the core of my theoretical argument, is the relationship between *negotiation resources* and *presentation power*.

3.1 Negotiation Resources and Presentation Power

I define *negotiation resources* as: Information possessed by the audience, about the actor, external and discrepant to the actor's direct self presentation. By direct self presentation, I mean the actor's explicit behavioral choices and strategic use of the setting and available props as she works to have others see her in a way that is congruent with her identity meanings.

Of course, however, an actor cannot control all aspects of the situation, and the audience can be in possession of information about the actor that the actor does not explicitly share within the interaction. This external information, when contradictory to the actor's presented self, can act as a resource with which the audience negotiates the definitions of self and other within the situation.

That the information must be discrepant is a small but important theoretical point. Indeed, an audience might possess information about the actor that the actor has not explicitly offered, but if this information is congruent with the presented self, it will reinforce (rather than disrupt) the presentation. Negotiation resources therefore refer not just to information outside of the direct self presentation, but a particular *kind* of information (i.e. discrepant information).

I want to be careful here to disentangle *negotiation resources* from "resources" proper. While *negotiation resources* are tools that actors mobilize in interaction, they differ in three important ways from the resources discussed above (Freese and Burke 1994). First, *negotiation resources* belong to the audience/observer, not the actor. Second, the audience uses *negotiation resources* to disrupt, rather than reinforce the social structure. Finally, *negotiation resources* are not structurally provided, but gained experientially through interpersonal interactions in everyday life.

Related to *negotiation resources* is the concept of *presentation power*. Presentation power is defined as: *The degree to which an actor can verify self views in light of audience negotiations*. In other words, it is the ease with which the actor can convince her interaction partner to accept her presented identity meanings. If identity construction

13

takes place through a process of negotiation, then *presentation power* reflects the amount of negotiation in which the actor must engage to achieve verification, and the likelihood that she will achieve it at all.

Again, I must do a bit of disentangling. *Presentation power* is not the same as "power" proper. Although both refer to an advantageous position, *presentation power* pertains specifically to identity negotiations. An actor can maintain her power proper (i.e. still have a higher status, less dependence, and/or be in a position of authority) even as her *presentation power* decreases. What will change, with a decrease in *presentation power*, is the advantage that her power position provides in terms of identity verification.

At the crux of my theoretical argument, is the relationship between *presentation power* and *negotiation resources.* I argue that audience negotiation resources will affect the situation by decreasing an actor's presentation power, requiring the actor to engage in more "work" in order to verify identity meanings (if verification can be achieved at all). "Work" here will be used as Snow and Anderson (1987) have defined it: "…The range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self concept (1328).

Negotiation resources operate in a way that is similar to deflections in Affect Control Theory (ACT). ACT theorists show that surprising information and experiences (i.e. deflections) lead to a frenzy of activity as the actor must reevaluate the situation and the actors within it (Heise 1979; MacKinnon 1994; Robinson and Smith-Lovin 1992, 2006; Smith-Lovin and Heise (1988). Applying this to identity information specifically, negotiation resources can lead to audience re-evaluation of the actor and the situation.

In the simplest sense, I argue that information, possessed by a low power actor, about a high power actor, can be a tool utilized by the former in the negotiated process of identity construction. At the same time, a high power actor's control over information about the self can help maintain the existing hierarchy by limiting her partner's ability to negotiate. I should point out that while I have been (and will continue to) focus on the former, the latter is sometimes more desirable. For instance, a teacher who divulges too much personal information to her students may have a difficult time controlling the classroom, and therefore be a less effective educator (for an example of such a situation see Mazer, Murphy, and Simonds 2007).

3.2 Information as a Resource

Information as a resource is not a new idea within social psychology. Attribution research shows that observers utilize all available information in order to determine the cause of an actor's behavior. In particular, actors make attributions based upon three kinds of information: consensus information (how others behave towards the present stimuli), distinctiveness information (how the actor typically responds to other stimuli), and consistency information (how the actor typically responds to this particular stimuli) (Kelley 1967).

Interestingly, actors and observers often come up with discrepant attributions. While there are many reasons for this, most relevant is the idea that actors have greater access to distinctiveness and consistency information than do observers (Greenwald and Banajai 1989; Jones and Nisbett 1987; Krueger, Ham and Linford, 1996; Malle and Knobe, 1997). As such, observers are reliant upon the present situation in constructing

15

an attribution for the particular behavior. In other words, actor and observer make sense of the same situation using all available information. Discrepant actor/observer information leads to discrepant definitions of the situation (i.e. discrepant actor/observer attributions). Similarly, the accuracy of attribution is improved as people get to know each other (i.e. as the information gap between actor and observer decreases) (Wegener and Petty 1995).

Although these ideas have not been applied to identity, power, or their relation, they illustrate the use of information as a resource in constructing a view of self and other within the situation. They show that in the absence of outside information, an audience relies upon the cues that the actor directly puts forth. Perhaps even more important, this shows that the audience will bring into new encounters the information gained in other arenas (e.g. previous encounters), and use this information to define the situation as well as the actors within it.

3.3 Gaining Negotiation Resources

Audiences can garner identity information in any number of ways. For example, information can come from prior interactions, gossip from mutual acquaintances, or information present in the setting itself (e.g. during a meeting with a student in a professor's office, the professor presents herself as competent and professional, but may have accidentally left a "trashy" magazine open on her desk). I place the sources of negotiation resources into three main categories: 1) role discrepant behavior, 2) situational cues, and 3) conflicting role interactions.

An actor, while interacting within a particular role, may unintentionally behave in

some way that is out of sync with her direct self presentation. Similarly, the setting itself might present the audience with discrepant information that the actor does not directly put forth. Further, an audience who interacts with the same actor in multiple roles has access to the actor's behaviors outside of the present situation.

Role discrepant behavior therefore refers to actions that are out of line with the rest of actor's self presentation. An example of this can be seen in the following: the professor (presenting herself as an expert and as intellectually superior to her students) becomes visibly stumped when a student references a scholar with whom the professor is not familiar. Her behavior (being stumped) is discrepant to her self presentation as an expert, and so provides for the students resources with which to negotiate this, and future interactions.

Related to role discrepant behavior, are situational cues. Although the actor utilizes her own behavior as well as settings and props in order to present herself in a particular way, the actor cannot account for every detail of the setting or situation. As such, the setting itself has the potential to provide the audience with information discrepant to the actor's self presentation. For instance, the open "trashy" magazine discussed above could act as a situational cue that provides information discrepant to the professor's direct self presentation (and discrepant with her identity meanings within this role). Similarly, an undergraduate taking a course from a graduate student instructor would gain negotiation resources if the graduate student/instructor accidentally left visible one of his term papers on which he received a poor grade.

Finally, audiences can observe discrepancies through interactions with the same

17

actor, acting in multiple and conflicting roles. Burke (2006) has shown that when simultaneously enacted roles conflict, an actor undergoes a degree of identity change. This is because she must reconcile the identity standards associated with each role. In applying this process here, I simply shift the focus from the actor to the audience. Just as actors must adjust their own identity meanings to accommodate conflicting role enactments, audiences can use information gained through interaction with an actor in one role to negotiate that same actor's identity meanings in another (conflicting) role. For example, a professor is not only a professor, but may also be a mother, friend, neighbor, movie-buff, hobbyist etc. Some of these roles hold conflicting identity standards. A professor might be authoritarian in the classroom, but highly nurturing with his children. A student who spends time with the professor and his family will therefore have information discrepant to the harsh identity put forth in the classroom. As such, the student can use this information as a resource with which to negotiate the professor's strong-fisted classroom persona.

3.4 Stability Drive

I have argued that discrepant information may be a leveling factor in power imbalanced identity negotiations. This process, however, will likely be complicated by a drive towards stability. In particular, the audience must *use* available negotiation resources (i.e. discrepant information) in order to affect the actor's presentation power.

Although I have been theoretically describing interaction in terms of competition, the reality is that interaction is highly ritualistic. Indeed, research shows that actors work not only to verify their own identity meanings, but also to maintain a stable sense of reality

(Berger and Luckmann 1967; Burke 1991, 2004a, 2004b, 2006; Festinger 1957**;**

Goffman 1959; Heiss 1977; Nisbett and Jones 1987; Robinson and Smith-Lovin 1992

;Swann 1987). As such, audiences will likely *avoid* the recognition and use of discrepant

information when possible. (Nisbett and Jones 1987).

Audiences are therefore unlikely to aggressively seek out and utilize negotiation

resources. Instead, audiences are more liable to either ignore discrepant information,

interpret discrepant information in a way that makes it consistent with the actor's

presentation, or dismiss it as an anomaly (Read et al. 1997). It follows that in order for

discrepant information to have an impact (i.e. be used as a negotiation resource that will

decrease an actor's presentation power) it must be strong, persistent, or both. That is, it

must be discrepant enough to resist being folded into the actor's self presentation

through interpretation, and/or it must be persistent enough that the audience cannot

dismiss it as an anomaly[3].

3.5 Assumptions

The relationship between presentation power and negotiation resources rests upon two

main assumptions. First, I assume that actors are motivated to verify their identity

meanings (Burke 2004b; Burke and Harrod 2005; Burke et al. 2007; Burke and Stets

1999; Cast 2003; Cast, Stets, and Burke 1999; Robinson and Smith-Lovin 1992;Stets

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[3] In discussing discrepant information as it affects identity construction, it should be
pointed out that I am talking specifically here about social targets. There is a vast
literature pertaining to non-social targets that is line with the above ideas about
resistance to discrepant information (Fiske and Neuberg 1990;Monroe and Read 2008;
Read et al. 1997; Russo et al. 2008). The main difference, however, between that
literature and this study, is that the non-social target is passive, while the social target is
not only active, but has an interest in influencing the audience's evaluations in a
particular direction.

and Burke 2005b; Stets and Harrod 2004 Swann1990; Swann, Pelham, and Krull 1989; Swann,Wenzlaff, and Tafarodi 1992). Second, I assume that, with all else held constant, interpersonal interaction will reinforce social structures. This means that the relatively less powerful actor will defer to the more powerful actor in defining situational meanings (Burke et al. 2007; Cast 2003; Cast, Stets, and Burke 1999; Stets and Harrod 2004). I am interested in the conditions under which we can violate this second assumption.

3.6 Propositions

In what follows, I put forth several propositions. First, increased negotiation resources will result in more "work" by the high power actor. Second, the presence of negotiation resources will impede the identity verification of the high power actor. Third, the continued lack of identity verification will eventually result in changed identity meanings for the high power actor. Finally, I expect the leveling effect of negotiation resources to enhance low power actors' ability to self verify in the power imbalanced interaction.

Identity Theory asserts that upon receiving feedback that situational meanings are discrepant with self views, actors engage in reconciliatory work. Similarly, Swann and colleagues point out that there is a difference between the taken for granted self presentation in ordinary interaction and the behaviors that follow a "threat" to the self concept. In particular, this research shows that following a threat, the actor becomes more self focused and engages in explicit identity work in order to elicit self-confirmatory responses (Swann1987; Swann and Hill1982). It follows that negotiation

20

resources can bring about identity threats within an interaction, eliciting more explicit identity work.

Along with an increase in identity work, it has been shown that the presence of disconfirming information decreases the actor's ability to achieve identity verification (Swann 1987). I therefore argue that negotiation resources (i.e. disconfirming information) will decrease the ability of high power actors to achieve identity verification. Further, a prolonged inability to self verify can result in an alteration to identity meanings (i.e. identity change) (Burke 1991, 2006; Swann 1982). Negotiation resources inherently make self presentation more difficult. After a prolonged period of unsuccessful identity work, we can therefore expect an increased potential for shifts in the definition of the situation (and so shifts in the definition of each actor's identity meanings within the situation).

Each of these interactional processes implies a shift in the power balance, with high power actors losing their relative efficacy in defining the situation (and so self and other within it). If, all else held constant, the high power actor is better able to self verify than the low power actor, then negotiation resources can be thought of as the variable that obstructs this process. As such, the final prediction deals with the affect of negotiation resources upon the *low power* actor. I predict that negotiation resources, by leveling the interactional power relationship, will *increase* the less powerful actor's ability to achieve identity verification.

With these predictions in mind, I put forth the following formal propositions:

Proposition 1: Power high actors will be better able to verify identity meanings than

power low actors.

> *Proposition 1b:* The presence of negotiation resources will decrease identity verification for power high actors.

> *Proposition 1c:* The presence of negotiation resources will increase identity verification for power low actors.

Proposition 2: Power high actors will experience less identity change than power low actors.

> *Proposition 2b:* The presence of negotiation resources will increase identity change for power high actors.

> *Proposition 2c:* The presence of negotiation resources will decrease identity change for power low actors.

Proposition 3: The presence of negotiation resources will result in increased identity work for the power high actor.

In sum, negotiation resources will decrease the power high actor's presentation power, resulting in more identity work, decreased identity verification, and the possibility of a shift in identity meanings. Further, the shift in power will enable the power low actor to improve identity verification and resist identity change.

3.7 Scope Conditions

As with all theoretical propositions, the application of the negotiation resources/ presentation power relationship is not universal. The following are the conditions under which these theoretical propositions apply:

First: There must be two or more interaction partners.

Second: One actor must be in a position of higher relative power as compared with her/his interaction partner

I based the first scope condition on a structural symbolic interactionist theoretical framework, which assumes the construction of self to be a social process. Negotiation therefore requires at least two actors. I assume hierarchical power relations because I look specifically at the disruption of power hierarchies within interpersonal interaction, as they impact processes of identity verification.

