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The effects of gender and status on power strategy use

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Iowa State University, 1990

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The effects of gender and status
on power strategy use

by

Robin Elizabeth Nelson

A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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1990

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INTRODUCTION

Social psychology has had a long history of interest in and research on the effects of gender and status on the use of various power strategies. Despite this long history, no previous studies have examined both of these moderating variables in the same design. The present study examined the effects of gender and status on self-reported likelihood of power strategy use.

Early Conceptions of Power in Social Psychology

Although power was considered to be a fundamental concept in the social sciences in the early 1900s (Russell, 1938), psychologists did not begin an empirical investigation of it until the late 1950s. It was in his 1953 presidential address to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues that Dorwin Cartwright pointed to power as a neglected variable in social psychology (Cartwright, 1959). Cartwright contended that any social psychological theory was incomplete without the construct of power and that "a concerted attack on the problem of power should produce a major advance in the field of social psychology" (p. 13). However, because the construct of power had been entrenched in everyday language, psychologists, along with other social scientists, faced a major dilemma in their attempts to systematically study power (Schopler, 1965). According to Dahl (1957), the dilemma involved the realization that on the one hand, a thing like power must exist in a form capable of being studied if so many people use the concept to describe what they observe, while on the other hand, a thing which generates so much attention is probably not one thing but many things.

Since the late 1950s power has indeed become many things to many people, particularly psychologists. Psychologists have approached the study of power from several different directions. They have studied power as a personality trait or state of an individual (Minton, 1967; Rogers, 1977), a source of motivation to act (McClelland, 1975; Winter, 1973), a quality that is attributed to one person by another (Heider, 1958), a social structural relationship between groups (Apfelbaum, 1979) and a social influence process (Cartwright, 1959; French & Raven, 1959). It is this last conception of power, social power, that has occupied a central place in the social psychological literature, and that will occupy a central place in this paper as well.

Just as power has meant many things to psychologists, so too have social psychologists offered many definitions of social power. It has been defined as the net increase in probability of B enacting a behavior after A has made an intervention (Dahl, 1957), and as the ability to affect the quality of another person's outcomes (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). In general, however, social power refers to the ability to influence others. Whereas Cartwright (1959) distinguished between power, the ability to affect others, and influence, the use of that ability, the terms are often used interchangeably (Dahl, 1957; Unger, 1978), and have been linked to a number of related variables, including authority, leadership, control and dominance. Sherif's (1982) definition of social power--the control of resources and social institutions which enables a person to influence others--consists of two parts, each of which corresponds with a principal research topic within the area. These two topics are: (1) the amount of

power that individuals have, and (2) the ways in which individuals use their power.

Social exchange theory (Homans, 1958) has been the predominant orientation in theory and research regarding the amount of power that people possess. According to social exchange theory, the ability of person A to influence person B depends on A's control over outcomes or payoffs for B. Thus, power is a kind of negotiation in which both parties (rationally) weigh the costs and rewards of various outcomes that can be brought about by the other, and decide whether to change their behavior. Stated as such, a key determinant of one's power within a social exchange is one's sources of power, or resources. The resources that have been investigated as determinants of how much power a person can have and use are many and varied, and include expertise, status, concrete resources and confidence (Tedeschi, Schlenker, & Bonoma, 1973), personality and physical appearance (Safilios-Rothschild, 1976), and information, attraction, rewards, threats, and punishment (French & Raven, 1959).

Whereas the concern with quantitative aspects of power evolved from social exchange theory, the study of the qualitative aspects of power, that is, the kinds of power that people use, originated from Lewin's (1951) field theory. Yet, despite their emergence from different theoretical frameworks, the theoretical and empirical works of both approaches have incorporated the notion of power bases as a key concept. For as one's bases of power, or resources, determine the amount of power one has, so too do they determine, at least in part, the kinds of power one uses. The present paper will review the theory and research on social power as it relates to the

kinds of power that people use, i.e., power strategies. A primary focus will be an examination of gender differences in the use of power strategies.

The Bases of Social Power

It was Lewin's (1951) conceptualization of social power, as articulated by Cartwright (1959), that provided the impetus for the study of power bases. Predicated upon Lewin's field theory, Cartwright defined power as the maximum force that one person can bring to bear on another person's life space. Both Lewin and Cartwright maintained that one person, the powerholder, is able to create a force to comply in another person through the use of a range of resources that affect the latter's needs and/or desires. Though implicit in this is the idea that a classification of needs or motives could be coordinated with various bases of power, neither Lewin nor Cartwright attempted such a task. It was left to French and Raven (1959) to develop a very popular typology of power bases that was consistent with the Lewinian field force framework.

French and Raven (1959) defined a power base as the relationship between two people, which is the source of one person's power over the other. They distinguished five bases of power that seemed "especially common and important": reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, referent power, and expert power.

Reward power is defined as power whose basis is the ability to reward, whether the rewards be money, food or approval. The strength of one's reward power depends on the magnitude of the reward and on the probability that one can mediate the reward, as perceived by another.

Coercive power involves the withdrawal of rewards or the threat of

punishment. A parent who promises a child a dollar for cutting the grass, or who threatens to withhold the child's allowance otherwise, is exercising reward and coercive power, respectively. Although conceptually similar, reward and coercive power may have obviously different emotional consequences. Reward power will tend to increase attraction toward the powerholder whereas coercive power will decrease attraction.

Legitimate power, considered by French and Raven (1959) to be the most complex power base, is founded on the belief that one has a right to request and expect compliance from another. Further, the object of the influence, because of prior learning and socialization, feels that he or she has the obligation to accept this influence. French and Raven suggest such sources of legitimate power as cultural values, the existing social structure, or a role relation. Thus, influence in husband-wife, mother-daughter, or professor-student relationships might stem, at least in part, from legitimate power.

Referent power is based on the process of identification. A person has the ability to influence another because the latter identifies with, is attracted to, and/or likes the influencer. According to French and Raven, the amount of attraction and strength of referent power are positively correlated, and referent power is the most likely power base to generalize to a wide range of topics.

One's ability to use expert power is based on the belief that he or she possesses superior knowledge or skills in a particular area. Expert power is related to the extent of one's expertise, and is more likely to occur if the expert is also perceived as trustworthy and truthful. When expert power is

exerted, it is effective because of the presumed expertise of the person, e.g., a doctor's knowledge about medicine, rather than the content of the advice. Some years later, Raven and Kruglanski (1970) proposed a sixth basis of power, informational power, which is based on the content of the persuasive communication and the careful and successful explanation of that content.

More than twenty years ago, in his review of social power, Schopler (1965) concluded that a striking feature of the power literature was the "relative independence of the empirical research from the theoretical formulations" (p. 179). According to Schopler, the major theoretical formulations had little data uniquely related to them, nor did they generate distinct and coherent sets of hypotheses. Similarly, while the empirical research often acknowledged a particular theoretical position, it was often tied to that position in a very tenuous manner. French and Raven's (1959) theoretical formulation of power bases was unique in this respect, as it generated a great deal of research. In fact, Schopler maintained that the research on French and Raven's bases of power was probably the most interesting set of studies in the power literature. The earlier studies often focused on the relative effectiveness of the power bases, either alone or in combination, in producing compliance (e.g., Ring & Kelley, 1963; Zander & Curtis, 1962; Zipf, 1960). Later topics involved the by-products of power relationships, such as the need for surveillance in producing change, and the relationship likely to follow from the use of a particular power base (Kipnis, Castell, Gergen, & Mauch, 1976; Rubin & Lewicki, 1973).

Though it flourished for a while, the empirical literature on bases of power was not without its problems. One of the greatest hindrances to the development of a systematic body of research has been, and continues to be, a number of procedural problems in the research (Frost & Stahelski, 1988). One problem concerns the question of the independence of the power bases. For although French and Raven (1959) considered the five power bases to be conceptually distinct, they recognized that power is rarely limited to one source, and that more often, the bases of power overlap and occur in combination with each other (Raven, 1974). A second problem, one that arises when one wishes to contrast the various bases, concerns the lack of guidelines or zero points in evaluating the effectiveness of the operations. In other words, because we cannot say what constitutes zero influence, the bases are always studied relative to each other (Unger, 1978) and the results are dependent on the strength of the operations used to define each power base (Schopler, 1965). Schopler and Unger also point out problems with some of the specific bases. For example, they raise the question of what constitutes legitimate influence. (See Podsakoff and Schreisheim (1985) for an excellent review of the methodological shortcomings of the power bases as studied in the organizational behavior literature.) Finally, a third and related problem had to do with the lack of acceptable quantitative measures of the bases of social power. Although two such questionnaire measures were developed fairly early on (Bachman, Smith & Slesinger, 1966; Student, 1968), Rahim (1986) notes that both of these measures had low test-retest reliability and poor face validity, content validity and convergent validity.

It may be that these methodological problems contributed to the subsequent disenchantment with the concepts of social power and the bases of power. This disenchantment was marked by March's (1963) referral to power as a "disappointing variable" and by a relative absence of substantive social psychological research on power bases during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Sex Roles and the Bases of Power

The reemergence of social psychological research on power was related to, if not caused by, the growth of the women's movement during the 1970s and its focus on male-female relationships. One aspect of male-female relationships that many deemed critical for analysis was (is) the power relationship (Gornick & Moran, 1971; Millett, 1970). Thus, social psychologists such as Johnson (1976), Henley (1977), and Unger (1978) began their analysis of gender and power. The exploration into gender differences in social power followed a trend similar to the earlier research on social power—that is, both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of power relationships became subject matter.

In terms of amount of power, by virtue of their control over most core social institutions—political, economic, educational, and military—men are more powerful than women (Lipman-Blumen, 1984). Additionally, Sherif (1982) has suggested that the bases of social power, as conceptualized by French and Raven (1959), are "loaded with men." Kahn (1984) comes to a similar conclusion. Empirical evidence of greater male power is provided by research that finds that husbands have greater overall power than their wives (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Gillespie, 1971).

Though the research literature on conformity and persuasion has not found consistently greater male influence (Eagly, 1978), recent reviews (Brown, 1979; Lockheed, 1985) have found that men tend to be more influential and dominant than women in group settings in laboratory experiments. Similarly, meta-analytic studies have established that women are more easily influenced than men (Cooper, 1979; Eagly & Carli, 1981). However, these meta-analyses indicate that the gender differences in social influence, although reliable, are small, and may be due in part to the sex of the researcher (Eagly & Carli, 1981). Carli (1989) also found that women were more easily influenced than men, but that this effect was mediated by the partner's behavior. Specifically, the gender difference in influenceability was related to the differential treatment of men and women by their partners (i.e., the ones attempting influence). That is, the behavior that the influencers displayed when interacting with men was less influential (e.g., increased use of disagreement) than that they showed interacting with women.

According to traditional sex-role stereotypes, men and women should differ not only in the amount of power they possess but also in the way they use power (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972). Men are thought to exert influence in direct and assertive ways, while women are perceived and expected to be indirect and manipulative. Johnson (1976) has developed a theory of sex-role stereotyping and power use. However, before describing the theory, it is necessary to discuss what Johnson calls "power styles"—that is, the ways in which power is exerted or communicated in interpersonal relationships. Johnson says that the

exertion of power can vary according to three dimensions: direct-indirect, personal-concrete, and competence-helplessness. These dimensions may be important in understanding the differences in the ways women and men use power because of the differential consequences of using the dimensions--consequences which may result from societal sex-role expectations. The consequences may be related to how one views oneself, how others perceive the influencer, and whether one will be successful in future influence attempts (Raven & Kruglanski, 1970).