4. METHODS

4.1 Procedures

Participants were recruited from undergraduate classes at a large southwestern university (N=144 participants/77 groups). Recruitment was done in person, and scheduling was done by phone (see Appendix A[1]). Because the social psychology laboratory recruits for several studies at once, we obtain interest sheets from everyone, and then sort based on the needs of particular studies. In the present study, I sorted for white men with either highly dominant or highly submissive task-leader identity meanings (excluding women, people of color, and those with middle ranging task-leader identity meanings). I used only white men to control for external sources of power (i.e. diffuse status characteristics). I used only those with highly dominant or highly submissive task leader identity meanings so that I could pair participants based on similar locations upon the identity meaning continuum (details below).

At the time of recruitment, students were asked to fill in a brief task-leadership identity scale (adapted from Riley and Burke 1995; Burke 2003; Burke et al. 2007 (see Appendix A[4]). The scale asks participants to think about how they behave when interacting in task groups. They are presented with a series of statements such as: "I try to maintain my own opinion even though many other people may have a different point of view" and asked to evaluate the accuracy with which each statement describes them on a scale from 1 (Extremely Accurate) to 7 (Not At All Accurate). High scores indicate dominant task-leader identity meanings (strong task-leader identity), and low scores indicate submissive task-leader identity meanings (weak task-leader identity). Based

upon pre-test data, I calculated a range of scores that represent the top and bottom 25%. Those with scores that land in the upper quartile range (top 25%) are said to have dominant task- leader identity meanings. Those with scores that land in the lower quartile range (bottom 25%) are said to have submissive or weak task-leader identity meanings. I do not use data from those who have scores that fall in the middle 50%.

I called potential participants from both the top and bottom 25% and invited them to participate (see Appendix A[1]). I scheduled participants in groups of two based upon high or low scores on the task-leadership identity scale. That is, each dyad shared task-leader identity meanings. Those with dominant task-leader identity meanings were paired with a partner who also holds dominant task-leader identity meanings. Those with submissive task-leader identity meanings were paired with a partner who also reported submissive task-leader identity meanings.

Although I scheduled participants, I never interacted with them in the laboratory. Instead, the studies were run by two male research assistants, who switched off with one another, such that half of the groups were run by each. These researchers remained naïve to the hypotheses of the study, enabling us to circumvent issues of experimenter bias. I chose male researchers because participants were male. This minimized projections of power and masculinity vis-à-vis a female researcher. Of course, masculinity can be preformed and elicited through an all male situation. The use of male researchers in *all* studies, however, lets us control for this effect.

Both research assistants were trained extensively by the PI. Each researcher was provided with a script for each condition to ensure uniformity and proper instantiation of

theoretical conditions (see Appendix A[2]). Training included close direction, acting as a participant in both the experimental and baseline versions of the study, and running several practice trials in all conditions until both researchers could run through all procedures smoothly and in a uniform manner.

Once at the laboratory, researchers gave participants informed consent sheets to read and sign (see Appendix A[3]). Once the researcher retrieved the forms, participants watched a seven minute instructional video explaining the process of the study, and the rules of their participation. I used separate videos for the experimental and baseline conditions. In all conditions, the researcher then reiterated the directions from the video, and answered any questions. Through this video and directions from the researcher, participants were informed that they would be working together to complete a complex task, that they would be videotaped in our effort to better understand collaborative decision making, and that they would be paid based on their collaborative performance.

After hearing the instructions, each participant was then randomly assigned to either the position of leader (power high), or that of assistant (power low). This designation was based upon a random number generator, which indicated for each study whether the first or second person to arrive would be assigned the position of leader. For example, if group number forty-five was randomly assigned the score of one, then the first person to arrive would be placed into the position of leader. If group number forty-five was randomly assigned a score of two, then the second person to arrive would be assigned the position of leader. Participants did not know that their arrival times determined their relative positions. Instead, the researcher simply informed them that the

designation was random, and reminded them that they both reported similarly on the task-leadership scale. This reminder was intended to activate task-leadership identity meanings from the very beginning.

Although participants were to work together on the task, the person in the position of leader was given the final word on all decisions, further instantiating the power differential. To ensure motivation, participants were told that payment was dependent upon how well they completed the collaborative task (min=$10, max=$20). In reality, all participants received the maximum $20.

Each group completed at least one task. This is the primary task. Participants first completed the primary task individually, and then collaboratively. This primary task, Shoot the Moon, is a task that does have objectively correct responses as judged by NASA. Participants were first given about seven minutes to complete this task individually, in order to "get a feel" for the task, and develop some preliminary ideas. Really, the purpose of individual completion was to later compare individual results to group results. After seven minutes, the researcher made sure that both participants had completed the task individually. If they had not, the participants were given more time to do so. When they did finish, the researcher instructed the participants to begin working together to complete the task as a group. From the beginning, they were told that payment depended only upon the final answers produced collaboratively.

In the experimental condition, participants completed a practice task prior to attempting the primary task. In this practice exercise, participants were asked to make leadership decisions in light of several fictitious situations, such as a zombie apocalypse,

trapped on an island etc., Participants were told that the practice task was similar in format to the primary task, and that it measured leadership abilities as determined by experts at the Harvard Business School. In reality, there were no objectively correct answers and scores were pre-determined. The researcher pretended to score these practice tasks and announced their results publicly. In addition, he writes the scores visibly on index cards and shows them to participants. Group leaders received scores that were discrepant with their task-leader identity meanings. That is, if the group members both held dominant task leader identity meanings, the leader was said to have scored below average, and below the assistant, indicating a poor leadership performance. If the group members both held submissive task leader identity meanings, the researcher announced that the leader scored above average and above the assistant, indicating a strong leadership performance. In control conditions, participants did not complete the practice task and so received no leadership evaluations prior to engaging in the collaborative primary task (see Appendix B for both the practice and primary tasks).

After completing the collaborative task, participants were asked to fill in the task-leadership identity scale (Burke 2003; Burke, Stets, and Cerven 2007) for a second time. They were also asked to fill in the same scale from the point of view of their partners (e.g. "My partner thinks that I am the kind of person who maintains my own opinion even though many other people may have a different point of view") (see Appendix A[4]).

Following the study, participants were thanked, debriefed, and paid. The researcher also checked for the effectiveness of the manipulation and probed for suspicion. In all cases, the manipulation was effective, and no participants reported

suspicion (see Appendix A[5]).

A major strength of this design is that it does not employ confederates. This means that I am able to look at how the manipulations affect both power high and power low actors. Perhaps more importantly, I can look at the interaction as a whole, getting a fuller understanding of the role of negotiation resources within identity negotiations.

4.2 Independent Variables

The purpose of this study is to examine the conditions under which power structures can be disrupted at the micro level, within the negotiated process of identity construction. More specifically, I am interested in the effects of negotiation resources upon presentation power. I use three main independent variables 1) power position (power high vs. power low) 2) task leadership identity valence (dominant vs. submissive) and 3) condition (experimental vs. baseline).

The first independent variable is power position. This varies between power high and power low. Each group consists of a leader and an assistant, with each position randomly assigned. The person in the position of leader is designated as power high, and the person in the position of assistant is designated as power low. This is operationalized as a dichotomous variable, with leaders assigned a score of 1, and assistants assigned a score of 0.

The second independent variable is task-leadership identity valence. Identity valence refers to the direction of the task-leader identity standard, varying between poles of dominant (strong) and submissive (weak). This differentiation is based on scores from the task-leader identity scale taken at the time of recruitment. Those with the highest

25% of scores on this scale have dominant task-leaderhip identity valence, while those with low scores (bottom 25% of scores) have submissive task-leadership identity valence. Task-leadership identity valence varies between groups, but not within groups, such that dominants are paired with dominants, and submissives are paired with submissives. This is a dichotomous variable, with dominant identity valence assigned as score of 1, and submissive identity valence assigned a score of 0.

The final independent variable is condition. This varies between experimental and baseline. In the experimental condition, the researcher presents participants with information that is discrepant with the high power actor's identity meanings. In theoretical terms, the experimental condition is characterized by the presence of *negotiation resources*, defined previously as *information possessed by the audience, about the actor, external and discrepant to the actor's direct self presentation.* Negotiation resources are instantiated through the public announcement of practice task scores. Again, the researcher does not actually score the practice tasks, but pretends to do so. The researcher then announces scores publicly, indicating that the leader's score does not match his identity valence. When task-leadership identity valence is dominant, the researcher publicly announces that the leader scored significantly lower than that of the assistant, and below "average". When task-leadership identity valence is submissive, the researcher gives the leader a significantly higher score than that of the assistant, and a score that is higher than "average." This is a dichotomous variable, with the experimental condition assigned a score of 1, and the baseline condition assigned a score of 0.

4.3 Dependent Variables

Presentation power is the main dependent variable. As stated earlier, there are three

indicators of presentation power: 1) identity work, 2) identity verification, and 3)

identity change. Because these each measure very different dimensions of the identity

process, I disaggregate presentation power into three separate dependent variables

(identity work, identity verification, and identity change) and construct models for each.

Identity work refers to the efforts put forth by an actor in order to maintain a particular

perception of the self in the situation. In the case of this study, the identity of relevance

is that of "task-leader." Identity work is therefore indicated by the amount of leadership

behavior put forth by the power high actor. It is important to note here that using

leadership behavior as an indicator of identity work includes increased and *decreased*

amounts of leadership behavior. Just as being under-evaluated as a leader is expected to

increase leadership behaviors, being over-evaluated should lead to a decrease in

leadership behaviors. Both of these are forms of "work", in that they are manipulations

of behavior used to match situational meanings to identity meanings.

I measure work by coding observable leadership behaviors. Specifically, I use two

indicators of leadership behaviors[4]: directives and influence. It has been shown that

when legitimated into a position of authority, actors engage in particular behaviors that

meet the expectations of their powerful position (Berger, Cohen and Zelditch 1972;

Ridgeway and Berger 1986). One way that leadership and power manifest behaviorally,

is through the use of directives (proclamations about how the task should be completed

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[4] Only influence is included in the present analysis

31

and/or how the group should proceed) (Sell et al. 2000). Therefore, I count the number of directives used by each actor, with high numbers indicating a stronger leadership performance, and low numbers indicating a weaker leadership performance.

In addition, those in leadership positions are expected to exert disproportional influence upon the groups' final decisions (Berger et al. 1972). I measure this by comparing the answers from the primary task that participants complete individually, to the answers from the primary task that participants complete collaboratively. When the leader and assistant have discrepant answers on the individual task, the answer on the final task indicates influence. Therefore, I measure the proportion of times that the group takes either the power high or power low participant's response in the face of conflict (Foschi and Lapointe 2002). High proportions of "stay" responses indicate a strong leadership performance, and low proportions of "stay" responses indicate a weak leadership performance.

The second dependent variable is identity verification. This is measured for both power high and power low actors. Identity verification refers to the extent to which situational meanings are congruent with the identity standard. Identity verification is based on reflected appraisals, or how the actor believes the audience perceives here. Consistency between self views (i.e. the identity standard) and reflected appraisals indicates verification, whereas a lack of verification is indicated by a discrepancy between the identity standard and reflected appraisals. I measure identity verification by comparing the identity standard (as indicated by the score on the task-leader identity scale taken at the time of recruitment) to reflected appraisals (as indicated by the score on the task-

leader identity scale taken after the study, from the perspective of one's partner). By subtracting the identity standard from reflected appraisals, negative numbers represent inconsistency in a negative direction (i.e. under-evaluation) and positive numbers represent inconsistency in a positive direction (i.e. over-evaluation). For example, if the actor's self rating on task-leadership identity is 7, but his reflected appraisal score is 5, then his verification score would be -2, indicating a 2 point discrepancy in the negative direction. If he rates himself as a 7, but thinks his partner would rate him as a 9, then his verification score would be (+)2, indicating a 2 point discrepancy in the positive direction. However, because identity verification theorists assume that identity verification processes take place symmetrically for those with positive and negative identities, I square these differences such that identity verification scores represent non-directional difference between the identity standard and reflected appraisals. Here, a score of 0 indicates perfect identity verification, and each value above zero indicates a discrepancy between the identity standard and reflected appraisals. I subtract all scores from the highest value such that high scores indicate high identity verification, and low scores indicate low identity verification.

The final dependent variable is identity change. Burke (2006) has shown that a continued inability match situational meanings to self meanings can lead to changes in the identity standard, as actors change self meanings to be more in line with the meanings put forth in the situation. I measure identity change by comparing participant's identity standard scores at the time of recruitment (T1) with their scores on the same task-leader identity scale taken post-study (T2). The absolute difference between the

answers at T1 and T2 l acts as a measure of identity change (T1 minus T2).

4.4 Hypotheses

The main hypothesis is that negotiation resources decrease presentation power. The relationship between negotiation resources and presentation power is represented as a series of hypotheses, with specific predictions relating to each proposition. To test all of the IVs, the experiment has a blocked 2X2 factorial design (with task-leadership identity valence as the blocked variable). There are therefore eight cells, each representing a particular combination of IVs (see Figure 1).

I predict that the introduction of negotiation resources will result in decreased presentation power. This will be indicated by: increased power high work, decreased power high verification, increased power high identity change, and increased power low verification. If these predictions are supported, it will show that information is a variable to be accounted for in power imbalanced identity negotiations. If they are *not* supported (assuming that the experimental manipulations are sound), it could indicate that an actor's structural power position not only creates an interaction situation where he is deferred to, but also gives him a "buffer" against situational threats to his identity standard.