The direct-indirect dimension is similar to Tedeschi's (1972) distinction between open influence and manipulation. When one uses power directly one is open about the attempt to influence another. Indirect power, or manipulation, occurs when "the influencer acts as if the person on the receiving end is not aware of the influence" (Johnson, 1976, p. 100). It has already been noted that women should be expected to use indirect power more than men because of sex-role stereotypes and expectations. Johnson suggests that there may be negative consequences of women's indirect use of power. She contends that the user of indirect power, though perhaps successful in the short run, will not likely perceive herself as powerful; nor will others. Thus, Johnson would predict that in the long run the user of indirect power gains little in the way of respect, status, or self-esteem.

The personal-concrete dimension distinguishes between the types of resources upon which the exertion of power rests. Personal resources are those that depend on a specific personal relationship, for example, liking, love and approval. Concrete resources, such as money, knowledge, and physical strength, are independent of such a relationship. Because men

control many of the social institutions, they also control the respective concrete resources of these institutions, and have more opportunities to use them. In contrast, women's use of personal resources such as liking, affection, and sexuality is very consistent with the sex-role stereotypes ascribed to them (Broverman et al., 1972). Once again however, the use of personal resources is a power style that is limited in the sense that it is effective only in specific personal relationships, whereas the use of concrete resources is more likely to be effective in many kinds of situations.

The third dimension that Johnson proposes, competence-helplessness, makes the distinction between power exerted through competence and strength versus power exerted through helplessness and weakness. Raven and Kruglanski (1970) defined what they termed legitimate helplessness, a right of the helpless and those in need to expect help from those in a position to give it. According to Raven and Kruglanski, legitimate helplessness is more characteristic of women than men. Their classic example of power via helplessness is the stereotypically portrayed woman standing helplessly beside the flat tire of her car, "influencing" someone to stop. Given the sex-role stereotypes of women as more weak and less competent than men, Johnson, not surprisingly, agrees that helplessness would be more expected of women, and more effective, at least in the short run. However, as Raven and Kruglanski hypothesized, the use of helplessness will probably keep one in a position of low power, and in fact, lower one's self-esteem.

In summary, while both men and women may have access to all of the styles of power, the access is probably not equal, nor are all of the styles

equally expected of women and men. Johnson (1976) hypothesizes that the indirect, helpless, and personal modes are more consistent with the sex-role stereotypes of women. In turn, as mentioned, the use of these modes may result in negative consequences.

Johnson (1976) integrated her three dimensions of power and French and Raven's (1959) bases of power to form a framework for the sex typing of power strategies. She formulated specific hypotheses about the expected use of power by women and men--hypotheses based largely on the interplay of the differential sex-role expectations and opportunities for power acquisition of men and women. Thus, according to Johnson, reward and coercive power are expected to be used in a direct, concrete way by men (for example, offering or withdrawing money) because men possess the concrete resources and societal approval to do so. Conversely, women are expected to use reward and coercion in indirect and personal ways (e.g., offering or withdrawing friendship or sex). The helplessness-competence dimension does not apply to reward and coercive power.

Johnson (1976) argues that referent power, although appropriate for either sex, should be more expected of women because it is personal. Expert power, because it is concrete, competent, and direct, is seen as more appropriate for men. Similarly, informational power is expected to be used directly by men and indirectly by women--for example, explaining to one's spouse the desire for a vacation versus dropping subtle hints and leaving travel brochures around the house. Finally, legitimate power, if based on competence and used directly, is expected of men because they have greater access to positions of authority and because people, both men and women,

are socialized to believe that men have a legitimate right to influence. On the other hand, legitimate helplessness should be more highly expected of women.

Johnson (1976) found some empirical support for the hypotheses generated from her theory of sex-role stereotyping and power use. She conducted a study in which people rated the likelihood that an influencer using each of fifteen different power types was male or female. The power types were operationalizations of Raven's (1965) power bases as modified by Johnson's three dimensions. The influence attempt was a hypothetical situation in which one student attempted to change another's opinion on a legal case or get another to do something he or she would not ordinarily do. Of the fifteen power types, those significantly more expected of men than women were concrete coercion, legitimate (competent), expert (competent and concrete), and direct informational (competent and concrete) power. Only two of the "feminine" types, personal reward and sexuality, were significantly more expected of women than men. Based upon these findings, Johnson alleges that it is expected and therefore acceptable for men to use not only traditionally "masculine" types of power but also other types, even "feminine" ones. Women, however, are restricted to the use of feminine power types. Thus, concludes Johnson, the area of power use "may be seen as overwhelmingly a male domain in which men may do as they please" (p. 108).

Gender Differences in the Use of Power

Though Johnson (1976) provides evidence to suggest that women and men are expected to use power differently, the question remains: Do

women and men differ in their actual use of power? There are a number of studies that attempt to answer this question. But before they are discussed, it should be noted that many of these studies operationalize power strategies in ways that are conceptually different from the French and Raven typology. There are several reasons for this departure.

In addition to the methodological problems mentioned earlier, Raven, along with his colleagues (e.g., Raven, Centers, & Rodrigues, 1975; Raven & Kruglanski, 1970), has questioned whether the six bases of power actually cover all of the major influence strategies used in various interpersonal relationships. Indeed, Falbo (1977a) has argued that most conceptualizations of power strategies, because they have been generated deductively from theory (e.g., French & Raven, 1959; Gamson, 1968; Parsons, 1963), have restricted the types of social power considered in social psychological research. Kipnis and Schmidt (1983) refer to these conceptualizations as "armchair speculations that have been organized into rational classification schemes" (p. 304). Falbo, and Kipnis and Schmidt propose that inductive methods be used to provide a more inclusive conceptualization of power strategies.

In 1975, Goodchilds, Quadrado and Raven introduced a new procedure for measuring power strategies that relies on subjects' open-ended responses regarding how they get their way. This procedure, in conjunction with inductive methods, has been employed in more recent studies of power strategies, particularly those that have examined gender differences (Cowan, Drinkard, & MacGavin, 1984; Falbo, 1977a, 1977b, 1982; Falbo & Peplau, 1980; McCormick, 1979). Because most of the recent

research makes use of inductive methods of conceptualization, these methods will be discussed in detail where necessary.

In one of the first studies to examine gender differences in the use of power, Johnson (1974; cited in Johnson & Goodchilds, 1976) gave male and female college students, acting as "supervisors," the chance to persuade members of their group to work faster on a task. Every student-supervisor was given a choice of six messages to send, each one representing a conceptually different power tactic (derived from the French and Raven typology). Although both men and women chose two non-sex-typed messages most often (e.g., "Please sort faster, I think our group can be one of the best; let's all try to sort very fast."), they differed in their willingness to choose certain messages associated with sex-typed power bases. Three times as many men as women chose the message based on expert power-- "Please sort faster, I know it's possible to go faster because I've worked on this sort of thing before and you can really go fast."--whereas four times as many women chose the message based on helplessness--"Help, please sort faster, I'm really depending on you." Furthermore, the self-esteem of all participants except those who used the helplessness appeal increased. Consistent with Raven and Kruglanski (1970), the use of helplessness was related to a reduction in self-esteem.

Instone, Major and Bunker (1983) investigated whether men and women in positions of equal power relied on different strategies to influence subordinates in a simulated organizational setting. This study is one of the few that looked at actual behavior, as opposed to self-reported use of power strategies. Instone et al. found that compared to men, women

tended to make fewer influence attempts, used a more limited range of influence strategies, and used fewer reward strategies and more coercive strategies. However, the women also displayed lower levels of self-confidence than the men, which accounted for most of the gender differences in influence tactics.

In a further examination of Johnson's framework for the sex typing of power strategies, Gruber and White (1986) assessed the extent to which subjects reported using twenty-one different strategies in order to get their way with others. Each of the twenty-one strategies was categorized as masculine (e.g., coercion, command, competence), feminine (e.g., indirectness, evasiveness, approval seeking, helplessness), or non-sex-typed. Partial support for Johnson's framework was found: males reported greater use of masculine strategies than did females, although they did not report using masculine strategies more than feminine ones. Females reported using feminine strategies more than masculine ones, though they did not use feminine strategies more than did males.

Studies by Offermann and Schrier (1985) and Ansari (1989) determined if there were gender differences in the likelihood of use of a variety of predetermined influence strategies in role-playing organizational situations, a setting similar to that used by Instone et al. (1983). Offermann and Schrier examined the likelihood of college students' use of various influence strategies in order to get their way in an organizational dispute in which they were either a supervisor or an employee. They found that men were more likely than women to report using reward/coercive and indirect strategies, whereas women were more likely than men to report the use of

personal/dependent and negotiating strategies. One should note, however, that unlike Instone et al., Offermann and Schrier studied what a person reported he or she would do in a given work situation, not actual behavior. Noting this, Offermann and Schrier suggest that their data are "most indicative of what behavioral strategies people believe are appropriate for them, actions that they would feel comfortable with and can see themselves performing" (p. 297). Their data are certainly consistent with this interpretation--except for the greater use of indirect strategies by men, which Offermann and Schrier attribute to the appropriateness of manipulation in organizational contexts, all of the influence strategy choices are consistent with sex role expectations.

More recently, Ansari (1989) examined the likelihood of using various kinds of influence strategies among male and female Indian college students who were faced with either poor-performing or well-performing work groups in a simulated supervisory situation. Unlike Johnson, Ansari did not find a gender difference in the likelihood of using expertise as an influence strategy, nor was there a gender difference in the use of ingratiation. However, Ansari did find that relative to female subjects, males were more likely to use reward and exchange, assertion (demand that they do what you want) and negative sanction (withhold future advancements).

Several studies have examined gender differences among dating and/or married couples. Raven, Centers and Rodrigues (1975) found gender differences in the types of social power that husbands and wives attributed to their spouses. The wives were more likely to say they were

influenced by their husband because of expert power, that is, his knowledge and skills. The husbands were more likely to attribute referent power to their wives, saying they were influenced because she was similar and likeable. Raven et al. did not investigate actual power use.

Kaplan (1975; cited in Peplau, 1979) conducted a study designed to look at power strategies used by dating couples. After reading slightly different versions of a case history involving a conflict or disagreement between a hypothetical couple, the couple was asked to discuss the case and reach a joint decision about whose position in the case was more justified. The couples' discussions were recorded and scored for 12 different power strategies. Kaplan's results indicated gender differences in only two of the 12 strategies. Consistent with sex-role stereotypes, men resorted to giving information more often than women, whereas women were more likely than men to disagree with or contradict information given by their boyfriend. Kaplan concludes that these results follow a traditional pattern in which men "propose" and women "oppose."

Using an inductive method to conceptualize power strategies, Falbo and Peplau (1980) examined the impact of gender and sexual orientation on power strategies used in intimate relationships. Homosexual and heterosexual men and women (college students) completed a questionnaire which assessed various aspects of their current or most recent romantic/sexual relationship. Items of particular relevance to this study included one which asked respondents to write an open-ended essay describing "how I get ____ (my intimate partner) to do what I want," and

other Likert-type items which measured subjects' perceived and preferred balance of power in the relationship.

The essays were coded according to a set of 13 power strategy categories that accounted for 98% of the strategies that occurred in the total sample of essays. Nine experts then rated the similarity among these power strategies, and their ratings were analyzed using a multidimensional scaling (MDS) procedure.

The MDS analysis resulted in a two-dimensional solution which accounted for 89% of the variance. Falbo and Peplau (1980) labeled one dimension "directness," which distinguished between indirect methods of influence (e.g., expressing positive or negative affect, hinting, withdrawing) and more overt and direct strategies (e.g., making a direct statement or request). The other dimension, "bilaterality," was anchored at one end by bilateral or interactive methods--those that require the cooperation and responsiveness of the target person (e.g., bargaining, reasoning, persuasion)--and at the other end by unilateral strategies--those in which "a person takes independent action by simply doing what he or she wants" (p. 622; e.g., telling, withdrawing).

In including both heterosexual and homosexual subjects in their study, Falbo and Peplau (1980) speculated that they would find differences in power strategies based on sexual orientation to the extent that homosexuals' views about power in relationships differ from those of heterosexuals (presumably, views that emphasized equal power versus unequal power). Alternatively, they anticipated gender differences to the extent that all men and women, regardless of sexual orientation, are

socialized to adopt sex-typed power strategies. Falbo and Peplau found that overall, homosexual and heterosexual subjects did not differ in their use of power strategies. Instead, gender differences were found only among heterosexuals, with men more likely to report using direct and bilateral strategies, and women more likely to report using indirect and unilateral strategies. While the gender difference in directness is supported by previous research and theory (Johnson, 1976; Kaplan, 1975), the bilaterality dimension itself and the association between gender and bilateral/unilateral power strategy use were new. Falbo and Peplau offer the explanation that men, because of their greater power, are more likely to expect compliance to their influence attempts, and therefore use direct and bilateral strategies. They argue that women use unilateral strategies—strategies that do not require the partner's cooperation—because women anticipate noncompliance. Support for this power interpretation was provided by the additional finding that people who preferred and perceived themselves as having greater power than their partner were more likely to report using bilateral (vs. unilateral) strategies. However, the MDS analysis does not allow one to isolate the effects of gender versus power, nor to discern any interactive effects of gender and power.

Using data from the heterosexual sample of the larger Falbo and Peplau (1980) study as well as the same two-dimensional model, Falbo (1982) examined the relationship between sex-role types and power strategy use in intimate relationships. The heterosexual male and female college students were classified into one of four sex-role types (masculine, feminine, androgynous, undifferentiated) by the Personal Attributes Questionnaire

(PAQ; Spence & Helmreich, 1978). Given the same data, the analysis obviously resulted in the same gender difference reported by Falbo and Peplau. However, Falbo's new information from the PAQ types indicated that androgynous subjects were more likely to report using bilateral strategies, while undifferentiated subjects were likely to report using unilateral strategies. In addition, Falbo reports that masculine subjects were more likely to use direct and somewhat bilateral strategies and feminine subjects were more likely to use indirect and unilateral strategies. However, Falbo notes that because the masculine and feminine types do not share a significant amount of variance with the two-dimensional MDS configuration, "one should be cautious in accepting these results" (p. 405). Thus, although the study suggests that sex-role type is a variable other than gender which is linked to power strategy use, it is unclear whether all sex-role types are related to power strategy use. It is also unclear to what extent these findings support a power interpretation, since under this interpretation one would expect to find differences in power strategy use especially between masculine and feminine types, as well as between androgynous and undifferentiated types.

A more direct test of the power interpretation is provided by research by Cowan, Drinkard, and MacGavin (1984), modeled directly after Falbo and Peplau (1980). Several differences between the two studies are that the Cowan et al. experiment used children as subjects, used analyses of variance rather than the MDS analysis, made use of a repeated measure, and added a third power strategy dimension, strong/weak.

The study by Cowan et al. (1984) examined the effects of target, age, and gender on power strategies used by 6th, 9th, and 12th-grade boys and girls. The power of the target was varied by asking the children how they get their way with their father, mother, and same-sex best friend, with the assumption that fathers have more power than mothers, who have more power than friends. On the basis of this assumption and a power interpretation, Cowan et al. hypothesized that children would use more direct, bilateral, and stronger strategies with friends than with parents, and more so with mothers than fathers. Conversely, fathers should be the recipients of more indirect, unilateral, and weak strategies. Based upon the assumption that power also increases with age, the authors expected older children to use more direct, bilateral, and stronger strategies than younger children. Alternatively, an interpretation of power strategy use based upon sex-role socialization would predict gender differences as well as a gender by age interaction. Thus, based upon differential socialization, females should use more indirect, unilateral, and weak strategies than males, independent of the target of influence. Further, this gender difference should increase with age because of increased socialization from preadolescence to adolescence.

Because of gender and target differences in the number of strategies reported--females used more and mothers received more--responses were scored in terms of percentage use of each power strategy category. The results of Cowan et al. (1984) indicated significant target effects for all six dimensions of power use. Fathers received proportionally fewer direct and bilateral strategies than mothers and friends, while friends received fewer

indirect and unilateral strategies than both parents. Moreover, strong strategies were used more frequently with friends than parents, and weak strategies were used less with friends than parents. There was minimal support for an age effect—bilateral strategy use increased with age—and no support for gender effects. Cowan et al. conclude that their findings "lend support, albeit indirectly, to the suggestion that gender differences may reflect more a state of power inequality than gender itself" (p. 1397).

The Cowan et al. (1984) results can lend no more than indirect support because of the assumed power differences of the targets. The power of mothers relative to the other targets is especially questionable given the lack of differentiation of strategies directed toward the mothers. Because of this lack of differentiation, one could also question whether the differences are due to the power or gender of the target, or to some other aspect of the relationship. Further, since the gender and power of the target were not factorially manipulated, we are not able to discern whether gender and power interact to affect power strategy use.

In other research on intimate relationships, Howard, Blumstein and Schwartz (1986) examined the perceived use of influence tactics in heterosexual married couples, male homosexual couples, and lesbian couples. Subjects responded to items measuring 24 different influence tactics. Howard et al. found no gender differences in the use of what they termed "weak" strategies (i.e., manipulation and supplication) or "strong" strategies (i.e., bullying and autocracy). The only gender difference they did find was for a "neutral" strategy they called disengagement (e.g., sulking, leaving the scene), with men more likely to be perceived as using

disengagement than women--a finding that directly contradicts Falbo and Peplau (1980) but is consistent with Offermann and Schrier (1985).

Interestingly, Howard et al. also looked at the effects of subjects' power, as measured by annual income, years of education and age, on the use of influence tactics. Positions of weakness in a relationship were related to increased use of manipulation and supplication, both "weak" strategies, and positions of strength increased somewhat the likelihood of bullying and autocratic tactics, both "strong" tactics.

Finally, there are several other studies, although fewer in number, which have not found gender differences in the use of power strategies. Cann (1979; cited in Lips, 1981) found that women and men in a simulated work situation did not differ in the messages they chose to influence the production of their workers. It should be noted however, that subjects were only able to threaten or reward workers, or use persuasion--almost all chose reward and persuasion. Kipnis, Schmidt and Wilkinson (1980) looked at a wider range of strategies in their investigation of the tactics that employed respondents used to influence their superiors, co-workers and subordinates. Kipnis et al. examined eight dimensions of influence, four of which were common to influence attempts at all three organizational levels--assertiveness, sanctions, ingratiation and rationality. Women and men did not differ in their frequency of use of any of the eight dimensions of influence. In a somewhat different behavioral arena, research has failed to find gender differences in the power tactics used to influence another to both have and avoid sexual intercourse (McCormick, 1979) or in the power

bases associated with college students' contraceptive decisions (McCormick & Gaeddert, 1989).

Gender versus Status

A summary of the research on power strategy use indicates that men and women do sometimes use different power strategies to influence others. In most studies however, the gender differences are confounded with power or status inequalities. More recent research provides evidence of this power interpretation, although more indirectly than directly.

Differences in power strategy use are not the only gender differences to be subjected to a power inequality explanation. As Unger (1978) and others (e.g., Eagly, 1983; Henley, 1977) observe, many of the behavioral differences between women and men that have been labeled "sex differences" may more accurately reflect "status differences." Researchers have demonstrated that gender differences in nonverbal behavior (Frieze & Ramsey, 1976; Henley, 1977), group participation (Lockheed & Hall, 1976), and conformity and aggression (Unger, 1979) are all identical to power or status differences, and can be interpreted according to such an analysis. Unger's status/gender identity model assumes that "much of the variance in male-female relationships can be explained by relative status, but because status is so highly correlated with gender, explanations have tended to be based upon sex" (1978, p. 464).

What is meant by the concept of status? It has been defined as an individual's position in a hierarchy of power relations within a social unit (Sherif & Sherif, 1969). Status refers to the potential ability to influence others, as opposed to social power, which refers to actual influence (Unger,

1978). Sociologists usually recognize two kinds of status--achieved and ascribed--based on the factors that determine one's status. Achieved status is based upon one's performance or functions, such as the role one performs within a family or an organization. Determinants of achieved status include one's role as a boss versus subordinate, teacher versus student, or the prestige of one's occupation. Ascribed status is based upon individual characteristics that determine who one is. Age, race, social class, and gender are all determinants of ascribed status.

For some time sociologists have recognized the idea that gender functions as a status characteristic in certain situations (Berger, Cohen, & Zelditch, 1966, 1972). The theory of status characteristics and expectation states is a sociological theory that describes the process of status differentiation in small-group interaction (Berger, Conner, & Fisek, 1974; Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980; Berger & Zelditch, 1985). Berger et al. suggest that under certain conditions the relative power and prestige of group members will be determined by their relative status. Briefly put, expectation states theory holds that when a group is working interdependently at a valued task for which skill is required for its successful completion, group members will look for ways to assign performance expectations to oneself and others. In the absence of any immediately obvious basis for determining the relative performance expectations of group members (e.g., task abilities or formal group roles), other information will be used. Such information includes the group members' relative states of socially evaluated characteristics--what Berger et al. (1972) call diffuse status characteristics.

Berger et al. (1972) define a diffuse status characteristic as a characteristic for which there are two or more states that are differentially evaluated, where each state has a distinct set of specific, evaluated characteristics and a general expectation state having the same evaluation as the state of the characteristic. Thus, as Lockheed and Hall (1976) observe, sex functions as a diffuse status characteristic with two states, "male" and "female", that are differentially evaluated--"male" is evaluated more highly than "female" (Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz, & Vogel, 1970; Broverman et al., 1972). Moreover, each state has a specific set of evaluated competencies and expectations, which corresponds with the value of the given state--males are expected to perform more competently than females (Broverman et al., 1972; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968).

According to expectation states theory, people use sex (or race or social class) as a status cue in small-group interaction because of their prior experience in a variety of settings where sex was observed to be correlated with power and prestige. In the manner of a self-fulfilling prophecy (Jones, 1977), status characteristics then affect behavior because people have expectations about their own and others' competence based on these characteristics, and they behave in ways that confirm these expectations.

Recent research by Eagly and Wood (1982) and Lockheed (1985) on gender differences in social influence provides evidence for a status interpretation. In a series of experiments, Eagly and Wood had subjects predict the likelihood of a recipient's compliance with the influence attempt of a communicator in an organizational setting. In the first

experiment, subjects responded to written scenarios in which either a man was trying to influence a woman or a woman was trying to influence a man. In experimental conditions in which subjects knew the sex of the communicator and recipient but lacked any other information, subjects inferred that the men held higher status jobs than the women, as shown by their estimates of salaries and job titles. As predicted by Eagly and Wood, this inference about status resulted in subjects' predictions of greater compliance in the male communicator-female recipient condition than in the female communicator-male recipient condition.

In some experimental conditions subjects were also given information about the status of the communicator and recipient (low or high) in the form of job titles. As expected, subjects in these conditions based their predictions of compliance on the status of the job titles; they did not utilize gender cues to predict compliance. Thus, the diffuse status characteristic (sex) ceased to affect perceived compliance once the specific status characteristic (job title) was known. This finding is in contrast to research by Webster and Driskell (1978) which suggests that actual compliance is determined by both diffuse status characteristics of the influencer and influencee, and their task-specific characteristics.