Due to issues of interdependence, (Turel 2010; Kashy and Kenny 2000; Kenny 1995) I analyzed data at the group (rather than the individual) level. Each group therefore has six main outcome variables: 1) power identity high work; 2) power low identity work; 3) power high identity verification; 4) power low identity verification; 5) power high identity change; and 6) power low identity change.

Propositions 1a-c state that those in higher positions of power will experience

stronger identity verification than those in lower positions of power, but that this

relationship will be tempered with the introduction of negotiation resources.

Figure 1: Experimental Cells (Blocked 2x2 Factorial Design with Task-leadership

Identity Valence as Blocked Variable and Condition and Power Position Randomized)
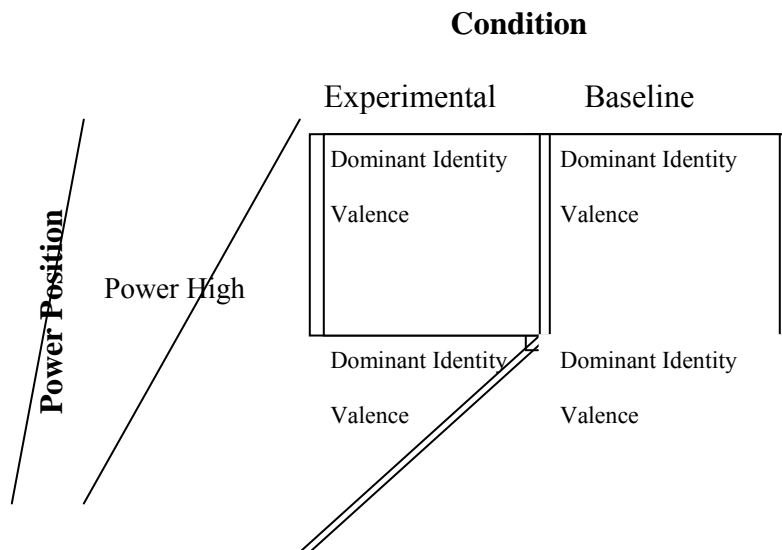
Hypothesis 1: All else held constant, Leader's identity verification scores will be higher

than Assistant's identity verification scores.

   Hypothesis 1b: All else held constant, Leader's identity verification scores will

   be lower in the experimental condition than the baseline condition.

Hypothesis 1c: All else held constant, Assistant's identity verification scores will

be higher in the experimental condition than the baseline condition.

As Burke has pointed out (2006), a prolonged inability to verify the identity standard can

result in identity change. In line with this, propositions 2a-c state that those in higher

positions of power will experience less identity change than those in lower positions of

power, but that this relationship will be tempered with the introduction of negotiation

resources.

Hypothesis 2: All else held constant, Leader's identity change scores will be lower than

Assistant's identity change scores.

Hypothesis 2a: All else held constant, Leader's identity change scores will be

higher in the experimental condition than the baseline condition.

Hypothesis 2b: All else held constant, Assistant's identity change scores will be

lower in the experimental condition than the baseline condition.

Swann (1987) indicates that identity threats lead to "crisis mode" and a flurry of

identity work. Similarly, Identity Theory argues that incongruence between situational

meanings and self views leads to behavioral outputs aimed at closing this gap (Burke

and Stets 2009). In line with this, proposition 3 states that the presence of negotiation

resources will increase identity work on the part of the power high actor. The definition

of "identity work," however, varies with identity valence. For those with dominant task-

leader identity meanings, work refers to stronger leadership performances. For those

36

with submissive task-leader identity meanings, work refers to weaker leadership

performances. These nuances are reflected in hypotheses 3a and 3b.

Hypothesis 3a: All else held constant Leader's with dominant task-leader identity

meanings will enact stronger leadership performances (as indicated by influence,

and power and prestige behaviors) in the experimental condition than the

baseline condition.

Hypothesis 3b: All else held constant, Leader's with submissive task-leader

identity meanings will enact weaker identity performances (as indicated by

influence and power and prestige behaviors) in the experimental condition than

the baseline condition.

5. ANALYSIS

To test the above mentioned hypotheses, I used OLS regression. This allows us not only to see differences between variables, but also the magnitude of their effect. I begin by examining identity change, and then examine identity verification. I then display preliminary analyses of identity work.

5.1 Identity Change

Those in higher positions of power are better able to control situational meanings, and are therefore at less risk of experiencing the persistent identity threat that can lead to identity change (Burke 2006). As such, I hypothesized that those in higher positions of power would experience less identity change than their lower power partners. Further, although identities are relatively stable, persistent identity threats can lead to changes in the identity standard. As such, I hypothesized that the presence of negotiation resources, as seen in the experimental condition, would lead to an increase in identity change for power high actors, and a decrease in identity change for power low actors. To examine identity change, I constructed three separate models. The first represents the effects of power position, identity valence, and the presence of absence of negotiation resources (i.e. the experimental manipulation), as well as interactions between these variables, upon identity change. I then disaggregate this to look at differences within those in high positions of power (leaders) and those in low positions of power (assistants).

I calculate identity change as the absolute difference between the identity standard at time 1, and the identity standard at time 2: absolute(T2-T1). High scores indicate a high degree of identity change, low scores indicate a low degree of identity change. Possible scores range from 0 (no identity change) to 35 (maximum identity change). Actual scores range from 0-17, with a mean of 3.03 (SD=2.94) (see table 1 for summary of means and standard deviations).

Table 1: Mean Identity Change Scores for each Independent Variable (Power Position, Identity Valence, and Condition)

	Power Position		Identity Valence		Condition	
	High	*Low*	*Dominant*	*Submissive*	*Experimental*	*Baseline*
Mean	2.65	3.41	2.61	3.39	3.2	2.88
(SD)	(2.343)	(3.417)	(2.474)	(3.27)	(3.306)	(2.602)

(N=144)

I ran an OLS regression with the three main independent variables as well as their interactions. Table 2 shows the main effects of power position, identity valence, and condition upon identity change, as well as interaction effects. We see marginally significant effects of both power position (b=-1.428, p=.069) and identity valence (b=-1.493, p=.081), such that, all else held constant, those in higher positions of power and those with dominant task-leader identity meanings experience significantly less identity

39

change than those in low positions of power and those who hold submissive task-leader

identity meanings. Condition does not have a significant effect, and none of the

interaction terms show significance.[5]

By disaggregating the data, we can look at differences within each power level. That is,

we can look at the effects of identity valence and condition for those in the power high

position of leader (Table 5), and separately for those in the power low position of

assistant (Table 6). Interestingly, all significance drops off when looking at within group

variations among leaders. This remains the case in models that both include and exclude

interaction terms[6]. When looking specifically at those in the power low position of

assistant, however, condition remains insignificant while identity valence continues to

have negative, significant coefficient, such that those with dominant task-leadership

identity meanings experience less identity change than their submissive counterparts

even when placed into the position of assistant[7]. This overall resistance to identity

change by those with strong task-leader identity meanings suggests that, contrary to the

assumptions of Identity Theory, perhaps identity valence affects identity processes. In

particular, those with positive identity meanings (e.g. "I am a strong leader") may be

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[5] Coefficients from Table 2 come from the more complex model with interaction terms included, though they are not significant and main effects do not change with their inclusion.

[6] Coefficients from Table 3 come from the more complex model with interaction terms included, though they are not significant and main effects do not change with their inclusion.

[7] Coefficients from Table 4 come from the more complex model with interaction terms included, though they are not significant and main effects do not change with their inclusion.

more resistant to identity change than those with negative identity meanings (e.g. "I am a

weak leader") (see Table 3 and Table 4 for summaries of means within each group).

Table 2: OLS Regression Coefficients for Main Effects of Power Position, Identity
Valence and Condition upon Identity Change

	b (unstandardized)	B (standardized)	Std. Error
Power Position	-1.428*	-.243	.778
Identity Valence	-1.493*	-.254	.849
Condition	.373	.063	.849

*P<.01, **P<.05 (N=144)

Table 3: Mean Power High Identity Changes Scores for each Independent Variable (Identity Valence, and Condition)

	Identity Valence Mean (SD)		Condition Mean (SD)	
	Dominant	*Submissive*	*Experimental*	*Baseline*
Overall	2.58 (1.87)	2.71 (2.68)	2.9 (2.42)	2.42 (2.25)
Experimental	2.67 (1.85)	3.2 (2.98)	--	--
Baseline	2.47 (1.93)	2.39 (2.45)	--	--

(N=77)

Table 4: Mean Power Low Identity Change Scores for each Independent Variable (Identity Valence, and Condition)

	Identity Valence Mean (SD)		Condition Mean (SD)	
	Dominant	*Submissive*	*Experimental*	*Baseline*
Overall	2.61 (2.96)	4.1 (3.64)	3.45 (3.99)	3.34 (2.84)
Experimental	2.89 (3.81)	4.13 (4.15)	--	--
Baseline	2.27 (1.363)	4.04 (3.31)	--	--

(N=77)

Table 5: OLS Regression Coefficients for Effects of Identity Valence and Condition upon Identity Change for Power High Actors

	b (unstandardized)	B (standardized)	Std. Error
Identity Valence	.075	.016	.549
Condition	.809	.173	.549

*P<.01, **P<.05 (N=77)

Table 6: OLS Regression Coefficients for Effects of Identity Valence and Condition upon Identity Change for Power Low Actors

	b (unstandardized)	B (standardized)	Std. Error
Identity Valence	-1.777**	-.261	.788
Condition	.090	.013	.788

*P<.01, **P<.05 (N=77)

5.2 Identity Verification

Identity verification, a second (and perhaps the most theoretically important) indicator of presentation power, represents the degree of congruence between identity meanings and situational meanings. More formally, identity verification refers to the numeric discrepancy between the identity standard and reflected appraisals. In line with the vast majority of the literature, I calculate identity verification as follows: (reflected appraisals-identity standard)[2] (see Appendix D for an extensive discussion of measures and calculations for identity verification).

I square the result because Identity Theory assumes that non-verification in either a positive or negative direction causes distress. We are therefore interested not in the direction of the discrepancy, but only the degree of discrepancy. Here, high scores indicate large discrepancies between the identity standard and reflected appraisals, and a score of 0 indicates perfect identity verification

Possible squared scores range from 0 (perfect identity verification) to 1225 (complete incongruence). Actual scores range from 0-196, with a mean of 166.68 (SD=41.8). For ease of interpretation, I re-scale scores by subtracting them from the highest value (196), such that high scores indicate high identity verification, and low scores indicate low identity verification (see Table 7 for a summary of means and standard deviations).

Table 7: Mean Identity Verification Scores for each Independent Variable (Power Position, Identity Valence, and Condition

	Power Position		Identity Valence		Condition	
	High	*Low*	*Dominant*	*Submissive*	*Experimental*	*Baseline*
Mean	169.65	163.7	159.2	173.17	165.71	167.51
(SD)	(33.27)	(48.94)	(46.32)	(36.53)	(42.07)	(41.83)

(N=144)

 I ran an OLS regression with all three independent variables as well as their interaction terms. Table 8 shows the main effects of power position, identity valence, and condition, upon identity verification. We see that, in contrast with hypothesis 1 and existing literature, those in higher positions of power are not significantly better able to achieve identity verification than their lower power interaction partners (though the coefficient is in the expected direction). This is further confirmed through insignificant interaction terms.

Table 8: OLS Regression Coefficients for Main Effects of Power Position, Identity Valence and Condition upon Identity Verification

	b (unstandardized)	B (standardized)	Std. Error
Power Position	5.035	.060	11.096
Identity Valence	-26.25**	-.312	12.1
Condition	-2.958	-.035	12.1

*P<.01, **P<.05 (N=144)

Surprisingly, however, and again in contrast with the assumptions of Identity Theory, identity valence does significantly affect identity verification (b= -26.25, p=.033) such that those with submissive task-leader identity meanings are better able to achieve identity verification than those with dominant task-leader identity meanings[8].

Breaking this down by power position, we see that among those in the power high position of leader, all significance drops off (see Table 11), while identity valence regains significance among those in the power low position of assistant. Further, we see a significant interaction between identity valence and condition (see Table 12). Together, these findings indicate that, all else held constant, those with weak task-leadership identity meanings are better able to self-verify than those with strong task-leadership identity meanings, but that this relationship is tempered with the introduction of

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[8] Coefficients from Table 8 come from the more complex model with interaction terms included, though they are not significant and main effects do not change with their inclusion.

negotiation resources (i.e. in the experimental condition) (see Table 9 and Table 10 for

summaries of means and standard deviations by power position)[9].

Table 9: Mean Power High Identity Verification Scores for each Independent Variable
(Identity Valence, and Condition)

	Identity Valence Mean (SD)		Condition Mean (SD)	
	Dominant	*Submissive*	*Experimental*	*Baseline*
Overall	112.45 (36.65)	122.16 (29.29)	115 (36.5) --	119.95 (30.01) --
Experimental	110.44 (40.28)	120.47 (41.13)		
Baseline	114.87 (32.26)	123.26 (28.33)	--	--

(N=77)

In sum, those with submissive task-leader identity meanings are better able to

self-verify than those with dominant task-leader identity meanings, holding constant

power position and condition. Although identity valence does not predict variation

among those in high positions of power, it strongly predicts variation among those in

low positions of power. Moreover, an interaction between valence and condition among

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[9] Coefficients from Table 10 come from the more complex model with interaction terms
included, though they are not significant and main effects do not change with their
inclusion. Table 11 includes the significant interaction term.

power-low actors indicates that the presence of negotiation resources can help those in

lower positions of power better achieve identity verification.