Finally, in a second experiment by Eagly and Wood (1982), the sex of the communicator and the sex of the recipient were varied orthogonally. When this was done the extent of predicted compliance was increased by the presence of a male rather than female communicator and with a female rather than male recipient. Eagly and Wood conclude that perceivers hold implicit theories of compliance based upon formal status

inequalities by which men are more likely than women to have high status roles. They contend it is these differences in status that determine the gender differences in compliance.

In a meta-analytic study of gender differences in social influence in mixed-sex groups Lockheed (1985) found that, under the conditions specified by expectation states theory, performance expectations for group members affected their influence within the group. Support for the notion of gender as a diffuse status characteristic was provided by the finding that in 70% of data sets (45 of 64), men had significantly greater influence than women. However, consistent with the theory, performance expectations also originated from task-related abilities, and offset the effects of gender on influence. That is, when status information is explicitly made relevant, it is predicted to have a greater effect than status information for which relevance must be inferred (Webster & Driskell, 1985). Thus, when the task performance expectations favored women, the effect of gender on influence was less pronounced--50% of the data sets reported no gender difference and 34% reported greater female influence.

Summarily, both Eagly and Wood (1982) and Lockheed (1985) provide some support for the notion that gender differences in social influence may be due, at least in part, to the differential status associated with "male" and "female." Both however, investigated the "amount" of social influence rather than the use of qualitatively different social power strategies. Steffen and Eagly (1985) examined people's implicit theories of how status and gender affect the directness and politeness of influencers' persuasive style. They conducted an experiment in which male and

female subjects read a description of either a man influencing a woman or a woman influencing a man in a work-related setting. By using job title to manipulate status, Steffen and Eagly created scenarios in which the influencer's job title was high in status and the target's was low, the influencer's was low and the target's was high, or neither person had a job title. Results of the experiment indicated that high-status influencers were considered more likely to use direct and impolite styles and less likely to use indirect and polite styles than low-status influencers. The gender of the influencer or target had little effect on subjects' beliefs about influence styles, supporting the authors' contention that when perceivers have more definitive information about status than a gender cue (for example, job title), this information will override gender cues and affect perceiver's beliefs. It is important to remember, however, that Steffen and Eagly assessed subjects' implicit theories and beliefs about influence style rather than actual behavior, or even self-reported behavior, and subjects only responded to two requests for each combination of direct/indirect and polite/impolite messages. Moreover, Steffen and Eagly limited their study to male-female pairs, and thus failed to orthogonally vary sex and status.

In considering a study to investigate gender and status effects on the use of power strategies, there are difficulties, as documented in earlier research, that have to be overcome in order to provide more direct and stringent tests of the status interpretation. In her review of the literature for empirical evidence for her status/gender identity model, Unger (1978, 1979) discovered that many of the studies have been plagued by a number of methodological weaknesses. She notes that "a major problem in

examining power relationships between the sexes is that gender is usually confounded with the various variables that denote relative status in a relationship" (1978, p. 468). This confounding of gender and status has been present in many studies, especially the earlier ones.

Unger (1978) also points out that in order to investigate the relationship between gender and status, it is necessary to examine studies that repeat the same manipulations for both men and women. This requirement in studies of status and gender is made difficult by several methodological problems that parallel common sources of sex-bias in psychological research in general (Grady, 1981). First, Unger reports that a number of studies in the area do not report the sex of the subject. Secondly, a substantial number of the studies use different (i.e., sex-biased) operational definitions of variables when studying behaviors characteristic of power in men and women. For example, McKenna and Kessler (1977) found that the experimental manipulations and dependent measures used in single-sex designs in the areas of aggression and interpersonal attraction often differed for women and men. When women were the subjects in aggression studies, for example, experimenters were more likely to use "passive" rather than "active" manipulations, such as varying the story content versus angering or frustrating subjects. Similarly, the aggressive responses of women were measured most frequently by paper and pencil measures of aggressive feelings, while the responses of men were more likely to be measured by shocking another.

The requirement of using the same manipulation for women and men is particularly problematic when one is manipulating status. Whether the

same factors confer status upon both sexes, and if so, to the same degree, is still unclear (Unger, 1978). For example, although occupational title is a common operational definition of status, there is evidence of gender differences in perceived social status as a function of one's occupational title or status. Research with dual-career couples found that the general social status of both wives and husbands was based only on the husband's occupational status; the wife's occupational status had no effect on her social status or that of her husband (Richardson & Mahoney, 1981).

Further, Nilson (1976) found that the degree of sex-typing of the occupation, rather than the occupation itself, affected the perception of the social status of both women and men. Finally, research by Beyard-Tyler and Haring (1984) suggests that perceived status is in part a function of the gender of the job incumbent, although Bose and Rossi (1983) found this effect to be more pronounced among a sample of household adults than college students. In conclusion, these methodological problems regarding the manipulation of status need to be eliminated in order to effectively investigate the impact of gender and status on social behavior.

Present Research

The primary purpose of the present research is to examine gender differences in self-reported likelihood of use of social power, and to determine whether such differences, if they exist, are due to gender, status, or the interaction of both. In order to test the alternative interpretations (gender vs. status), an experiment was conducted in which men and women were asked the likelihood that they will use various power strategies to influence another person. This target person was a man or a

woman whose status was higher than, lower than, or equal to the status of the subject.

If gender differences in the use of power strategies are due to the differential sex role socialization of women and men, women should be more likely to report the use of indirect and unilateral strategies and men should report a greater likelihood of use of direct and bilateral strategies, regardless of the relative status of the target. Alternatively, if the differences found by Falbo and Peplau (1980) and Cowan et al. (1984) are not inherent in gender but are based on differences in status or power, then individuals should be more likely to report using direct and bilateral strategies with targets in lower status positions, and indirect and unilateral strategies with targets in higher status positions, regardless of the gender of the subject or target.

Given the previously cited support for a status interpretation, and the capacity for gender to convey information about status, it seems plausible to expect outcomes more complex than the simple main effects hypothesized above. If gender does convey status information, then subjects will actually be exposed to multiple indicators of status in this study. What can one expect when there are multiple status characteristics? Status characteristics and expectation states theory suggests that there are two ways in which information on multiple status characteristics might be used (Berger, Fisek, Norman, & Zelditch, 1977; Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980). One process, called elimination, would result in the individual simplifying the situation by eliminating all but one characteristic to form performance expectations. The second way, a

combining process, suggests that all status characteristics are combined, with expectations reflecting all available status information. Thus, if status characteristics were inconsistent, all positively and negatively valued characteristics would be combined to form intermediate expectations. Although there is evidence to the contrary, most of the research supports a combining process rather than elimination (Webster & Driskell, 1985).

Borrowing from the status characteristics theoretical framework, one would expect the power strategies used with male targets to differ from those used with female targets. Furthermore, because the gender of the subjects would have the added potential to convey status information, an interaction between gender of subject, gender of target, and relative status of the target is also hypothesized. Specifically, then, the following hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 1: Individuals will report a greater likelihood of use of direct and bilateral strategies with lower status targets, and greater use of indirect and unilateral strategies with higher status targets (cf. Cowan, Drinkard and MacGavin, 1984; Falbo and Peplau, 1980; Steffen and Eagly, 1985).

Hypothesis 2: The likelihood of using direct and bilateral strategies with lower status targets will be greater with a female target than with a male target. Similarly, the likelihood of indirect and unilateral strategies with higher status targets will be greater with a male target than with a female target (cf. Berger, Rosenholtz and Zelditch, 1980).

Hypothesis 3: Self-reported likelihood of use of direct and bilateral strategies will be greatest when male subjects attempt to influence a low-

status female target. The likelihood of using these strategies will be least when female subjects attempt to influence a high-status male target. Instead, this latter set of circumstances should result in an increase in self-reported use of indirect and unilateral strategies (cf. Berger, Rosenholtz and Zelditch, 1980; Falbo and Peplau, 1980).

Hypothesis 4: Individuals, especially men, will report a greater likelihood of use of direct and bilateral strategies with female targets than with male targets. Similarly, women will be most likely to report the use of indirect and unilateral strategies with male targets. This will hold especially in equal status conditions (cf. Berger, Rosenholtz and Zelditch, 1980; Falbo and Peplau, 1980).

Finally, one would expect that subjects' perceptions of the effectiveness of the various power strategies would parallel self-reports of the likelihood of using the strategies. However, given the lack of available research on the perceived effectiveness and desirability of power strategies, no specific hypotheses are proposed.

METHOD

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in order to arrive at a manipulation of status of the target that was the same (and had the same meaning) for both male and female subjects, regardless of the gender of the target.

In the first part of the pilot study, 18 male and 23 female undergraduate college students were asked to identify three male and female individuals whose social status was higher than, lower than, and equal to their own (with the additional qualification that they also know and do not dislike the person). See Appendix A for the instrument used to identify potential targets. Thus, each subject identified six potential targets, with the order of the targets counterbalanced for gender of target. After identifying these individuals, subjects were asked to briefly describe what it is about the target that accounted for his or her higher, lower, or equal status (e.g., occupation, age, income), and then to rate the status of each listed target on a 15-point scale, where "+7"=much higher status than self, "0"=equal status, and "-7"=much lower status than self.

In the second part of the pilot study, the same 42 subjects were given a list of 44 brief descriptions of individuals (or categories of individuals), with each description representing a different occupation, education level, or age group. Examples of such descriptions were college professor, truck driver, high school student, and 65-year-old. A complete list of the target descriptions is provided in Appendix B. Subjects were asked to think of a female and male in each of the described positions/roles. Presentation of two separate lists was counterbalanced for gender of target, and within each

list, the order of the descriptions was counterbalanced to avoid any possible order or fatigue effects. For each description, subjects were asked to rate the status of the "person" relative to their own status on the same 15-point scale as mentioned earlier.

The results of the first part of the pilot study indicated that both male and female subjects used the same characteristics to identify individuals of varying status levels. Foremost among these characteristics were occupational status/job, education level, income, and the presence or absence of a perceived goal/achievement orientation. Characters most often nominated by subjects for high status males were professor, business owner/manager, and politician; for high status females they were professor or business owner/manager. "Classmate" and "friend" were the most common responses to prompts for persons of equal status. Low status male individuals were identified as janitors, high school classmates or friends, while low status female individuals tended to be a former friend, waitress, cook or maid.

The average status rating for females and males in each of the 44 descriptions presented in part two of the pilot was calculated separately for female and male subjects. These average ratings corresponded quite closely with the open-ended responses given in the first part of the pilot. Based upon the targets identified in the open-ended responses and the mean status ratings for each of the descriptions, three targets were selected for the manipulation of status--one whose mean status rating was moderately high, one whose mean rating was moderately low, and one whose mean status rating was equal to that of the subjects. Targets with moderate rather

than extreme status ratings were used in order to avoid ceiling and floor effects.

Subjects and Design

The subjects were 112 female and 115 male college students from Iowa State University who participated in the experiment in order to fulfill a psychology course requirement. The design of the study was a 2 (gender of subject) X 2 (gender of target) X 3 (status of target relative to subject: higher, equal, lower) between subjects factorial design. Participants were randomly assigned to experimental conditions, with approximately an equal number of men and women in each condition. The total number of subjects per cell ranged from 18 to 20.

Procedure and Experimental Manipulations

A paper and pencil instrument, consisting of instructions and several sets of questions, was administered to participants in small group sessions. The questionnaire, presented in its entirety in Appendix C, was described as one on social influence and consisted of several parts. After completing items assessing demographic information, including the subject's age, sex, race, social class, and year in college, subjects read a brief set of instructions, in which gender and status of the target were manipulated. Subjects were asked to think of interacting with someone (male or female) whose status was higher than, equal to, or lower than their own—for example, someone like _____ (status manipulation). The higher status target was defined as "someone like a college professor or the owner of a business." The equal status target was defined as "someone like another college student or someone your own age with the same general background." Finally, the

lower status target was defined as "someone like a janitor or someone who did not finish high school."

Subjects were asked to think of someone they knew, but not real well--that is, not a close friend or relative--so as to avoid a focus on intimate relationships. The instructions continued with: "Suppose that in a particular situation you very much wanted to do something, but this person does not want to do what you would like her (him) to do. How would you go about getting your way in such a situation?" At this point respondents answered several sets of questions (see Dependent Measures) in response to the circumstances. Participants were informed that their responses would remain anonymous and held in strict confidence; they were also encouraged to answer in terms of what they would actually do rather than what they would like to do.

In accordance with guidelines established by the University Human Subjects Review Committee, informed consent was obtained from subjects prior to the start of the experiment, and subjects were debriefed afterwards.

Dependent Measures

Twenty-four single statement items, drawn from the work of Falbo (1977a), Falbo and Peplau (1980), and Cowan, Drinkard and MacGavin (1984), were used to assess the subjects' influence strategies. Using a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (extremely unlikely) to 7 (extremely likely), subjects were first asked to rate how likely they would be to use each of the individual power strategy items. They were then asked to indicate how effective they thought each of the individual power tactics would be and how desirable it would be for them to use each of the power tactics. These

last two sets of ratings were obtained using 7-point scales, ranging from 1 ("not at all effective" and "not at all desirable") to 7 ("very effective" and "very desirable"). Finally, respondents were asked to rate how well they knew the person and how much they liked the person, both using 7-point scales, and they indicated the status of the person relative to their own on the previously mentioned 15-point scale (ranging from -7 to +7).

Based upon the dimensional model presented by Falbo and Peplau (1980), the individual power strategy items were combined into four primary categories, based upon two dimensions: direct versus indirect and bilateral versus unilateral. In the case of power strategy items adopted from the work of Falbo (1977a) and Cowan, Drinkard and MacGavin (1984), their inclusion in combined categories was based on judgment of similarity to the other categories and to the conceptualization of the category itself.

Direct strategies included asking, expertise, reward, threat, beg/plead, persuasion, persistence, reasoning, bargaining, stating importance, talking, and telling. Indirect strategies consisted of withdrawal, suggesting, laissez-faire, smile/act nice, give up, get mad/angry, flattery, deceit, make feel bad/guilty, advocate, and evasion. Bilateral strategies, strategies that require interaction, included reward, suggesting, threat, beg/plead, persuasion, smile/act nice, persistence, reasoning, bargaining, flattery, talking, deceit, and advocate. Unilateral strategies, those strategies in which the agent's actions are more independent of the target, included asking, withdrawal, expertise, laissez-faire, pout, cry, give up, get mad/angry, state importance, make feel bad/guilty, telling, and evasion. Appendix D presents a list of the 24 power strategy items and the name

used for each, and a listing by each of the four power strategy categories is presented in Appendix E.

The internal consistency of each of the four power strategy scales was assessed with Cronbach's coefficient alpha. The reliabilities of the power strategy scales were: direct, .68; indirect, .71; bilateral, .74; and unilateral, .62.

RESULTS

Manipulation Checks

To check the effectiveness of the written instructions, particularly the manipulation of status, subjects were asked to rate the status of the target relative to their own status using a 15-point scale, where -7=much lower, 0=equal, and 7=much higher. Subjects were also asked to indicate how well they knew the target person and how much they liked this person, with both ratings on 7-point scales, ranging from 1 (not very well/much) to 7 (very well/much). A 2 X 2 X 3 ANOVA was performed on each of these measures, or manipulation checks.

The manipulation of status was successful, as evidenced by a significant main effect for status, $F(2, 214) = 145.27, p < .0001$, on the rating of status. Higher status targets were perceived to have higher status than equal status targets ($M_s = 3.31$ vs. $0.09, p < .01$). Equal status targets were in fact rated as equal, and were judged to have higher status than the low status targets ($M_s = 0.09$ vs. $-2.61, p < .01$, where 0 represented equal status).

A significant gender of target by status of target interaction was also found for the status rating, $F(2, 214) = 3.26, p < .04$. There were no significant differences in the status rating of the male versus female targets at the low ($M_s = -2.32$ vs. -2.87) or equal level ($M_s = 0.29$ vs. -0.11), but high status male targets were rated significantly higher than high status female targets ($M_s = 3.92$ vs. $2.68, p < .05$). A significant Gender of Subject X Gender of Target X Status of Target interaction, $F(2, 214) = 4.22, p < .02$, suggests that the gender difference in status rating of the high status male versus female targets was qualified by gender of subject. Male subjects'

status rating of the high status male target ($M = 4.40$) was higher than either male or female ratings of the high status female ($M_s = 2.42$ and 2.96 , $p < .05$). Likewise, male subjects were more extreme than female subjects in their ratings of the low status male ($M_s = -3.57$ vs. -2.06 , $p < .05$).

Status, knowledge and liking. There were no significant main effects or interactions with status on the measure of how well subjects knew the target person ($F_s < 1.00$, $p_s > .15$). Subjects reported knowing low and high status targets as well as equal status targets ($M_s = 4.04$, 4.00 and 4.15 , $F < 1.00$, $p > .84$). Furthermore, the instructions were successful in getting subjects to think of a target that they knew, but not real well, as evidenced by means of approximately 4.00 on a 1 to 7-point scale. Not surprisingly though, a significant main effect for status of target did occur for liking of the target person [$F(2, 214) = 6.24$, $p < .002$], with lower status persons liked less than equal or high status targets ($M_s = 4.49$ vs. 5.27 and 5.04 , $p < .05$).

Correlations were also computed between subjects' ratings of the status of the target, their liking of the target and their knowledge of the target. A positive correlation between ratings of status and liking ($r(225) = .22$, $p < .001$) confirmed the aforementioned relationship—i.e., greater liking was associated with targets with higher status ratings. There was also a strong positive correlation between ratings of liking of the target and subjects' knowledge of the target ($r(225) = .53$, $p < .001$), indicating that subjects liked those targets whom they knew better. However, there was no relationship between status ratings of the target and subjects' knowledge of the target ($r(225) = .04$, $p > .05$).

Overview of Analyses

Three separate 2 X 2 X 3 (Gender of Subject X Gender of Target X Status of Target) multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were performed: one on self-reported mean likelihood of use of direct, indirect, bilateral and unilateral power strategies; one on the mean perceived effectiveness of direct, indirect, bilateral and unilateral strategies; and one on the mean perceived desirability of direct, indirect, bilateral and unilateral strategies. Correlations among likelihood of use, perceived effectiveness and perceived desirability were computed for each of the power strategies. All of the correlations were statistically significant ($p < .0001$), and yielded consistent patterns across each of the power strategies. Correlations between likelihood of use and perceived effectiveness ranged from .56 to .66; correlations between likelihood of use and perceived desirability ranged from .52 to .63; and those between effectiveness and desirability ranged from .51 to .65.

The results on likelihood of use as they relate to the primary hypotheses are presented first, followed by results on perceived effectiveness and desirability. For significant multivariate effects, the significant univariate analyses of variance (ANOVA) and Duncan's multiple range comparisons of means are also presented.

Likelihood of Power Strategy Use

Hypothesis 1: *Individuals will report a greater likelihood of use of direct and bilateral strategies with lower status targets, and greater use of indirect and unilateral strategies with higher status targets* (cf. Cowan, Drinkard and MacGavin, 1984; Falbo and Peplau, 1980; Steffen and Eagly,

1985). Using Wilk's lambda criterion, the MANOVA on likelihood of power strategy use resulted in a significant main effect for status of target, $F(8, 424) = 2.56, p < .01$. As presented in Table 1, the analysis of the univariate effects showed a marginally significant main effect for status of target on the likelihood of use of direct strategies [$F(2, 215) = 2.90, p < .06$] and unilateral strategies [$F(2, 215) = 2.94, p < .06$]. As predicted, subjects were more likely to use direct power strategies with low and equal status targets than with high status targets ($M_s = 4.50$ and 4.50 vs. $4.26, p < .05$). Contrary to prediction, subjects were also more likely to use unilateral strategies with low status targets than with high status targets ($M_s = 3.51$ vs. $3.26, p < .05$). There were no differences in likelihood of use of indirect and bilateral strategies.

 Insert Table 1 about here.

Hypothesis 2: *The likelihood of using direct and bilateral strategies with lower status targets will be greater with a female target than with a male target. Similarly, the likelihood of indirect and unilateral strategies with higher status targets will be greater with a male target than with a female target* (cf. Berger, Rosenholtz and Zelditch, 1980). The MANOVA on likelihood of use resulted in a significant gender of target by status interaction, $F(8, 424) = 2.29, p < .02$. Subsequent ANOVAs indicated that the gender of target by status interaction was significant for the unilateral [$F(2, 215) = 3.11, p < .05$] and indirect [$F(2, 215) = 3.38, p < .04$] power strategies, thus lending only partial support to Hypothesis 2.

Table 1

Mean Likelihood of Power Strategy Use as a Function of Status of Target

Multivariate $F(8, 424) = 2.56, p < .01$

Power Strategy	<u>Status of Target</u>			Univariate $F(2, 215)$
	Low	Equal	High	
Direct	4.50 a	4.50 a	4.26 b	2.90*
Indirect	3.36	3.36	3.36	0.00
Bilateral	4.28	4.36	4.28	0.28
Unilateral	3.51 a	3.42 ab	3.26 b	2.94*

Note. Rating scale ranges from 1 = "extremely unlikely" to 7 = "extremely likely."

Note. Means with different subscripts differ beyond the .05 level.

* $p < .06$.

The significant interaction for unilateral strategies, presented in Figure 1, qualifies the previously mentioned status main effect (see Hypothesis 1). The finding that subjects were more likely to use unilateral strategies with low status targets than high status targets only held when the target was male ($M_s = 3.62$ vs. 3.10 , $p < .01$). The status of the female target did not affect unilateral power use--subjects were just as likely to use unilateral strategies with low, equal, and high status female targets ($M_s = 3.40$, 3.50 and 3.41). However, there was a greater tendency to use unilateral power with equal status female targets than with high status male targets ($M_s = 3.50$ vs. 3.10 , $p < .05$).

Insert Figure 1 about here.

Subsequent analyses of the gender of target by status interaction for indirect power use indicated that gender of target only made a difference at the equal status level. As indicated in Figure 2, subjects reported a greater likelihood of using indirect strategies with equal status female targets than with equal status male targets ($M_s = 3.56$ vs. 3.16 , $p < .05$).

Insert Figure 2 about here.