Table 10: Mean Power Low Identity Verification Scores for each Independent Variable (Identity Valence, and Condition)

| | Identity Valence Mean (SD) | | Condition Mean (SD) | |
	Dominant	Submissive	Experimental	Baseline
Overall	153.94 (53.77)	172.18 (42.53)	164.42 (46.96)	163.08 (50.59)
Experimental	163.44 (48.4)	165.6 (46.0)	--	--
Baseline	142.53 (58.37)	176.47 (40.07)	--	--

(N=77)

Table 11: OLS Regression Coefficients for Effects of Identity Valence and Condition upon Identity Verification for Power High Actors

	b (unstandardized)	B (standardized)	Std. Error
Identity Valence	-8.394	-.127	7.77
Condition	-2.79	-.042	7.77

*P<.01, **P<.05 (N=77)

Although the squared scores tell us the extent to which identity verification takes place, they do not indicate the direction of non-verification. That is, they do not tell is if discrepancies between self-meanings and reflected appraisals are due to over or under evaluation. We can examine this by looking at the raw means for each of the relevant variables.

Table 12: OLS Regression Coefficients for Effects of Identity Valence and Condition and Valence*Condition upon Identity Verification for Power Low Actors

	b (unstandardized)	B (standardized)	Std. Error
Identity Valence	-33.945**	-.348	11.2
Condition	-10.878	-..112	11.2
Valence*Condition	31.79**	.285	16.27

*P<.01, **P<.05 (N=77)

5.3 Identity Work

Identity work is the third indicator of presentation power. This is indicated by both behavioral measures and levels of influence. We are currently in the process of coding behavioral measures from video tapes of each group. We do have measures of influence, though these are best interpreted in conjunction with the full suite of identity work measures. With that said, I report the results of influence along in the following. We measure influence as the proportion of "stay" responses when individual responses contrast. High levels of influence indicate strong task-leader identity performances while

49

low levels of influence indicate weak task-leader identity performances. More specifically, influence is measured as the discrepancy between individual scores on the primary task and final group answers.

Overall scores range from 5-74. By subtracting all scores from 74, high scores indicate greater influence, and low scores indicate less influence. We hypothesize that the presence of negotiation resources (i.e. the experimental condition) will lead to an increase in identity work for power high actors. Indicators of "work" differ between those with dominant versus submissive identity meanings. In the case of the former, strong leadership performances indicate increased identity work, while in the case of the latter, weak leadership performances represent identity work. As such we expect leaders with dominant task-leader identity meanings to engage in stronger leadership performances (i.e. exert more influence) in the presence versus the absence of negotiation resources, and we expect leaders with submissive task-leader identity meanings to engage in weaker leadership performances (i.e. exert less influence) in the presence versus that absence of negotiation resources.

Overall, there is no significant relationship between influence scores and power position, identity valence, and condition. These relationships remain insignificant when looking specifically at those in the power-low position. However, within the power-high position, we see a marginally significant interaction between identity valence and condition (B=-7.53, P=.088) (see Tables 13-15 for a summary of means).

Table 13: Mean Influence Scores for each Independent Variable (Power Position, Identity Valence, and Condition

	Power Position		Identity Valence		Condition	
	High	*Low*	*Dominant*	*Submissive*	*Experimental*	*Baseline*
Mean	45.2	43.78	43.922	44.961	45.121	43.919
(SD)	(13.088)	13.409)	(13.845)	(12.745)	(14.01)	(12.544)

(N=144)

The overall mean had a negative valence (m=-1.69), indicating that overall, non-verification was a result of perceived *under* rather than *over* evaluation. The only significant variable here was identity valence. Those with dominant task-leader identity meanings experienced a mean *decrease* in verification scores of 4.5, whereas those with submissive task-leader identity meanings experienced a slight *increase* in verification scores of 0.75. This indicates that non-verification for submissives result from perceived *over* evaluation, while non-verification for dominants results from perceived *under* evaluation.

Table 14: Mean Power High Influence Scores for each Independent Variable (Identity Valence, and Condition)

	Identity Valence Mean (SD)		Condition Mean (SD)	
	Dominant	Submissive	Experimental	Baseline
Overall	42.333 (13.539)	47.263 (12.32)	44.727 (13.10)	45.184 (12.335)
Experimental	40.6667 (15.314)	49.6000 (10.543)	--	--
Baseline	44.3333 (10.965)	45.7391 (13.24)	--	--

(N=77)

Table 15: Mean Power Low Influence Scores for each Independent Variable (Identity Valence, and Condition)

	Identity Valence Mean (SD)		Condition Mean (SD)	
	Dominant	Submissive	Experimental	Baseline
Overall	32.0934 (13.361)	29.658 (12.742)	32.515 (14.011)	29.216 (12.645)
Experimental	34.111 (14.622)	30.6000 (13.229)	--	--
Baseline	29.5000 (13.068)	29.0435 (12.524)	--	--

(N=77)

For those in the position of leader, none of the variables had a significant effect upon identity verification. Overall, however, non-verification in the power-high position resulted from perceived *under* evaluation (m=-1.13). For those in the position of assistant, identity valence was significant, as was an interaction between identity valence and condition. While those with submissive task-leader identity meanings perceived a slight *over* evaluation (m=.023), those dominant task-leader identity meanings experienced significantly stronger non-verification as a result of perceived *under* evaluation (m= -4.73). In accordance with the interaction between identity valence and condition, we see that the presence of the manipulation resulted in increased identity verification for power low actors with dominant task-leader identity meanings (m=-3.78), while the absence of the manipulation weakened identity verification for power low actors with dominant task-leadership identity meanings (m=-5.87).

6. CONCLUSIONS

In the present work, I examined the relationship between power and identity from an Identity Theory perspective. Specifically, I looked at the conditions under which power structures are reinforced and disrupted at the micro level. Importantly, manipulation checks show that indeed, the experimental manipulations were properly implemented, and theoretical variables properly instantiated. This allows us to rule out external explanations for experimental findings. This is particularly important in light of the fact that my findings in many ways diverge from the assumptions of Identity Theory, and from the emerging literature on the relationship between power and identity verification (Burke, Stets and Cerven 2007; Cast 2003; Cast, Stets, and Burke 1999; Stets and Harrod 2004).

 Recent work shows that those in higher positions of power are better able to achieve identity verification than their lower power interaction partners. This theoretically makes sense, as those in positions of power are often granted deference in defining the situation—and so in defining self and other within it. Hypotheses 1 predicts Leaders will be better able to achieve identity verification than Assistants. We see here, however, that power does not have a significant direct effect (although coefficients are in the expected direction). This lack of direct effect may have something to do with the experimental conditions, as this is the first study of which we are aware that pairs participants based upon shared identity meanings (see Appendix D).

 Indirectly, however, the present data show that power does matter within identity verification processes. We see here that among those in power high positions, there is no

significant variation caused by identity valence or the presence/absence of negotiation resources. Among those in the power low position of assistant, not only does identity valence regain significance, but also interacts with condition, such that those with dominant task-leader identity meanings have an overall more difficult time achieving identity verification when placed into the position of assistant, but that, in line with hypotheses 1b-c, this effect is tempered with the introduction of negotiation resources. In all, we see that the power/identity verification process is more complex than previously noted.

In line with hypothesis 2, those in lower positions of power did experience more identity change than those in higher positions of power. Insignificant interaction terms, however, negate hypotheses 2b-c, which predict that this relationship will be tempered with the introduction of negotiation resources. This means that those in less powerful positions experience higher relative instability, even when provided with information with which to negotiate the powerful actor's governing position. This speaks to the persistence of power structures within micro level interactions.

A particularly surprising finding is the persistent significance of identity valence. Identity Theory assumes that identity processes act symmetrically for those with both positive and negative identity meanings (Burke and Stets 2009). The present work indicates that on the contrary, identity valence matters. Specifically, those with submissive, or weak, task-leader identity meanings were significantly better able to achieve identity verification than those with dominant, or strong, task-leader identity meanings.

Magnifying the effect of identity valence, is its contradictory role in processes of identity verification versus identity change. Specifically, those with submissive task-leader identity meanings are better able to self-verify than those with dominant task-leader identity meanings. Contrarily, those with dominant task-leader identity meanings experience less identity change than do those with submissive task-leader identity meanings. The presence of negotiation resources does not affect this relationship.

 Two indicators of presentation power therefore function in opposite directions. Those with dominant task-leader identity meanings are better able to maintain stability in those meanings, though they are more likely to perceive discrepancies between identity meanings and reflected appraisals. Those with submissive task-leader identity meanings experience greater degrees of identity change, but perceive less discrepancy between identity meanings and reflected appraisals. This is counterintuitive, as identity change is understood as a function of persistent non-verification (Burke 2006).

 We might say then, that those with positive identity meanings (as indicated in this case by dominant task-leader identity meanings) are more sensitive to situational cues, but better able to maintain a stable sense of self. On the contrary, those with negative identity meanings (as indicated in this case by submissive task-leader identity meanings) are less sensitive to situational cues, but also more flexible in their self definitions.

Although this relationship certainly needs further exploring, the literature provides some key hints as to what is going on. First, Swann (1987) shows that although actors seek out support structures and work to maintain identity meanings, identities are more malleable when they are unimportant or when actors are uncertain about particular

identity meanings. Similarly, Burke (2006) shows that in the face of identity conflict (i.e. two conflicting roles), the stability and change of a particular identity (in relation to other(s)) depends on the commitment to and salience of that identity, such that those identities that are more salient and towards which the actor is more committed are more stable than less salient identities towards which the actor is less committed. Second, Swann et al (1989) show that although actors work to verify both positive and negative identity meanings, they more actively seek out confirmation for positively held identities.

Remembering that identity salience is defined as that which holds a prominent location in our identity hierarchy, and that we seek out situations in which to enact salient identities (Stryker and Serpe 1994), we can synthesize the above findings by stating that social actors seek out feedback that reproduces both salient *and positive* identities, and that there may well be a connection between identity salience and identity valence. Unfortunately, we do not ask about identity salience in the present study, but this is an important direction for future work (Burke and Stets 2009).

What we do see clearly, is an increased sensitivity in relation to positive identity meanings, along with increased stability. This complicates the identity control model, and suggests that identity processes do not operate symmetrically. Rather, we see an intuitive (though undertheorized) relationship between the veracity of identity protection and the meanings of the identity in question. If social actors are more motivated to maintain positive identity meanings (Swann et al. 1989), then they are likely more in tune with situational threats, allowing them to better respond (behaviorally or

57

cognitively) to keep identity meanings intact. Contrarily, threats to negative and/or less

closely held identity meanings do not pose as strong a threat to sense of self. As such,

actors can be less attentive to situational cues, and more flexible in their identity

meanings. These of course, are empirical questions, and the present work sets the stage

for future theory testing.

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PROCEDURAL DOCUMENTS Procedural Documents

Appendix A[1]: Recruitment Materials

In Class Recruitment Script

My name is _____ and I am here to tell you about some studies that we are

conducting in the Department of Sociology and to invite you to volunteer to participate

in these studies. You will have the opportunity to see how sociologists conduct research,

and to be paid for your participation. I cannot tell you exactly what study you might be

in or exactly what you will be paid because we are recruiting for several different studies

right now. But I can tell you that some of our studies pay up to $20.00 for as little as one

hour of your time.

In a minute, I will hand out these sign up sheets [HOLD SIGN UP SHEET SO CLASS

CAN SEE IT], which ask for your name, telephone number and the times most

convenient for you to participate. If you decide to sign up, we will call you sometime in

the next few weeks to schedule a time. We can give you information about the specific

study, time, location, etc, when we call to schedule you. At that time, you can agree to

participate or to be removed from our pool.

Now, you may have heard stories about experiments that actually caused people to have

negative experiences. There is a famous study, for example – the Milgram study – in

which people thought they were sending electric shocks to other people and hurting them. They were not really, but they thought they were. Today, that experiment is considered to have ethical problems because people suffered psychological trauma just from being in the study. I want to assure you that nothing like this is going on in our studies. Partly because of problems in past experiments, new federal guidelines were developed for all studies that use human subjects. Here at A&M, all of our studies go through the human subjects review board (called the IRB). Importantly, if you should ever feel uncomfortable while in ANY study, you should just leave.

Another thing I want to make sure you understand is that you are not obligated in any way to sign up. You participation has nothing to do with this class. Dr. (Fill in professor's name) won't know if you come or if you don't come. There is no extra credit for participation. So, just because I show up here in your class, don't feel obligated to sign up. If you are interested and would like to participate, please fill out the form and pass it in to me. If you are not interested, simply hand the form back into.I appreciate your help. Are there any questions?

[Hand out sign-up sheets.]

In Class Recruitment Sign-Up Sheet

Social Science Research Laboratory Information Sheet

Name:_____   Sex:

                                                          _____

Race/ethnicity (please check the response that best represents how you think of yourself):

Hispanic/Latino/a:

        Mexican American _____

        Other (please specify)_____

White:_____

African American or Black_____

Asian (please specify)_____

Other (please specify)_____

68

Classification _____   Age_____

Phone #_____   email: _____

Have you ever been in any social science research studies? No: _____   Yes: _____

     If yes, please briefly describe

Please mark what times are MOST CONVENIENT for you to participate (If there are specific times, please indicate (if you can, put in specific times that are best):

             Mornings   ***Afternoons***   ***Evenings***

Monday_____

Tuesday_____

Wednesday_____

Thursday_____

Friday_____

Saturday_____

Sunday _____

 Thank you!