Hypothesis 3: *Self-reported likelihood of use of direct and bilateral strategies will be greatest when male subjects attempt to influence a low-status female. The likelihood of using these strategies will be least when female subjects attempt to influence a high-status male target. Instead, this*

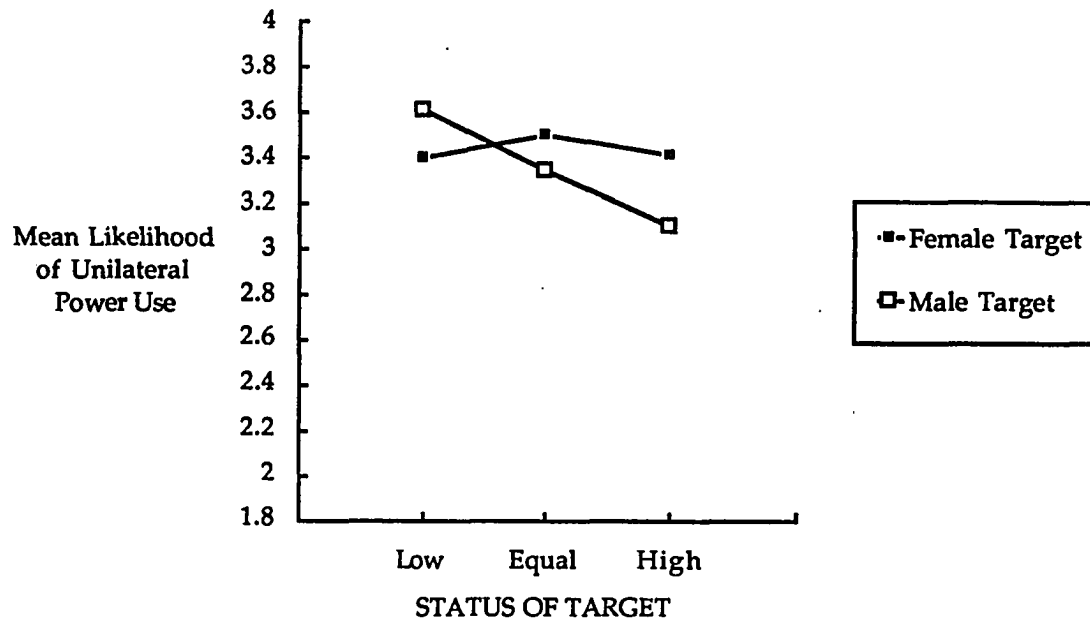


Figure 1. Mean likelihood of unilateral power use as a function of gender and status of target.

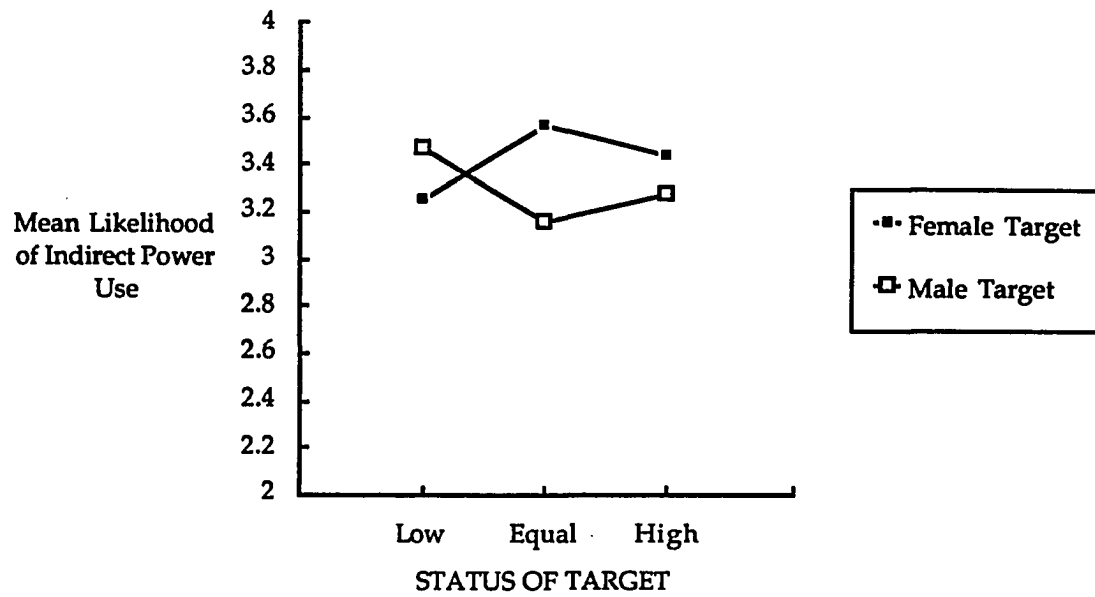


Figure 2. Mean likelihood of indirect power use as a function of gender and status of target.

latter set of circumstances should result in an increase in self-reported use of indirect and unilateral strategies (cf. Berger, Rosenholtz and Zelditch, 1980; Falbo and Peplau, 1980). There were no significant gender of subject main effects or interactions with gender of subject in the MANOVA on likelihood of power strategy use. Furthermore, the univariate analyses did not yield any significant effects due to gender of subject. Thus, gender of subject appears to have had no effect on the likelihood of use of any of the power strategies.

Hypothesis 4: *Individuals, especially men, will report a greater likelihood of use of direct and bilateral strategies with female targets than with male targets. Similarly, women will be most likely to report the use of indirect and unilateral strategies with male targets. This will hold especially in equal status conditions* (cf. Berger, Rosenholtz and Zelditch, 1980; Falbo and Peplau, 1980). As mentioned above, there were no significant gender of subject main effects or Gender of Subject X Gender of Target interactions on likelihood of use.

Perceived Effectiveness

Unlike the findings for likelihood of power strategy use, there were no significant effects due to status in the multivariate analysis of variance of the perceived effectiveness of direct, indirect, bilateral and unilateral power dimensions. The MANOVA resulted in only one significant effect, a main effect due to gender of subject [$F(4, 212) = 7.87, p < .0001$], but none of the subsequent ANOVAs were statistically significant.

No other overall multivariate effects on perceived effectiveness were found to be significant. However, several statistically significant univariate

effects are worth mentioning. As shown in Figure 3, a gender of subject by gender of target interaction, $F(1, 215) = 3.92, p < .05$, for bilateral strategies indicates that with a male target, men perceive bilateral strategies to be more effective than do women ($M_s = 4.47$ vs. $4.19, p < .05$). In addition, the data suggest that women think bilateral strategies are more effective with a female target than with a male target ($M_s = 4.43$ vs. $4.19, p < .05$).

 Insert Figure 3 about here.

The other significant univariate effect was a gender of target by status interaction on the unilateral power dimension, $F(2, 215) = 3.06, p < .05$. As indicated in Figure 4, subjects perceive unilateral strategies to be more effective with low status male targets than with high status male targets ($M_s = 3.51$ vs. $2.96, p < .05$). The status of the female target did not elicit differences in the perceived effectiveness of unilateral use, with all three of the means ($M_L = 3.26, M_E = 3.33, M_H = 3.31$) falling in between those of the low and high status males, and similar to that of the equal status male ($M = 3.28$). This finding and the pattern of the means parallel those found on the measure of unilateral power use (discussed under Hypothesis 2), where subjects were more likely to use unilateral strategies with low status male targets than in response to high status male targets.

 Insert Figure 4 about here.

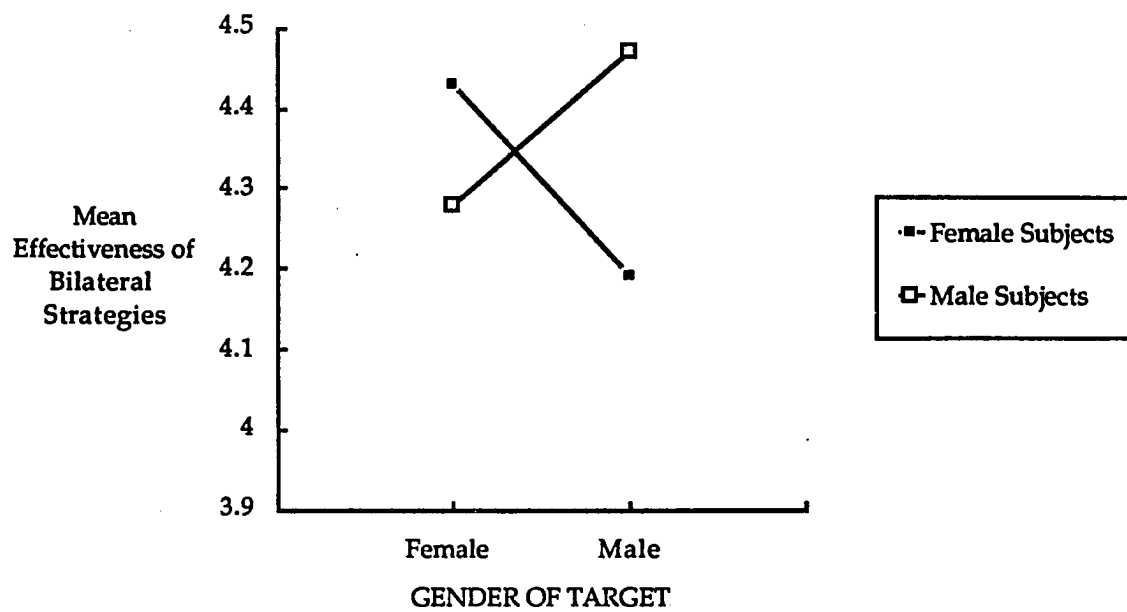


Figure 3. Mean perceived effectiveness of bilateral power strategies as a function of gender of subject and gender of target.

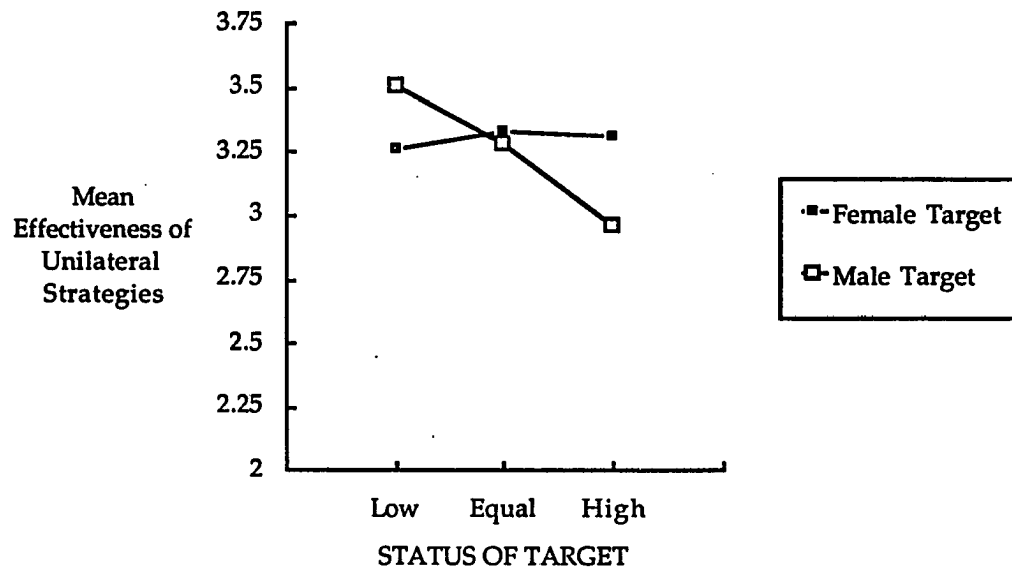


Figure 4. Mean perceived effectiveness of unilateral power strategies as a function of gender and status of target.

Desirability

The MANOVA on perceived desirability of the four power strategies yielded no significant effects.

Individual Power Items

Although specific hypotheses were not generated for individual power items, analyses of these individual items may help to illuminate some of the previously reported findings. Three separate 2 X 2 X 3 multivariate analyses of variance of the 24 individual power items were performed: one for likelihood of use of the individual items, one for perceived effectiveness, and one for perceived desirability.

Status of target effects. The MANOVA on likelihood of use of the individual items resulted in a significant main effect for status of target, $F(48, 384) = 1.48, p < .03$. As can be seen in Table 2, asking, expertise, begging/pleading, and laissez-faire were more likely to be used with low or equal status targets than high status targets. The only strategy more likely to be used with higher status targets was reasoning.

 Insert Table 2 about here.

Gender of subject effects. A significant main effect for gender of subject was found on all three MANOVAs of the individual power items: likelihood of use, $F(24, 192) = 2.34, p < .001$; effectiveness, $F(24, 192) = 2.86, p < .0001$; and desirability, $F(24, 192) = 2.32, p < .001$. With regard to likelihood of use, women were more likely to use begging/pleading, laissez-faire, stating importance, and telling, whereas men were more

Table 2

Mean Likelihood of Use of Individual Power Items as a Function of Status of Target

Multivariate $F(48, 324) = 1.48, p < .03$

Individual Power Item	<u>Status of Target</u>			Univariate $F(2, 215)$
	Low	Equal	High	
Reasoning	5.63 a	5.78 ab	6.10 b	3.20 *
Asking	5.11 a	4.97 ab	4.37 b	3.85 *
Laissez-faire	4.32 a	4.30 a	3.64 b	4.42 *
Expertise	3.74 a	3.81 a	2.88 b	8.35 ***
Beg/plead	2.92 a	2.92 a	2.36 b	3.04 *

Note. Rating scale ranges from 1 = "extremely unlikely" to 7 = "extremely likely."

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

likely to use withdrawal and deceit (see Table 3).

Insert Table 3 about here.

Women and men also differed in their perceptions of the effectiveness and desirability of several individual strategies. The significant gender differences in perceived effectiveness are presented in Table 4. Relative to men, women perceived asking, reasoning, stating importance, and telling as more effective, while men thought withdrawal and deceit were more effective than did women. Similarly, as shown in Table 5, asking, stating importance, and telling were the three strategies that women, when compared to men, thought were more desirable for them to use. Men, on the other hand, thought that deceit was more desirable for them to use, and that being persistent, getting mad or angry, and making others feel bad or guilty were somewhat more desirable.

Insert Tables 4 and 5 about here.

Table 3

Mean Likelihood of Use of Power Items as a Function of Gender of Subject

Multivariate $F(24, 192) = 2.34, p < .001$

Individual Power Item	<u>Gender of Subject</u>		Univariate $F(1, 215)$
	Female	Male	
State importance	5.70	5.29	6.44 **
Telling	5.36	4.71	11.66 ***
Laissez-faire	4.31	3.87	4.17 *
Deceit	3.08	3.78	10.72 ***
Beg/plead	2.96	2.51	4.57 *
Withdrawal	2.33	2.75	4.07 *

Note. Rating scale ranges from 1 = "extremely unlikely" to 7 = "extremely likely."

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 4

Gender of Subject Differences in Perceived Effectiveness of Individual Power Items

Multivariate $F(24, 192) = 2.86, p < .0001$

Individual Power Item	<u>Gender of Subject</u>		Univariate $F(1, 215)$
	Female	Male	
Reasoning	5.99	5.66	5.11 *
State importance	5.60	5.16	8.06 **
Telling	5.21	4.51	14.38 ***
Asking	5.02	4.41	8.60 **
Deceit	3.07	3.95	15.74 ***
Withdrawal	2.04	2.49	5.81 *

Note. Rating scale ranges from 1 = "not at all effective" to 7 = "very effective."

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 5

Gender of Subject Differences in Desirability of
Individual Power Items

Multivariate $F(24, 192) = 2.32, p < .001$

Individual Power Item	<u>Gender of Subject</u>		Univariate $F(1, 215)$
	Female	Male	
State importance	5.88	5.17	16.39 ***
Asking	5.80	5.19	9.18 **
Telling	5.64	4.91	14.24 ***
Persistence	3.17	3.56	3.13 *
Deceit	2.41	3.34	16.63 ***
Negative affect: anger	2.02	2.39	3.40 *
Negative affect: guilt	1.99	2.37	3.36 *

Note. Rating scale ranges from 1 = "not at all desirable" to 7 = "very desirable."

* $p < .1$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

DISCUSSION

The present study sought to examine the effects of status and gender on the likelihood of use of power strategies in interpersonal relationships. Four types of power strategies were examined: direct, indirect, bilateral and unilateral.

Effects Due to Status

The present data provided some support for the prediction that status of the target person affects the type of power strategies that people consider using. Specifically, likelihood of use of direct and unilateral strategies differed as a function of the status of the target. As predicted in Hypothesis 1, persons of lower or equal status were more likely to be the recipients of direct strategies than persons of higher status. This is consistent with the findings of Cowan, Drinkard and MacGavin (1984), who studied 6th, 9th and 12th graders and found that fathers, hypothesized to have more power than mothers or friends, received fewer direct strategies as targets than mothers or friends.

The results for unilateral strategies, however, were just the opposite of those predicted in Hypothesis 1. Data from the present study suggest that lower status targets are more likely to be the recipients of unilateral strategies than are higher status targets. These results contradict those of Cowan et al., who found that fathers, as higher status targets, were more likely to elicit unilateral strategies. Falbo and Peplau (1980) also found that women were more likely to use unilateral strategies than men. Both argue that when people interact with higher status others (e.g., when women interact with men), they are less likely to expect compliance from them,

and therefore, more likely to use unilateral strategies. This explanation is almost a learned helplessness type of analysis--that is, that lower status persons (e.g., women) come to expect noncompliance from higher status others, and that this expectation leads to independent, unilateral action.

The present data on unilateral strategy use are consistent with the findings of Offermann and Schrier (1985). In their study of organizational roles, Offermann and Schrier found that persons in supervisory roles were more likely to report the use of unilateral strategies than persons in employee roles. They suggest that people who act in a supervisory role feel freer to take unilateral actions, that the role seems to carry with it the expectation that power can be exercised and compliance expected. In other words, Offermann and Schrier claim that expected compliance, not noncompliance, leads to the use of unilateral action.

There were several other results that had to do with unilateral strategy use, and which lend some support, albeit indirectly, to the Offermann and Schrier (1985) interpretation. First, the main effect of status of target on unilateral strategy use was qualified by a gender of target by status of target interaction. The interaction indicated that the greater likelihood of unilateral use for lower status targets compared to higher status targets held only when the target person was male. Status of the female target did not make any difference in the likelihood of unilateral power use--subjects were equally as likely to report the use of unilateral power with low, equal and high status female targets.

Moreover, this same gender of target by status of target interaction occurred for the measure of reported effectiveness of unilateral strategies.

Subjects felt that unilateral strategies would be more effective when used with low status male targets than with high status male targets. And as was the case for likelihood of use, status of the female target had no effect on the ratings of effectiveness of unilateral strategies.

Clearly, the effects of status of the target were very salient in this experiment, and seem to have had stronger and more consistent effects on the likelihood of use of strategies than did gender of target. As might be expected by the status of target effects in the analysis of the four power strategies--direct, indirect, bilateral and unilateral--a number of individual power items showed status of target effects, with all but one in the expected direction. In attempting to influence low or equal status targets, subjects were more likely to simply ask the target to do what they wanted, claim to have more knowledge or expertise, simply do what they wanted on their own, and beg or plead. High status targets were more likely to be the recipients of reason or logical arguments.

There were two interactions involving gender and status of the target (on reported use of indirect and unilateral strategies), but neither of these results provides strong support for Hypothesis 2. This hypothesis, based on the work of Berger et al. (1980), predicted that gender and status cues would be combined in some manner to affect power use. The results of the interaction on likelihood of indirect power use indicated that people were more likely to use indirect power with equal status female targets than with equal status male targets. This anomalous result is not paralleled by findings from other dependent measures, and is somewhat difficult to interpret. It is certainly not consistent with the combined effect of gender

and status that Berger et al. postulate, nor with the status main effect that Eagly would predict.

The pattern of means for the interaction of gender of target and status of target on unilateral power use clearly shows that the status of a male target, but not a female target, was important in determining unilateral power use. In support of Berger et al. (1980), the combined effect of "male" and high status may have resulted in greater power or status accorded to these male targets, at least relative to female targets, evidenced by the decrease in use of unilateral power with high status male targets.

However, for the low status target, "male" as a characteristic seemed to have lowered the target's status, and accentuated the tendency for persons to use unilateral strategies with these low status targets, at least relative to low status female targets. It may be that in the case of inconsistent or contradictory multiple status characteristics, i.e., "low status" and "male", that an elimination process rather than combining process occurred (Webster & Driskell, 1985). Finally, gender seemed to override status and be the more salient characteristic in the case of female targets, as status did not make any difference in the likelihood of power use with these targets.

Gender Differences

While the data do not clearly support the work of Berger et al. (1980), neither was the specific status characteristic strong enough to eliminate the effects of gender, as Eagly would have predicted. This was especially true for the female gender, as evidenced in the aforementioned interaction. It was also evident in the gender of subject by gender of target interaction effect reported for effectiveness of bilateral strategies. This interaction was

particularly telling in that results showed that with a male target, men thought bilateral strategies would be more effective than did women. The interaction suggests that relative to men, women do not feel that strategies requiring the cooperation and responsiveness of a male target will be effective. In support of the work of Falbo and Peplau (1980), then, this study suggests that women may be less likely than men to expect compliance when they use bilateral power strategies, at least when they use them with male target persons. Unlike Falbo and Peplau, however, this expectation did not affect the extent to which women will reportedly use bilateral power. It is interesting to note that the two studies in which male target persons elicited the actual use of "weaker" power strategies both examined intimate relationships (Falbo & Peplau, 1980; Howard, Blumstein & Schwartz, 1986).

Results from previous studies have been mixed in terms of finding gender differences in the self-reported use of various types of power strategies. Research by Johnson (1976), Falbo and Peplau (1980), Gruber and White (1986) and Ansari (1989) suggests that men are more likely than women to use strategies characterized by directness, assertiveness, reward and reason. Hypotheses 3 and 4, which predicted gender differences in the likelihood of use of direct, indirect, bilateral and unilateral power strategies were clearly not supported in the present study. Although there were no differences among male and female respondents in the likelihood of use of these four power strategies, there were gender differences in the reported use of several individual power tactics. Women were more likely than men to report begging or pleading, telling the target what they wanted,

stating how important something is to them, or doing what they want on their own. Men were more likely than women to report acting distant and cold, and to use deceit or lying.

The pattern in these differences is that three of the four tactics that women were more likely to report using were more direct, whereas the two that men were more likely to report using were indirect. The tactics that women were more likely to report, while categorized as direct, may be more precisely characterized as what Offermann and Schrier (1985) termed personal/dependent strategies. Offermann and Schrier too found that women were more likely than men to report the use of these kinds of strategies.

Perhaps the more surprising results have to do with the two strategies that men were more likely to use, i.e., withdrawal and deceit/lying, strategies which at first glance seem contrary to stereotypic sex role beliefs. Several other studies, however, have reported similar findings. Offermann and Schrier (1985), for example, found that men reported a greater likelihood of using indirect strategies (e.g., dropping subtle hints, manipulation). They suggested that this was due to the nature of the context of the research; that is, that it may be more appropriate for men, who in this study were acting as supervisors or employees, to use strategies such as manipulation in an organizational context. White and Roufail (1989), however, found that male college students reported using manipulation (e.g., use of flattery and/or lies, distract or mislead, be a nuisance) and high pressure tactics more so than females when reporting first-choice strategies. Cowan, Drinkard and MacGavin (1984) also found

that male 12th graders were more likely than females to report manipulation of friends. And finally, Howard, Blumstein and Schwartz (1986) found that men are perceived as more likely to use indirect strategies such as withdrawal (a strategy they called disengagement). Whereas these findings directly contradict Falbo and Peplau (1980), they are consistent with observations of male inexpressiveness (Balswick & Peek, 1971; Sattel, 1976).