If you have any questions about these studies, please feel free to contact Dr. Jane Sell,

Sociology Department: 845-6120.

Telephone Recruitment Script

Hello. This is _____, and I am calling from the Social Psychology Lab

at Texas A&M University. May I please speak to

_____? [if speaker is not

_____, wait for _____, then

re-identify self as above. If _____ is not available, ask when would be a good time

to call back.

Earlier in the semester, in one of your classes, (OR earlier today, last week, yesterday, as

appropriate) you were invited to participate our paid research studies and you indicated

that you were interested in participating. I am calling to now to follow up on that. Let me

verify, are you an undergraduate student at Texas A&M? Great. Let me quickly tell you

about this study: It takes place on campus, in the Academic Building, and lasts about 40

minutes to an hour and a half. You will be working in a group and the amount you are

paid can vary because it depends on the decisions you will be making. In studies like

this, the pay has typically varied from about $5 to about 25 dollars. The research asks no

questions that are sensitive or personal. You participation is completely voluntary. If you

do volunteer, you may refuse to answer any individual question and you have the right to

withdraw your participation at any time. [Note: use information from sign up sheet

regarding convenient time for subject]

Would you be able to make it at _____(time) on _____(day)?
[If YES: go to confirmation; if NO . . .] How about _____(time) on
_____(day)? [If YES: go to confirmation; if NO . . .] Could you make it at
_____ on _____? [If YES: go to confirmation; if NO,
continue reading next each available time, in order, until you find one that subject can
make]

Confirmation: Great! Why don't you get a pencil while I put you on our schedule?
[When subject has pencil and paper] You have been scheduled to participate in a study
that takes place at _____ on _____. The study will take place in
room 305 of the Academic Building. That's on the third floor. Do you know where that
is?

> [If not, Directions: Academic Building is the one with the big dome, behind
> Evans Library. If you go to the Ross statute, you'll see the dome on the building
> right behind it. We are on the third floor. There will be signs posted leading to
> 305].

Thank you again for agreeing to participate. I, or someone else from the lab will call
you the day before your scheduled time to leave a reminder. We'll see you at
_____ on _____. Thank you. (Make sure to place the participant's first
name only and phone number in the calendar.)

Researcher Scripts

Researcher Script for the Experimental Condition with Dominant Participants

Entering:

Please come with me and we will get started with the study. You will notice that there are folders with nametags at the individual desks. Please have a seat at the desk with your name tag and put the nametag on. On top of the folders are informed consent sheets. There are two copies, one for you and one for me. Please take a moment to read the form carefully and sign both copies. It is important for you to know that you may decide at any point that you do not wish to participate. Are there any questions?

Video :

Thank you for filling those out. I will now play a short video that will provide you with some details about what you will be asked to do today. Please bring your pens and folders with you.

Leadership Assignment:

You may remember when we came to your class that we asked you to fill in some questionnaires about yourselves. One of the things we asked you about, is what role you tend to play when interacting in task groups. **Both of you indicated that you tend to be in leadership positions, and that you are most comfortable in a leadership role**.

However, because we are trying to simulate a particular kind of organization, one of you needs to be the assistant and the other needs to be the leader. So what we did was arbitrarily or randomly designate you to one or the other role based upon the a flip of a coin… Again, though you both have both said that your strength is in being a leader, we just assigned positions based upon the coin flip. **<u>Name of Leader</u>** you have been randomly chosen to be the leader and **<u>Name of Assistant</u>** you were randomly chosen to be the assistant.

Practice Task:

Before we ask you to work together on the primary task, you will first be given a practice task. The practice task was developed by the Management and Decision Making faculty at the Harvard Business School. It contains a series of different kinds of decisions that leaders could make about different group tasks. There are several different scenarios presented that have many different ways to proceed. Some of the decisions however have higher probabilities of resulting in positive results for the group. The Management and Decision Making faculty at the Harvard Business School have ranked the different leadership decisions on scales from **less likely to succeed** to **most likely to succeed**. Please open your white envelope and follow along as I read the directions aloud:

The following concerns relatively complex settings. We ask you to make a choice about actions. Different experts in different scenarios have rated the

responses to these in terms of points. Some answers have greater probabilities

for success than others, and those responses are worth more points in a final

score. Possible scores range from 4 to 60. We will score these and provide you

with your percentile score, that is, your score relative to several hundreds of

people who have taken this same quiz.

After you work on these, we will give you your results based on the Harvard Business

School standards.

Once you are finished working on these practice scenarios, you will begin working on

the primary task. The primary task will not be exactly like the scenarios you worked on

in the practice trials, but similar to these scenarios, in that there are many different ways

to proceed. Please remember to include your name, group number, and your role in the

study as either the leader or the assistant. Remember, this is an individual task. You may

begin.

Primary Task:

Now that you have completed the practice tasks, we would like you to work on the

primary task. Again, this is similar to the practice task that you have been working on,

except instead of multiple scenarios, you are given a single complex scenario. The

scenario that you will be given was developed by NASA. There are correct and incorrect

answers. Your payment depends on the accuracy with which your answers match those

indicated as correct by the people at NASA. I have those answers and you will be able to look at them after you have completed the remainder of the study.

You will first complete this task individually and come up with some preliminary answers on your own. I will give you about 5 minutes to do so. Next, you will come together and complete the same task as a group. We know that people generally do better on this task when they work together. Your scores on the group task are the scores that count. You will be videotaped on the group task and have the potential to receive a bonus for performing well.

So do your best to complete the challenge by yourself. Afterwards, you will work together with your partner to come up with the best final answers. These group answers are the answers that will be scored, and can potentially result in bonus payments.

You may open your **Blue envelopes now.** You may write your answers in the blanks to the **left** of the objects. The other spaces will be used, by us, for scoring purposes. While you complete the task individually, I will input your answers from the practice task, and derive scores for each of you. Please remember to include your name, group number, and your role as either the leader or the assistant.

Practice Task Scores:

Your 5 minutes are up and I have the scores from the practice task that you completed. According to the criteria established by The Management and Decision Making faculty at the Harvard Business school, **Leader Name** was in the 20th percentile, so your score

is a bit lower than average, and **<u>Assistant Name</u>** scored in the 85th percentile, that is actually quite high. Again, these scores do not affect your payment, but hopefully have given you an idea of the kinds of skills that you will need to do well on the primary task.

Group Primary Task (after 5 minutes are up):

Now that you have each come to some preliminary answers, please come together and complete the task as a group. You will be given 15 minutes. [Hand them group task from Researcher Folder]. This is a complex task, so please take your time and think carefully about your decisions. Next to each of your answers, we would like you to include a very short rationale for your decision. Again, please remember to include your names, roles as leader or assistant, and group number.

Collect and give posttest scales:

Okay your 15 minutes are up. It will take a few moments for your group score to be tallied. While this is being done, please fill out the two remaining forms in your folder. You will notice that the forms are very similar. Both ask about your behavior in groups. What differentiates them, is the perspective from which they are answered.

For the first form, imagine that you are in your partner's shoes. How do you think your partner thinks of you? In other words if your partner were answering these questions, about you, what would he say?

For the second form, answer the questions about yourself, from your own point of view.

Again, the first form asks you to imagine how your partner thinks of you, and the second form asks you to tell us how you view yourself. [Collect forms and put them in Researcher Folder].

Debrief and Pay:

Your scores show that you did very well. We will pay you at this time.

Because you worked so well together, you will each be given the maximum payment: $20 for the assistant and $20 for the Leader.

Now we would like to take a moment to talk to you about what this study was really all about. Although we told you that this study was about decision making in groups, we were actually interested in something else. We were interested in how people in different power positions use information about each other, and how this impacts the functioning of the group, and the individuals within it.

Your scores on the original practice tasks were fabricated. We purposely gave the leader a lower score than the assistant. Again, these scores in no way represent your actual performances. We needed to act as though they did, however, so that we could present you both with information that contradicts how you see yourself in the power positions that we placed you in.

It is extremely important that you do not discuss this particular study with anyone. If participants have prior knowledge of the study before participating, it would alter the results, rendering them useless. We ask that you respect this, and please do not discuss this study with your friends.

If you have any questions, we would be happy to answer them at this time. You can go ahead now and look at the correct answers from the NASA challenge.

Researcher Script for the Baseline Condition with Dominant Participants Entering:

Please come with me and we will get started with the study. You will notice that there are folders with nametags at the individual desks. Please have a seat at the desk with your name tag and put the nametag on. On top of the folders are informed consent sheets. There are two copies, one for you and one for me. Please take a moment to read the form carefully and sign both copies. It is important for you to know that you may decide at any point that you do not wish to participate. Are there any questions?

Video:

Thank you for filling those out. I will now play a short video that will provide you with some details about what you will be asked to do today. Please bring your pens and folders with you.

Leadership Assignment:

You may remember when we came to your class that we asked you to fill some questionnaires about yourselves. One of the things we asked you about is what role you tend to play when interacting in task groups. **Both of you indicated that you tend to be in leadership positions**, **and that you are most comfortable in a leadership role**. However, because we are trying to simulate a particular kind of organization, one of you needs to be the assistant and the other needs to be the leader. So what we did was arbitrarily or randomly designated you to one or the other role based upon the flip of a coin… Again even though you both have both said that your strength is in being a leader, we just assigned positions based upon the coin flip. **<u>Name of Leader</u>** you have been randomly chosen to be the leader and **<u>Name of Assistant</u>** you were randomly chosen to be the assistant.

Primary Task:

We would now like you to begin working on the primary task. The scenario that you will be given was developed by NASA. There are correct and incorrect answers. Your payment depends on the accuracy with which your answers match those indicated as correct by the people at NASA. I have those answers and you will be able to look at them after you have completed the remainder of the study.

You will first complete this task individually and come up with some preliminary answers on your own. I will give you about 5 minutes to do so. Next, you will come together and complete the same task as a group. We know that people generally do better

on this task when they work together. Your scores on the group task are the scores that count. You will be videotaped on the group task and have the potential to receive a bonus for performing well.

So do your best to complete the challenge by yourself. Afterwards, you will work together with your partner to come up with the best final answers. These group answers are the answers that will be scored, and can potentially result in bonus payments.

You may open your **Blue envelopes now.** You may write your answers in the blanks to the **left** of the objects. The other spaces will be used, by us, for scoring purposes. Please remember to include your name, group number, and your role as either the leader or the assistant.

Group Primary Task (after 5 minutes are up):

Now that you have each come to some preliminary answers, please come together and complete the task as a group. You will be given 15 minutes. [Hand them group task from Researcher Folder]. This is a complex task, so please take your time and think carefully about your decisions. Next to each of your answers, we would like you to include a very short rationale for your decision. Again, please remember to include your names, roles as leader or assistant, and group number.

Collect and give posttest scales:

Okay your 15 minutes are up. It will take a few moments for your group score to be tallied. While this is being done, please fill out the two remaining forms in your folder.

You will notice that the forms are very similar. Both ask about your behavior in groups. What differentiates them, is the perspective from which they are answered.

For the first form, imagine that you are in your partner's shoes. How do you think your partner thinks of you? In other words if your partner were answering these questions, about you, what would he say?

For the second form, answer the questions about yourself, from your own point of view.

Again, the first form asks you to imagine how your partner thinks of you, and the second form asks you to tell us how you view yourself. [Collect forms and put them in Researcher Folder].

Debrief and Pay:

Your scores show that you did very well. We will pay you at this time.

Because you worked so well together, you will each be given the maximum payment: $20 for the assistant and $20 for the Leader.

Now we would like to take a moment to talk to you about what this study was really all about. Although we told you that this study was about decision making in groups, we were actually interested in something else. We were interested in how people in different power positions use information about each other, and how this impacts the functioning of the group, and the individuals within it.

It is extremely important that you do not discuss this particular study with anyone. If participants have prior knowledge of the study before participating, it would alter the results, rendering them useless. We ask that you respect this, and please do not discuss this study with your friends.

If you have any questions, we would be happy to answer them at this time. You can go ahead now and look at the correct answers from the NASA challenge.

Researcher Script for the Experimental Condition with Submissive Participants Entering:

Please come with me and we will get started with the study. You will notice that there are folders with nametags at the individual desks. Please have a seat at the desk with your name tag and put the nametag on. On top of the folders are informed consent sheets. There are two copies, one for you and one for me. Please take a moment to read the form carefully and sign both copies. It is important for you to know that you may decide at any point that you do not wish to participate. Are there any questions?

Video :

Thank you for filling those out. I will now play a short video that will provide you with some details about what you will be asked to do today. Please bring your pens and folders with you.

Leadership Assignment:

You may remember when we came to your class that we asked you to fill in some questionnaires about yourselves. One of the things we asked you about is what role you tend to play when interacting in task groups. **Both of you indicated that you tend to be in supporting positions, and are most comfortable in supportive roles.** However, because we are trying to simulate a particular kind of organization, one of you needs to be the assistant and the other needs to be the leader. So what we did was arbitrarily or randomly designated you to one or the other role based upon the flip of a coin…Again even though you have both said that your strength is in being a supportive group member, we just assigned positions based upon the coin flip. **<u>Leader Name</u>** you have been randomly chosen to be the leader and **<u>Assistant Name</u>,** you were randomly chosen to be the assistant.

Practice Task:

Before we ask you to work together on the primary task, you will first be given a practice task. The practice task was developed by the Management and Decision Making faculty at the Harvard Business School. It contains a series of different kinds of decisions that leaders could make about different group tasks. There are several different scenarios presented that have many different ways to proceed. Some of the decisions however have higher probabilities of resulting in positive results for the group. The Management and Decision Making faculty at the Harvard Business School have ranked

the different leadership decisions on scales from **less likely to succeed** to **most likely to succeed**. Please open your white envelope and follow along as I read the directions aloud:

> The following concerns relatively complex settings. We ask you to make a choice about actions. Different experts in different scenarios have rated the responses to these in terms of points. Some answers have greater probabilities for success than others, and those responses are worth more points in a final score. Possible scores range from 4 to 60. We will score these and provide you with your percentile score, that is, your score relative to several hundreds of people who have taken this same quiz.

After you work on these, we will give you your results based on the Harvard Business School standards.

Once you are finished working on these practice scenarios, you will begin working on the primary task. The primary task will not be exactly like the scenarios you worked on in the practice trials, but similar to these scenarios, in that there are many different ways to proceed. Please remember to include your name, group number, and your role in the study as either the leader or the assistant. Remember, this is an individual task. You may begin.

Primary Task:

Now that you have completed the practice tasks, we would like you to work on the primary task. Again, this is similar to the practice task that you have been working on, except instead of multiple scenarios, you are given a single complex scenario. The scenario that you will be given was developed by NASA. There are correct and incorrect answers. Your payment depends on the accuracy with which your answers match those indicated as correct by the people at NASA. I have those answers and you will be able to look at them after you have completed the remainder of the study.

You will first complete this task individually and come up with some preliminary answers on your own. I will give you about 5 minutes to do so. Next, you will come together and complete the same task as a group. We know that people generally do better on this task when they work together. Your scores on the group task are the scores that count. You will be videotaped on the group task and have the potential to receive a bonus for performing well.

So do your best to complete the challenge by yourself. Afterwards, you will work together with your partner to come up with the best final answers. These group answers are the answers that will be scored, and can potentially result in bonus payments.

You may open your **Blue envelopes now.** You may write your answers in the blanks to the **left** of the objects. The other spaces will be used, by us, for scoring purposes. While you complete the task individually, I will input your answers from the practice task, and

derive scores for each of you. Please remember to include your name, group number, and your role as either the leader or the assistant.

Practice Task Scores:

Your 5 minutes are up and I have the scores from the practice task that you completed. According to the criteria established by The Management and Decision Making faculty at the Harvard Business school, **<u>Leader Name</u>** was in the 85th percentile, that is actually quite high. **<u>Assistant Name</u>** scored in the 20th percentile so your score is a bit lower than average. Again, these scores do not affect your payment, but hopefully have given you an idea of the kinds of skills that you will need to do well on the primary task.

Group Primary Task (after 5 minutes are up):

Now that you have each come to some preliminary answers, please come together and complete the task as a group. You will be given 15 minutes. [Hand them group task from Researcher Folder]. This is a complex task, so please take your time and think carefully about your decisions. Next to each of your answers, we would like you include a very short rationale for your decision. Again, please remember to include your names, roles as leader or assistant, and group number.

Collect and give posttest scales:

Okay your 15 minutes are up. It will take a few moments for your group score to be tallied. While this is being done, please fill out the two remaining forms in your folder.

You will notice that the forms are very similar. Both ask about your behavior in groups. What differentiates them, is the perspective from which they are answered.

For the first form, imagine that you are in your partner's shoes. How do you think your partner thinks of you? In other words if your partner were answering these questions, about you, what would he say?

For the second form, answer the questions about yourself, from your own point of view. Again, the first form asks you to imagine how your partner thinks of you, and the second form asks you to tell us how you view yourself. [Collect forms and put them in Researcher Folder].

Debrief and Pay:

Your scores show that you did very well. We will pay you at this time.

Because you worked so well together, you will each be given the maximum payment: $20 for the assistant and $20 for the Leader.

Now we would like to take a moment to talk to you about what this study was really all about. Although we told you that this study was about decision making in groups, we were actually interested in something else. We were interested in how people in different power positions use information about each other, and how this impacts the functioning of the group, and the individuals within it.

Your scores on the original practice tasks were fabricated. We purposely gave the leader a higher score than the assistant. Again, these scores in no way represent your actual performances.

It is extremely important that you do not discuss this particular study with anyone. If participants have prior knowledge of the study before participating, it would alter the results, rendering them useless. We ask that you respect this, and please do not discuss this study with your friends.

If you have any questions, we would be happy to answer them at this time.   You can go ahead now and look at the correct answers from the NASA challenge.

Researcher Script for the Experimental Condition with Submissive Participants Entering:

Please come with me and we will get started with the study. You will notice that there are folders with nametags at the individual desks. Please have a seat at the desk with your name tag and put the nametag on. On top of the folders are informed consent sheets. There are two copies, one for you and one for me. Please take a moment to read the form carefully and sign both copies. It is important for you to know that you may decide at any point that you do not wish to participate. Are there any questions?

Video:

Thank you for filling those out. I will now play a short video that will provide you with some details about what you will be asked to do today. Please bring your pens and folders with you.

Leadership Assignment:

You may remember when we came to your class that we asked you to fill in some questionnaires about yourselves. One of the things we asked you about is what role you tend to play when interacting in task groups. **Both of you indicated that you tend to be in supporting positions, and are most comfortable in supportive roles**. However, because we are trying to simulate a particular kind of organization, one of you needs to be the assistant and the other needs to be the leader. So what we did was arbitrarily or randomly designated you to one or the other role based upon the flip of a coin…Again, even though you have both said that your strength is in being a supportive group member, we just assigned positions based upon the coin flip. **<u>Leader Name</u>** you have been randomly chosen to be the leader and **<u>Assistant Name</u>,** you were randomly chosen to be the assistant.

Primary Task:

We would now like you to begin working on the primary task. The scenario that you will be given was developed by NASA. There are correct and incorrect answers. Your payment depends on the accuracy with which your answers match those indicated as

correct by the people at NASA. I have those answers and you will be able to look at them after you have completed the remainder of the study.

You will first complete this task individually and come up with some preliminary answers on your own. I will give you about 5 minutes to do so. Next, you will come together and complete the same task as a group. We know that people generally do better on this task when they work together. Your scores on the group task are the scores that count. You will be videotaped, on the group task and have the potential to receive a bonus for performing well.

So do your best to complete the challenge by yourself. Afterwards, you will work together with your partner to come up with the best final answers. These group answers are the answers that will be scored, and can potentially result in bonus payments.

You may open your **Blue envelopes now.** You may write your answers in the blanks to the **left** of the objects. The other spaces will be used, by us, for scoring purposes. Please remember to include your name, group number, and your role as either the leader or the assistant.

Group Primary Task (after 5 minutes are up):

Now that you have each come to some preliminary answers, please come together and complete the task as a group. You will be given 15 minutes. [Hand them group task from Researcher Folder]. This is a complex task, so please take your time and think carefully about your decisions. Next to each of your answers, we would like to include a very

short rationale for your decision. Again, please remember to include your names, roles as leader or assistant, and group number.

Collect and give posttest scales:

Okay your 15 minutes are up. It will take a few moments for your group score to be tallied. While this is being done, please fill out the two remaining forms in your folder. You will notice that the forms are very similar. Both ask about behavior your in groups. What differentiates them, is the perspective from which they are answered.

For the first form, imagine that you are in your partner's shoes. How do you think your partner thinks of you? In other words if your partner were answering these questions, about you, what would he say?

For the second form, answer the questions about yourself, from your own point of view.

Again, the first form asks you to imagine how your partner thinks of you, and the second form asks you to tell us how you view yourself. [Collect forms and put them in Researcher Folder].

Debrief and Pay:

Your scores show that you did very well. We will pay you at this time.

Because you worked so well together, you will each be given the maximum payment: $20 for the assistant and $20 for the Leader.

Now we would like to take a moment to talk to you about what this study was really all about. Although we told you that this study was about decision making in groups, we were actually interested in something else. We were interested in how people in different power positions use information about each other, and how this impacts the functioning of the group, and the individuals within it.

It is extremely important that you do not discuss this particular study with anyone. If participants have prior knowledge of the study before participating, it would alter the results, rendering them useless. We ask that you respect this, and please do not discuss this study with your friends.

If you have any questions, we would be happy to answer them at this time. You can go ahead now and look at the correct answers from the NASA challenge.

IRB Approved Informed Consent Document

CONSENT FORM
Decision Making in Groups

Introduction
The purpose of this form is to provide you information that may affect your decision as to whether or not to participate in this research study. If you decide to participate in this study, this form will also be used to record your consent.

You have been asked to participate in a research project studying decision making in groups. The purpose of this study is to look at how people work together to make certain kinds of difficult decisions. You were selected to be a possible participant because you signed up to be considered for this study.

What will I be asked to do?
If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to work individually and with a partner on a series of tasks. Following the tasks, you will be asked a series of questions about yourself, and about your experience in the group. The study will take about 30 minutes. Your participation will be video recorded.

What are the risks involved in this study?
 The risks associated in this study are minimal, and are not greater than risks ordinarily encountered in daily life.

What are the possible benefits of this study?
There are no direct benefits in this study. Information from this study will help us better understand why some groups are more successful than others when making difficult decisions.

Do I have to participate?
No. Your participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate or to withdraw at any time without your current or future relations with Texas A&M University being affected.

Will I be compensated?

.
You will be paid 10 dollars just by participating in the study. If you are asked to play a leadership role, you will earn 4 dollars more. In addition, you will have a chance to receive a bonus for correct responses. If your group's responses are 30% correct you will each earn 2 more dollars for the task today; if your group's responses are 60% correct, you will each earn 4 more dollars for the task today and if your responses are 90% correct or above, you will each earn 6 more dollars for the task today.

No class credit is involved in these studies. Your professors will not know if you do or do not participate in these studies.

Who will know about my participation in this research study?
This study is confidential. The records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you to this study will be included in any sort of report that might be published. Research records will be stored securely and only Jennifer Davis, Dr. Jane Sell, and their research team will have access to the records.

If you choose to participate in this study, you will be video recorded. Any video recordings will be stored securely and only Jennifer Davis, Dr. Jane Sell and their research team will have access to the recordings. Any recordings will be kept for 7 years and then erased. If you choose to withdraw from the study, you may, and if you wish to have the video recording destroyed, it will be.

Whom do I contact with questions about the research?
If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Jennifer Davis at 571 239-9993 (phone) or Jdavis4@neo.tamu.edu (e-mail).

Whom do I contact about my rights as a research participant?
This research study has been reviewed by the Human Subjects' Protection Program and/or the Institutional Review Board at Texas A&M University. For research-related problems or questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you can contact these offices at (979)458-4067 or irb@tamu.edu.

Signature
Please be sure you have read the above information, asked questions and received answers to

your satisfaction. You will be given a copy of the consent form for your records. By signing this

document, you consent to participate in this study.

Signature of Participant: _____ **Date:** _____

Printed Name:
_____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____ **Date:** _____

Printed Name: _____

Measures for Task-leader Identity Standard and Reflected Appraisals

Task-leader Identity Standard (given at time of recruitment and after engagement in the group task):

Think about how you behave when working in groups. Please indicate how accurately each of the following statements describes your behavior.

Circle **1** if the statement is an **extremely inaccurate** description of your behavior, and circle **7** if the statement is an **extremely accurate** description of your behavior.

1) I try to maintain my own opinion even though many other people may have a different point of view.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

  Extremely   **Extremely**

   Inaccurate   **Accurate**

2) When I work on committees, I like to take charge of things.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

  Extremely   **Extremely**

   Inaccurate   **Accurate**

3) I try to influence strongly other people's actions.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

  Extremely   **Extremely**

   Inaccurate   **Accurate**

4) When I work with a group of people, I like to have things done my way.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

  Extremely   **Extremely**

   Inaccurate   **Accurate**

5) I try to be the dominant person when I am with people.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

  Extremely   **Extremely**

   Inaccurate   **Accurate**

Reflected Appraisals:
Now that you have interacted with your partner on a collaborative group task, we would like you to think about **how your partner views you.** If your partner were filling this out about you, what would he say?

From your partner's point of view, please indicate how accurately each of the following statements describes **your** behavior.

Circle **1** if your partner would say that the statement is an **extremely inaccurate** description of your behavior, and circle **7** if your partner would say that the statement is an **extremely accurate** description of your behavior.

1) My partner would say that I try to maintain my own opinion even though many other people may have a different point of view.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

  Extremely   **Extremely**
   Inaccurate   **Accurate**

2) My partner would say that when I work on committees, I like to take charge of things.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

  Extremely   **Extremely**
   Inaccurate   **Accurate**

3) My partner would say that I try to influence strongly other people's actions.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

  Extremely   **Extremely**
   Inaccurate   **Accurate**

4) My partner would say that when I work with a group of people, I like to have things done my way.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

  Extremely   **Extremely**
   Inaccurate   **Accurate**

5) My partner would say that I try to be the dominant person when I am with people.

     1   2   3   4   5   6   7

  Extremely   **Extremely**
   Inaccurate   **Accurate**

Appendix A[5]

Debriefing Form

Name_____

Group #_____

Date _____

Below we ask you a series of questions. We are conducting a series of studies and so
some of these questions may not pertain to everybody. After you are finished a
researcher will collect your questionnaires and pay you for your time today.

Part I.

1. Dr. Sell introduced the task that you worked on today, and you received further
   instructions from a researcher. Which of the following **did they explicitly say
   were true** of the task that you worked on today (check all that apply)
   a. There are correct and incorrect responses ( ) yes ( ) No

   b. All answers are equally correct ( ) yes) ( )no

   c. People do better on the task when they work with others (   ) yes ( )no

   d. People do better on the task when they work only individually   (

)yes ( )no

2. Did you take a practice or "warm-up" task in your group today?

98

( ) No (If no, skip to Part II)

( ) yes…..if yes, what percentile did you receive on that task?

_____

3. How did that score compare to the average score that people obtain?

_____

4. Did your partner also receive a score?

( ) No

( ) Yes……if yes, what score did he or she receive on that task?

_____

5. How did that score compare to the average score that people obtain?

_____

Part II. **Please answer the following questions as they pertained to your group.**

1. What was the task of your group? Briefly describe the group objectives.

2. What was your position in the group today? How was that position decided upon?

3.   For each of the scales below, please circle the rank that represents your opinion
        of the group's work.

 How *creative* were the solutions of your group?

--1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7------------8------------9------------10

extremely uncreative   extremely creative

 Overall, how *successful* was your group?

--1------------2------------3------------4------------5------------6------------7------------8------------9------------10—

extremely unsuccessful   extremely successful

   6. On the task today, we would like you to think about the other person in your
       group.

What special abilities do you think she or he has?

   4. Please write your own name_____

What special abilities do you think you have?

100

Part III.

1. Have you ever participated in studies like this before?

    ( ) No

    ( ) Yes……if yes, briefly describe the study or studies

2. Do you have any questions about today's study? Feel free to ask.

Primary Task

NASA Exercise: Survival on the Moon

(From: http://wilderdom.com/games/descriptions/SurvivalScenarios.html)

Scenario:

You are a member of a space crew originally scheduled to rendezvous with a mother ship on the lighted surface of the moon. However, due to mechanical difficulties, your ship was forced to land at a spot some 200 miles from the rendezvous point. During reentry and landing, much of the equipment aboard was damaged and, since survival depends on reaching the mother ship, the most critical items available must be chosen for the 200-mile trip. Below are listed the 15 items left intact and undamaged after landing. Your task is to rank order them in terms of their importance for your crew in allowing them to reach the rendezvous point. Place the number **1** by the most important item, the number **2** by the second most important, and so on through number **15** for the least important.

Your Ranking:

_____ Box of matches

_____ Food concentrate

_____ 50 feet of nylon rope

_____ Parachute silk

_____ Portable heating unit

_____ Two .45 caliber pistols

_____ One case of dehydrated milk

_____ Two 100 lb. tanks of oxygen

_____ Stellar map

_____ Self-inflating life raft

_____ Magnetic compass

_____ 20 liters of water

_____ Signal flares

_____ First aid kit, including injection needle

_____ Solar-powered FM receiver-transmitter

Practice Task

Name_____

Group #_____

Role (Leader/Assistant) _____

The following concern relatively complex settings. We ask you to make a choice about actions. Different experts in different scenarios have rated the responses to these in terms of points. Some answers have greater probabilities for success than others, and those responses are worth more points in a final score. Possible scores range from 4 to 60. We will score these and provide you with your percentile score, that is, your score relative to several hundreds of people who have taken this same quiz.

1) You are in the position of leader of a small group. It is about 2 weeks since the zombies have risen. You and your small group of 4 have been fighting and have stayed alive this long. You recently had an encounter with a group of 10 zombies. During the recent battle, the person you consider your second-in-command was bitten. You are now to safety and find out she has been bitten. This particular strain of the virus takes 48

hours to take full effect and turn a healthy human to a zombie You have access to only 2 vials of an anti-virus serum. The serum is effective up to 40 hours after the person is bitten.

Which of the below actions would you take first?

a. Get the group together and vote on whether the bitten person should be administered the serum
b. Kill the bitten person in a humane way
c. Take the entire group to the closest biological laboratory (20 miles away) to see if the serum can be reproduced
d. Administer the serum
e. Make no decision for 24 hours

2) (Cooperative task where one group member is not contributing)

You live on an island that contains many active volcanoes. You are the leader of a small task force charged with keeping the island and islanders safe in the event of a volcanic eruption. Two days ago, one of the largest and liveliest volcanoes showed strong signs that it was about to erupt. The eruption could take place at any moment, and many things have to be done to keep the island safe. The largest and most important task is to get residents evacuated. There is only one small airport which, operating at full capacity, can only transport 1/8 of the islanders at a time. Currently, one of the airplanes is out of order, cutting the capacity of the airport by 1/3. Since it is likely that a full evacuation will not be possible, decisions must be made about who gets to evacuate first. In addition, buildings must be boarded up to protect them (and their inhabitants if they are

not evacuated) from falling ash. Supplies, such as goggles, breathing masks, and canned foods also must be distributed to all residents in case they are unable to evacuate in time. To save the island, each member of your task force must work quickly and diligently.

One member of your task force, fearing that the volcanic eruption will decimate the town, decides that he wants to spend as much time as possible with his family. He therefore refuses to contribute to the efforts of the group. As the leader of the task force, what would be your *first* line of action in this situation?

    a. Talk with this uncooperative group member and try to convince him to fulfill his duties
    b. Threaten this uncooperative group member with legal action if he does not fulfill his duties
    c. Let this uncooperative group member spend time with his family and take over his duties yourself
    d. Let this uncooperative group member spend time with his family and distribute his duties among the other members of the task force
    e. Meet with the full task force (minus the uncooperative member) to determine collaboratively the best way to proceed.

3)

As the most experienced hiker, you are the leader of a local outdoor adventure group that is doing a month-long hike along the Appalachian Trail. Your team is hiking one of the most isolated sections areas of the trail, from which it is a 4-day hike to the nearest town. At this point in the trail, it is completely unpredictable whether or not you will run into other through hikers. On the 6th night, as your team sleeps, a bear enters into the camp.

Everyone survives unharmed, but the bear eats all of your food rations. These trails are extremely rigorous, and it would be impossible to make the 4-day hike to the nearest town with no food or water. Although the site can be accessed by helicopter, nobody in your group has any cell phone reception and so cannot call for help. You do not know if and/or when another hiker will come by, and you do not know if that hiker would be willing and/or able to share her resources. Your group could try hunting, but that would mean leaving the main trail and entering a dense forest where highly experienced hikers have been known to get lost and never return. You need to decide the best course of action.

How will you go about making the best decision about how to proceed?

a) Hold a full group vote
b) Confer with only one other person— the second most experienced hiker in the group
c) Hold an informal discussion with all group members before making the final decision yourself
d) Make an immediate decision yourself
e) Confer with nobody, but give yourself 24 hours to think about your options before making a final decision.

4)

A deadly, fast-moving, virus has been spreading rapidly across the United States. You are part of a team of specialists charged with finding an antidote. The leader of your team, a world-famous scientist, is more interested in talking with the press than leading the group's efforts in the laboratory. Each day, more and more people are being infected.

You are NOT the team leader, but you know the importance of the task at hand, and

know that it must be completed as quickly and thoroughly as possible.

Of the actions below, which would you take first?

a) Talk with your team leader about her priorities
b) Take charge of the group yourself
c) Ask one of the other team members to take charge of the group
d) Gather the team members and vote on a new leader
e) Wait and see which member of the group naturally rises to take over the leadership role

APPENDIX C

DEFINITIONS

1) **Identity:** The internalized set of meanings that people attach to themselves as a person, as an occupant of a role, or as a member of a group (Burke 2004a; Stets and Burke 2000; Stryker and Burke 2000;Stets and Cast 2007; Smith-Lovin 2007).

2) **Identity Verification:** congruence between situational meanings and an actor's self views (i.e. her identity standard) (Burke 2004a; Stets and Burke 2000; Stryker and Burke 2000 Stets and Cast 2007).

3) **Identity Standard:** The self-meanings associated with a particular identity (Burke 2004a)

4) **Actor/Audience:** These are the two simultaneously enacted positions of interacting social actors. The **actor** is enacting a particular performance of the self, and the **audience** is receiving and interpreting the performance, providing feedback for the actor. I say that these positions are "simultaneously enacted" because each member of the interaction team is both actor and audience simultaneously (Goffman 1959).

5) **Identity Work:** "…The range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self concept" (Snow and Anderson 1987:1328).

6) **Power:** Being in a structurally advantaged social position that allows for greater control over resources within the social structure. Advantageous positions are afforded those with higher relative status, less relative dependence, or a position of legitimate authority. (Burke et al. 2007; Cast 2003; Cast, Stets, and Burke 1999; Stets and Harrod 2004).

7) **Status:** I use "status" to refer to the "status characteristics" of particular actors. Status characteristics are any characteristic around which beliefs and expectations about the skills and abilities of an actor come to be organized. Each status characteristic has two or more differentially evaluated states and each state is connected to particular expectations of competence for individuals

holding that state. Highly evaluated states are associated with greater expectations of competence, and low evaluations are associated with lower competency expectations (Berger et al. 1998). Expectations for higher competence make actors appear more worthy of deference, and so grants them greater control over the definition of the situation (Burke et al. 2007; Stets and Harrod 2004)

8) **Legitimate authority:** An actor who has been placed (or "authorized) into a leadership position by some person/people in higher positions within the situation (Zelditch and Walker 1984). Burke et al. point out that within the laboratory, hierarchies are present, with the researcher inhabiting the top position, meaning that the researcher can authorize participants into positions of authority (2007)

9) **Dependence :** I use dependence as it is used in power-dependence theory, to refer to the relative value of the resources, and the available alternatives that an actor has within a particular relationship. Those with more highly valued resources and more alternatives are less dependent, and those with less valued resources and fewer alternatives are more dependent. Relative dependence creates a power structure, where the power advantage is given to the less dependent actor (Cook and Emerson 1978; Emerson 1962, 1972a, 1972b). Cast (2003) points out that within an interaction, less dependent actors are granted greater control over the situation, and so greater control over situational meanings.

10) **Resources:** Structurally provided tools that allow are necessary or sufficient for the maintenance of a system of interaction (Freese and Burke 1994:11). In terms of identity negotiations, resources refer to the attributes (potential and actual, ascribed and achieved, material and immaterial) which make an actor appear more competent with the social structure, more worthy of deference, and therefore more in control of the definition of the situation (Burke et al. 2007; Cast 2003; Cast et al. 1999; Stets and Cast 2007; Stets and Harrod 2004).

11) **Presentation Power:** The degree to which an actor can verify self views in light of audience negotiations.

12) **Negotiation Resources:** Information possessed by the audience, about the actor, external and discrepant to the actor's direct self presentation.

APPENDIX D

METHODOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES OF IDENTITY THEORY

Identity Theory (Burke and Stets 2009) is one of the most influential and well

established theories about identity processes and social relations. A major strength of

Identity Theory is its integration of theoretical insights with methodological techniques.

In what follows, I explore these methodological techniques and make suggestions for

theoretically relevant applications. Specifically I summarize existing measurements,

designs, and calculations utilized by identity theorists, situating my own work within this

literature methodologically.

Identity Theory

 Identity Theory adheres to a confirmation—rather than enhancement—assumption

(McCall and Simmons 1978). Identity theorists therefore assume that social actors work

to maintain a consistent sense of self, whether positive or negative. This is motivated by

emotion, with identity verification leading to positive emotion, and identity non-

verification leadings to distress (Burke 2006; Burke and Harrod 2005; Burke and Reitzes

1991; Stets and Carter 2011; 2012). Identity Theory visualizes the process by which

actors work to maintain this consistency as a perceptual control model. This model has

four key components*: identity standard, inputs, comparator, and outputs* (Burke and

Stets 2009).

The *identity standard* represents the meanings that an actor holds about a particular

identity. These meanings may be positive or negative. Taking the example of "Leader"

identity, an actor may see her or himself as either dominant or submissive (Swann and

Hill 1982). In practice, identity meanings are located upon a continuum between poles of meaning. For instance, one may see her or himself as more dominant than submissive, more submissive than dominant, or equally dominant and submissive. More concretely, if we place Leadership identity on a scale of 1(highly submissive)-10(highly dominant), an actor may score her or himself anywhere along this scale. Identity Theory assumes actors work to uphold their identity standards through interaction.

Inputs are the situational meanings that actors utilize to determine the extent to which their identity standards are being verified. These situational meanings may include environmental cues, one's own behavior, and the behavior of others. Of particular relevance here, are *reflected appraisals,* or the actor's perception of how others see him or her.

Reflected appraisals and other inputs are placed into the *comparator*, the mechanism by which actors compare situational inputs to their identity standards. When the actor *perceives* that situational meanings match self-views, the actor achieves identity verification. When the actor *perceives* incongruence between situational meanings and self-views, they experience non-verification.

As noted, identity verification elicits positive emotion, whereas non-verification elicits negative emotion. As such, when an actor perceives a discrepancy between situational meanings and her or his identity standard, s/he works to repair this schism through *outputs*. These can be cognitive or behavioral. For instance, an actor can reinterpret situational inputs to better match identity meanings, or work harder to

112

behaviorally display the meanings held in the identity standard. When identity non-verification is persistent, the actor may experience identity change (Burke 2006).

Measuring identity verification

A measure of identity verification always contains two components: an identity standard, and something against which to compare this standard. Most commonly, the comparison object is reflected appraisals (though recent work by Stets and Carter (2006; 2011; 2012) incorporate behavioral outputs). I will discuss here the ways in which each component has been measured in the literature, and how I measured these components in my own study.

The identity standard represents the meanings that an actor holds about her or himself in relation to a particular identity. Within the literature, this has been consistently measured by asking respondents to locate themselves numerically between polemic meanings associated with a particular identity. For example, to measure "Parent" identity, Burke, Stets and Cast (Burke and Stets 1999; Cast 2003; 2004; Cast and Burke 2002) asked married respondents to indicate their relative responsibility in teaching children: 1) to get along, 2) right from wrong, 3) to dress himself/herself properly, 4) to take responsibility, 5) to do one's school work, and 6) self discipline. Response categories ranged from 0 (Entirely Spouse) to 4 (Entirely Self). Similarly, and most relevant for the present discussion, Riley and Burke (1995) measure task-leader identity using a 5-item Likert scale, where participants are asked to indicate the extent to which they hold strong versus weak leadership identity meanings. Participants are prompted with questions such

as: "When I work on committees, I like to take charge things." Responses range from 1(Often) to 5(Never) (see also Burke 2003; Burke et al. 2007).

Reflected appraisals have received more varied treatment within the literature. Theoretically, these represent an actor's perceptions of how others see her or him. We can break the variation in this measurement down along 3 dimensions: respondent (self vs. other), temporality (directly following interaction vs. not directly following interaction), and referent (prior history of interaction vs. no prior history of interaction). I will discuss each dimension, provide examples from the literature, and locate my own measure of reflected appraisals along the three dimensions. See Figure 1 for a summary.

Although reflected appraisals are conceptualized as an actor's *perception* of how others see her or him, some research uses *actual* appraisals as a proxy. In the case of the former, the respondent is the self. In the case of the latter, the respondent is the other. Those who use actual appraisals (e.g. Burke and Stets 1999; Cast and Burke 2002; Cast 2004; Stets and Burke 2005; Burke Sets and Cerven 2007) argue that others' appraisals are transmitted through interaction, and accurately perceived by the self (Kinch 1963).

Representing actual appraisals (i.e. other as respondent), Burke and Stets (1999) measure reflected appraisals for participants' spousal identities by asking the target actor's spouse how much they feel their spouse (i.e. the target actor) should engage in spousal role activities (e.g. preparing and serving meals, providing income, initiating sexual activity etc.) with response categories ranging from 0 (Not Doing That Activity in the Household) to 4 (Doing All Of That Activity in the Household). Representing self-as-respondent, Stets and Harrod (2004) measure reflected appraisals for

114

participants' worker identities by asking how their family members, coworkers, friends, and partners rate them on their worker identity, with response categories ranging from 1 (Not At All Good) to 10 (Very Good) at one's job. In my study, the self is the respondent

The second dimension along which reflected appraisal measures vary is temporality. In some studies, reflected appraisals are taken directly following a specific, identity-relevant, interaction. In others, reflected appraisals are not connected to any particular interaction. Exemplifying the

former, Stets and Carter (2006; 2011; 2012) ask respondents how they think significant others (e.g. family and friends) view them as moral beings directly following a) written reports and b) behavioral enactments of morally relevant actions. Exemplifying the latter, Burke, Stets and colleagues (Burke and Stets 1999; Cast 2004; Cast and Burke 2002; Stets and Burke 2005) measure reflected appraisals of spousal identities (measure described above) through surveys that have no direct temporal connection to enactment of the spousal role. My study obtains reflected appraisals directly following identity-relevant interaction.

Finally, reflected appraisals vary in their referent—i.e. the target actor's relation to the appraiser. In some studies, the appraisers have no history of interaction with the target actor beyond that required by the study (e.g. Swann and Hill 1982; Burke et al. 2007). In other studies, the appraisers are significant others with whom the target actor has a presumably long and complex history of interaction (e.g. Burke and Stets 1999; Cast and Burke 2002; Cast 2004; Stets and Harrod 2004 Stets and Burke 2005; Stets and

Carter 2006; 2011;2012). Representing referents with no interaction history, Burke et al. (2007) measure reflected appraisals of participants' task-leader identities by asking their interaction partners to rate the target actor on leadership performance following a group-task interaction within an experimental setting through which group members met for the first time. Representing research in which the referents are significant others, Stets and Harrod (2004) measure academic identity by asking respondents how satisfied their family members, romantic partners, and friends are with the level of education that the target actor has received. In my study, the appraiser and the target actor have no prior history of interaction.

Calculating identity verification.

Identity verification has been measured in two ways in the literature (see Appendix D_1 for a summary of calculation procedures). We can call these the *Simple method* and the *Regression method.* I will discuss each in turn, then, using my own data, I calculate participants' identity verification scores with each method, and place the outcome variables in basic regression models to allow for a clear comparison of the results.

Theoretically defined as perfect congruence between the identity standard and situational meanings, identity verification is operationalized as the numeric distance between scores representing each component. In the case of my study, the identity standard is operationalized as participants' scores on the task-leader identity scale taken at the time of recruitment, and situational meanings are represented by reflected appraisals, or the post-experimental task-leader identity scale written from the perspective of the actor's interaction partner.

116

Simple method. The Simple method is calculated as the squared difference between the identity standard and reflected appraisals (Burke and Stets 2009). Scores are squared to reflect discrepancies in both the positive and negative directions. High scores indicate a large discrepancy between the identity standard and reflected appraisals. Low scores indicate a small discrepancy between the identity standard and reflected appraisals. Here, a score of zero would indicate perfect identity verification. Scores are re-scaled (in the present case, subtracted from the highest value) so that high scores indicate high identity verification and low scores indicate low identity verification.[10] This method has been used in all but one study of which I am aware (I will discuss the exception in the next section).

Using the Simple method on my own data, identity verification scores range from 0-196, with a mean of 166.68 (SD=41.8). Looking at a regression model with identity verification as the dependent variable and condition, task-leader identity valence, and power position as the independent variables, we see that: 1) neither power position nor condition are significant; 2) those with dominant task-leader identity meanings experience significantly less identity verification than those with submissive task-leader identity meanings (see tables16a and 16b).

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[10] I also include tables with un-scaled scores, such that coefficients indicate greater or lesser discrepancy rather than better or worse identity verification. Both sets of tables represent the same theoretical conclusions, though with slightly different direct interpretations.

Regression method. A second and more complex method of calculating identity verification is taken from Burke et al. 2007, who conducted an experimental study that looks at mixed power groups and the potential for disruption of the power/verification

relationship. One may note that my study closely resembles the work of Burke et al. 2007 in both theory and design (see figure 2).

The Regression method is a three step procedure, in which first, reflected appraisals (DV) are regressed on the identity standard (IV). The coefficient from this regression indicates the expected amount of change in reflected appraisals for each value of the identity standard. By plugging observed reflected appraisals into the regression equation, we adjust reflected appraisals for error, calculating *expected reflected appraisals.*

Table 16a: Effects of power position, condition, and task-leader identity valence upon identity verification calculated using the Simple Method (scaled)

	B	S.E.
Condition	.312	7.072
Identity Valence	-14.02*	7.072
Power Position	5.944	6.974

*Significance p<.05

Table 16b: Effects of power position, condition, and task-leader identity valence upon identity verification calculated using the Simple Method (Unscaled)

	B	S.E.
Condition	-.312	7.072
Identity Valence	14.02*	7.072
Power Position	-5.944	6.974

*Significance p<.05

Expected reflected appraisals therefore represent the score we would expect if the identity standard predicted reflected appraisals perfectly. Identity verification is then measured as the squared difference between expected reflected appraisals and observed reflected appraisals—or the extent to which actual reflected appraisals match expected reflected appraisals, and how this varies with the introduction of independent variables. A score of zero indicates perfect identity verification. Like the Simple method, all scores are re-scaled so that high scores indicate high identity verification and low scores indicate low identity verification. This method essentially re-sets the zero point, reducing standard errors. In the conclusion, I will discuss why one might need or want to reduce statistical error in this way.

Applying this method to my own data, identity verification scores range from 0-40.83 (m=33.21) with high scores indicating high identity verification, and low scores indicating low identity verification[11]. Again looking at condition, task-leader identity valence, and power position as predictors of identity verification, we see that the Regression method mimics the results found with the Simple Method.

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[11] When regressing reflected appraisals (DV) on the identity standard (IV) with this data, we get an adjusted R^2 of .26, indicating that the identity standard explains about 26% of the variance in reflected appraisals.

Figure 2: Summary Table of Reflected Appraisal Measures.

Example Articles	Respondent (Self-as respondent vs. Other as respondent)		Referent (History of interaction vs. No prior history of interaction)		Temporal Orientation (Temporally close to identity relevant interaction vs. Temporally distant/unconnected to identity relevant interaction)	
	Self	Other	History of Interaction	No History of Interaction	Post-Interaction	No direct relation to interaction
Davis Dissertation Swann 1982	X			X	X	
Burke and Stets 1999; Cast and Burke 2002; Cast 2003, 2004; Stets and Burke 2005; Stets and Cast 2007		X	X			X
Stets and Harrod 2004	X		X			X
Stets and Carter 2011; Stets and Carter 2012	X		X		X	
Burke, Stets, and Cerven 2007		X		X	X	

Table 17a: Effects of power position, condition, and task-leader identity valence upon identity verification Calculated Using the Regression Method (scaled).

	B	S.E.
Condition	-.607	1.397
Identity Valence	-3.364*	1.397
Power Position	.996	1.378

*significance p<.05

Table 17b: Effects of power position, condition, and task-leader identity valence upon identity verification Calculated Using the Regression Method (Unscaled).

	B	S.E.
Condition	.607	1.397
Identity Valence	3.364*	1.397
Power Position	-.996	1.378

*significance p<.05

Conclusion: When and Why to use Each Method

Table 4 compares Identity verification scores for each independent variable as calculated by each of the methods. Looking at this table, we see a reduction in standard error as we move from the Simple to the Regression Method, but coefficients that tell a similar story. That is, in the case of the present study, the more complex Regression method offers nothing new. This will not be the case in all studies, and below I discuss conditions under which the Regression method will be useful.

One use for the Regression Method is when identity standard scales and reflected appraisal scales are not perfectly matched. This is seen in the work of Burke et al. (2007), who measure identity standard using the task-leader identity scale described above, and measure reflected appraisals as partners' perceptions of the target actor's leadership performance. The Regression method allows them to essentially map identity standard scores onto the reflected appraisal scale (Burke 2012 personal communication).

I argue that an additional reason to use the Regression method is to reduce statistical error for the purposes of comparison across studies. As seen in Figure 1, there is a great deal of variation in research design and measurement within Identity Theory. These differences in design may have real theoretical implications, *and* may introduce different levels of error. When one study produces results that contradict existing studies, we want to know if the contradiction is indeed theoretically based. A more robust method—one that reduces statistical error—is useful in ensuring that error is not the cause of the discrepancy.

When robust results maintain those found with the Simple method, we can be more confident that differences across studies are indeed due to theoretically relevant differences in the settings. The discrepancy between my own findings and the bourgeoning literature on the relationship between power and identity verification exemplifies the importance of this disentanglement. Based largely on survey data with significant others as the referent, Burke, Stets and colleagues (e.g. Burke and Stets 199; Cast 2003; Stets and Harrod 2004) show that when enacting an instrumental identity, those in higher positions of power are significantly better able to achieve identity verification than those in lesser positions of power. As shown above, results from my experimental test indicate no significant direct relationships between power and identity verification.

Table 18 Coefficients and standard errors for regression models based on the Simple, Combination, and Regression Methods for calculating identity verification in Davis Dissertation (using scaled scores)

	Simple B (S.E.)	Regression B (S.E.)
Condition	.312 (7.072)	.543 (1.298)
Identity Valence	-14.02* (7.072)	7.4* (1.298)
Power Position	5.944 (6.974)	3.585* (1.280)

*significance p<.05

There are interesting theoretical insights to be explored in understanding the discrepancy between these sets of findings. For instance, it may be that power acts differently in long term relationships than acute interactions (among many other possibilities). The use of the Regression method allows us to accurately produce results that show this difference, and be sure that the difference is indeed theoretically rooted rather than caused by error, freeing us to explore further the theoretical hypotheses that the difference suggests.

Practically then, one should begin with the Simple method, as this is the most theoretically appropriate. When combining incongruent scales of identity standard and reflected appraisal, or when results differ from those in the literature, the Regression method can be employed to ensure that these differences are not caused by statistical error.

APPENDIX D$_1$: Identity Verification Calculations and Examples

Key:

observedRA=Reflected Appraisals,

ID=Identity Standard

expectedRA=Expected Reflected Appraisals

Examples:

Identity Standard (ID)=29

Reflected Appraisal (observedRA) =24

Simple

1) (observedRA-ID)^2=observedVer

2) High Score-all scores

Example
(24-29)^2
25

126

Regression
1) Regress ID (IV) with observedRA (DV)

2) a+b(observedRA)= expectedRA

3)(observedRA-expectedRA)^2

4) High score –all scores

Example

1) a= 10.534, b=.454
2) 10.534 + .454 (24)=21.43
3) (24-21.43)^2= 6.6049
4) 40.86-6.6049
34.255