The gender differences in perceived effectiveness of individual power items are similar to the differences in likelihood of use. Men perceived the use of withdrawal and deceit/lying as more effective than did women, while women reported that asking the target to do what you want, using reason or logical arguments, stating the importance of something, and telling the target what you want—all direct strategies—are more effective. Further, female respondents tended to report the use of begging and pleading more than males even though they didn't consider it any more effective, whereas they perceived reasoning to be more effective than men did, but were not more or less likely to report using it.

It is interesting to note the pattern of gender differences in reported desirability of individual tactics relative to those of likelihood of use and perceived effectiveness. Women indicated that they considered asking, stating importance, and telling as more desirable for them to use than did men; in addition, when compared to men, women were also more likely to use these tactics and perceive them as more effective. Men, on the other hand, reported that it was more desirable for them to use deceit/lying, and

somewhat more desirable to be persistent and to use negative affect in the form of getting mad or angry and making others feel bad or guilty.

Relative to females, males were more likely to use and consider effective only one of these strategies--deceit/lying. The individual tactics reported by males might reflect their ideas of what is considered socially desirable, and stereotypic behavior for men. The question remains, however, whether people actually use these socially desirable strategies, and if so, at what point in the influence process. Recent work by Rule, Bisanz and Kohn (1985) suggests that most people report using socially desirable strategies in their initial influence attempts and resort to more negative strategies when their first attempts fail. Further research is needed to examine this theoretical model and its implications for power strategy use among men and women of varying levels of status.

Despite several gender differences in the reported use and perceived effectiveness of individual power tactics, the fact remains that in this study there were more similarities than differences between men and women. Upon examination of the means broken down by gender for the individual power items, those tactics that both men and women were most likely to report using and consider most effective were strategies that involved verbal and rational tactics. These findings are consistent with the results of Steffen and Eagly (1985) and White (1988).

Methodological Considerations

Recent research by White and Roufail (1989) has attempted to provide insight into the contradictory findings regarding gender differences in power strategy use. White and Roufail point out that past research has

only focused on between-gender differences, not between-strategy differences. They hypothesized that (1) women and men differ in the average frequency of self-reported use of power strategies, but that (2) men and women have comparable hierarchies for relative use of various power strategies. In other words, if men and women rank order their strategies from most frequently used to least frequently used, their rank-orderings (or relative use) would be similar, even though they may use various power strategies at different rates. White and Roufail found support for their hypothesis, with both male and female college students most likely to use rational, verbal and direct strategies, and least likely to use manipulative, high pressure and reward tactics. The results of the present study yielded a similar pattern: reasoning, talking, stating importance, persuasion, and suggesting were reportedly the most likely to be used, whereas negative affect, giving up, threats, and withdrawal were least likely to be used.

White and Roufail (1989) elaborated even further on their hypothesized gender differences by attempting to distinguish between strategies chosen first versus as a last resort in the influence process. Borrowing from Schank and Abelson's (1977) theory of persuasion, White and Roufail suggest that when initial influence attempts fail, greater variability in subsequent strategy choice will occur. Thus, they hypothesized and found that the relative patterns of strategy use among females and males were more similar for first-choice strategies than for last-resort strategies. White and Roufail also found gender differences in strategy use, with males more likely than females to use high pressure and manipulation tactics as first-

choice strategies, and females more likely than males to use rational strategies as a last resort.

The White and Roufail (1989) study has two important methodological implications for future research on self-reported use of influence strategies. First, it points out the importance of explicitly stating whether or not subjects should provide information on first-choice or last-resort strategies. Previous studies have not made respondents focus on a specific part or sequence of the influence process; in past research, some subjects may have responded in terms of what they did first, some in terms of what they did as a last resort, and others may have averaged across the entire influence process. This could certainly explain the lack of consistent findings in the present study, as well as apparent contradictions in past research. The importance of making this distinction may also depend on the context in which the influence attempt occurs, for example, the intimacy of the relationship and/or how well the influencer knew the other person. Future research will need to focus attention on whether or not there are differences in power use as a function of the type of situation or relationship in which the power is wielded.

Second, the work of White and Roufail (1989) demonstrates the "value of using both between-subject designs, which minimize experimental-context effects, and within-subjects designs, which maximize the contrast between the different phases of the influence process" (p. 185). They suggest that within-subjects designs may have greater external validity in the case of influence behaviors because the behaviors occur in some sort of

natural sequence (Schank & Abelson, 1977) and because people are aware of what they do first and last in attempting to influence others.

Another aspect of the research on power use that needs further exploration has to do with the method and format used to assess subjects' self-reported use. Of previous studies, some have relied on an open-ended essay format (e.g., Cowan et al., 1984; Falbo, 1977a; Falbo & Peplau, 1980) while others have had subjects respond to a limited number of alternative strategies (e.g., Ansari, 1989; Johnson, 1976; Offermann & Schrier, 1985). Gruber and White (1986) argue that the open-ended methodology may result in subjects giving more individualized and less generalized or stereotyped assessments of their influence attempts, and that subjects may not accurately remember all of the strategies they actually used. Thus, Gruber and White suggest that stereotyped gender differences are more likely to occur under conditions where subjects are presented with a limited number of alternative power strategies. Although the data from past research do not consistently support this hypothesis, methodological differences in the way power use is assessed certainly deserve further investigation.

While discussing methodological considerations, it is also important to remember that the present study as well as most of the past research examined self-reported rather than actual behavior. Self-reported behavior may or may not be consistent with actual behavior. As Offermann and Schrier (1985) contend, self-reported power strategies may be most indicative of what behaviors people believe are appropriate for them--i.e., behaviors which are very closely related to sex role stereotypes and

expectations. Clearly, much more research is needed to examine the relationship between the types of power people report they would use and those they actually use.

Finally, in addition to investigating the types of power strategies that people use with others, research should examine the types of requests that people make of others, and whether type of request influences power strategy use. One could speculate that people make different kinds of requests to high, equal and low status targets. The differences in these requests may determine the likelihood of use of various power strategies, as well as the perceived effectiveness and desirability of those strategies.

In conclusion, the present research provides no definitive answers as to whether and how gender and status affect the use of various power strategies. Certain data provided support, although not consistently, for the importance of both status and gender in determining power strategy use. Future research will need to address more elaborate and expanded aspects of status or power, including structural as well as interpersonal variables. Moreover, more attention will need to be given to individual difference variables that are related to gender, status and power. For example, Offermann and Schrier (1985) found that choice of power strategy was affected by attitudes that persons held toward having and using power. They also found that women were more likely than men to hold negative attitudes toward having power, whereas men were more likely to hold negative attitudes toward more powerful others. In a recent experiment on the effects of men's power motive on competence and sociability ratings of high and low status persons, Assor (1989) found that

the status manipulation had a much stronger effect on men with a high need for power. It may be that these individual differences account for at least as much of the variance in power strategy use as gender and status.

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APPENDIX A:
PILOT INSTRUMENT USED TO IDENTIFY POTENTIAL TARGETS

Please complete the following information:

Sex: F ____ M ____

Age: ____

Year in college: ____

Major: _____

Instructions:

This questionnaire is designed to measure perceptions of status. The questions on the following pages ask you to identify and describe people who have varying degrees of status.

Note: When you are asked to identify people in Part 1 on the following pages, think of people who you know of or have met, but don't know real well. Please keep this instruction in mind as you identify people in Part 1 on each page.

Part 1. Please identify two females (males) whose status is higher than (lower than, equal to) your own. You do not have to identify them by name--simply indicate the role, position or relationship of the person.

Person 1: _____

Person 2: _____

Part 2. Please answer the following questions for each of the people you identified in Part 1.

Person 1: a: In your opinion, what is the status of this person relative to your own status? (Circle number.)

equal 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 much higher

b: What characteristics account for this person's higher status?

Person 2: a: In your opinion, what is the status of this person relative to your own status? (Circle number.)

equal 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 much higher

b: What characteristics account for this person's higher status?

APPENDIX B:
TARGET DESCRIPTIONS USED IN PILOT STUDY

Instructions:

Listed below are descriptions of different kinds of people and different kinds of jobs. Think of a female (male) for each of the descriptions and indicate the status of the described person relative to your own status. Using the following scale, write the number from the scale in the space provided.

much -7 -6 -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 much
lower equal higher

----- college professor	----- hall advisor
----- janitor	----- police officer
----- reporter	----- delivery person
----- physician	----- athlete
----- fashion model	----- grandparent
----- high school teacher	----- cashier
----- college student	----- landlord
----- truck driver	----- 45-year-old
----- hair stylist	----- elem. school teacher
----- minister	----- assembly line worker
----- psychologist	----- registered nurse
----- dentist	----- auto mechanic
----- high school student	----- drunk person
----- parent	----- salesperson
----- waitress	----- 10-year-old
----- resident assistant	----- lawyer
----- telephone operator	----- graduate student
----- 65-year-old	----- flight attendant
----- bank teller	----- construction worker
----- secretary	----- guidance counselor
----- student senator	----- farmer
----- librarian	----- 30-year-old

APPENDIX C:
QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I.

Please complete the following information:

1. Sex: Male _____
 Female _____
2. Age: _____
3. Year in college: _____
4. Major: _____
5. Social class: Upper _____
 Upper middle _____
 Middle _____
 Lower middle _____
 Middle _____

Part II.

*** * *** **Instructions: Please read carefully.**

Think of interacting with a female (male) whose status is higher than your own—for example, someone like a college professor or the owner of a business.

This person should be someone you know of or have met, but don't know real well—that is, don't think of a close relative or close friend.

Suppose that in a particular situation you very much wanted to do something, but this person does not want to do what you would like her (him) to do. How would you go about getting your way in such a situation? Indicate by responding to the questions on the following page.

Note: Please keep the person described above in mind as you respond to the following questions.

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91-93, Appendix C - Questionnaire

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Part V.

Please answer the following questions with regard to the person you have had in mind throughout.

1. How well do you know this person?

not very well 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very well

2. How much do you like this person?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 very much

3. In your opinion, what is the status of this person relative to your own status?

much -7 -6 -5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 much
lower equal higher

4. Briefly, what are some possible reasons for which you would attempt to influence this person? That is, describe what it is that you might want from this particular person.

APPENDIX D:
INDIVIDUAL POWER ITEMS

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96, Appendix D - Individual Power Items

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APPENDIX E:
POWER ITEMS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO POWER STRATEGY

DIRECT

Asking
 Expertise
 Reward
 Threat
 Beg/plead
 Persuasion
 Persistence
 Reasoning
 Bargaining
 State importance
 Talking
 Telling

BILATERAL

Reward
 Suggesting
 Threat
 Beg/plead
 Persuasion
 Positive affect: smile, act nice
 Persistence
 Reasoning
 Bargaining
 Positive affect: flattery
 Talking
 Deceit
 Advocate

INDIRECT

Withdrawal
 Suggesting
 Laissez-faire
 Positive affect: smile, act nice
 Negative affect: pout, cry
 Give up
 Negative affect: anger
 Positive affect: flattery
~~Deceit~~
 Negative affect: guilt
 Advocate
~~Evasion~~

UNILATERAL

Asking
 Withdrawal
 Expertise
 Laissez-faire
 Negative affect: pout, cry
 Give up
 Negative affect: anger
 State importance
 Negative affect: guilt
 Telling
 Evasion

