6-2020

It's lonely at the bottom (too): The effects of experienced powerlessness on social closeness and disengagement

Trevor A. FOULK
University of Maryland at College Park

Irene E. DE PATER
National University of Singapore

Michael SCHAERER
Singapore Management University, schaerer@smu.edu.sg

Christilene DU PLESSIS
Singapore Management University, cduplessis@smu.edu.sg

Randy LEE
National University of Singapore

See next page for additional authors

It's Lonely at the Bottom (Too): The Effects of Experienced Powerlessness on Social Closeness and Disengagement

Published in Personnel Psychology, 2019 September 17

https://doi.org/10.1111/peps.12358

Abstract

Although power*less*sness is a pervasive experience for employees, prior social power research has predominantly focused on consequences of power*ful*ness. This has led to contradictory predictions for how experienced power*less*sness influences employees' social perceptions and behaviors. To resolve this theoretical tension, we build on Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) to develop a theoretical model suggesting that experienced powerlessness reduces social closeness and subsequently causes social disengagement behaviors both at work (reduced helping, increased interaction avoidance) and at home (increased withdrawal). Our model also elucidates the processes that cause powerlessness to reduce social closeness, demonstrating that employees' affiliation motive and their expectation of others' interest in affiliating explain this relationship. We further propose that the effect of powerlessness on social closeness will be stronger for employees high (vs. low) in political skill because these employees are more attuned to workplace power dynamics. We find support for our model in an experience-sampling field experiment and two experimental scenario studies. Our research clarifies the effects of powerlessness on social closeness and organizationally-relevant downstream consequences, qualifies dominant assumptions that the powerless always behave in ways opposite those of the powerful, and demonstrates the importance of political skill as a moderator of power's effects.

Keywords: powerlessness, social distance, disengagement, political skill

Power has been referred to as "an omnipresent force in organizations" (Sturm & Antonakis, 2015, p. 137), and its pervasive effects have led to an ever-growing body of work that elucidates its impact on employees (e.g., Galinsky, Rucker, & Magee, 2015; Sturm & Antonakis, 2015). While this work has provided an increased understanding of power dynamics in the workplace, scholars have recently lamented that an important limitation of existing work is the overwhelming focus on *powerfulness* – that is, employees experiencing high psychological power – which may have come at the expense of a thorough understanding of *powerlessness* – that is, employees experiencing low psychological power (Anicich & Hirsh, 2017; Schaerer, du Plessis, Yap, & Thau, 2018). To this point, a recent review of the power literature found that only 0.8% of the reviewed studies focused on powerlessness explicitly (Schaerer et al., 2018). This is an important shortcoming because research shows that most employees typically experience both powerfulness and powerlessness each day at work (Smith & Hofmann, 2016), and that the pyramid-like structure of most organizations likely makes the experience of powerlessness far more common than the experience of powerfulness (Schaerer et al., 2018). Yet, despite the ubiquitous nature of experienced powerlessness, its organizational implications are not well understood (Schaerer et al., 2018).

One major reason for this lack of a systematic understanding of the implications of powerlessness is that most popular theories of power offer dichotomous (and opposing) predictions for high and low power, assuming a linear pattern in the effects of powerfulness and powerlessness (e.g., Guinote, 2017; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Magee & Smith, 2013). In addition, because studies testing these theories tend to focus on powerfulness in the way predictions are made and inferences are drawn from data (Schaerer et al., 2018), our understanding of powerlessness is often only *inferred* from what we know about powerfulness.

However, emerging work suggests that the effects of hierarchical differences do not always follow a linear pattern from high to low positions in a social hierarchy (Anicich & Hirsh, 2017; Duguid & Goncalo, 2015; Phillips & Zuckerman, 2001; Schaerer, Swaab, & Galinsky, 2015; Schaerer et al., 2018). These findings demonstrate that a thorough understanding of the dynamics of power in organizational settings requires studying powerlessness as a focal phenomenon, as simply inferring the effects of powerlessness from what is known about powerfulness is likely to result in premature conclusions about powerlessness.

To this point, there is a lack of understanding of the way powerless employees feel toward and interact with their social environment. Specifically, there are conflicting perspectives on the relationship between powerlessness and social closeness at work, which we define as a subjective experience of interconnectedness and intimacy with one's organizational environment (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992). While theory and empirical evidence are relatively clear in indicating that experienced *powerfulness* leads to a reduced sense of social closeness (e.g., Kipnis, 1972, Lammers, Galinsky, Gordijn, & Otten, 2011; Magee & Smith, 2013; Smith & Trope, 2006), the effects of *powerlessness* on social closeness are more ambiguous. For example, some scholars have speculated that "lacking power will not decrease social distance" (Lammers et al., 2011, p. 283), others have suggested that "those without power feel more subjectively close" to others at work (Case, Conlon, & Maner, 2015, p. 379), while still others have proposed that "low-power individuals experience more social distance" than their co-workers (Magee & Smith, 2013, p. 160). Similar ambiguities exist for how powerlessness should affect behaviors related to the experience of social closeness. For example, while some work suggests that powerlessness should result in affiliative behaviors with co-workers (Case et al., 2015; Copeland, 1994; van Kleef et al., 2008), other work indicates that powerlessness may instead

motivate disengagement behaviors (Blackhart, Baumeister, & Twenge, 2006; Derfler-Rozin, Pillutla, & Thau, 2010; Twenge, Baumeister, DeWall, Ciarocco, & Bartels, 2007; Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001), particularly in organizational settings (Ashforth, 1989). Consequently, understanding how powerlessness affects social closeness and associated behaviors is important, particularly because social closeness is a critical determinant of people's perceptions, emotions, and behaviors towards others at work (Magee & Smith, 2013; Stephan, Liberman, & Trope, 2011; Wiesenfeld, Reyt, Brockner, & Trope, 2017).

To resolve this theoretical tension, we integrate the Social Distance Theory of Power (henceforth: "Social Distance Theory;" Magee & Smith, 2013) with recent perspectives that highlight the need to focus more systematically on the experience of powerlessness (Schaerer et al., 2018) to demonstrate that powerlessness reduces employees' sense of social closeness. Specifically, we argue that the experience of powerlessness will reduce employees' social closeness at work by a) reducing employees' motivation to affiliate with others as well as b) reducing their expectations of others' interest in affiliating with them. By unpacking the specific mechanisms through which powerlessness affects employees' experience of social closeness in organizational settings, our model attempts to sharpen the theoretical understanding of how experienced powerlessness will influence employees in their social environments at work. Further building on Social Distance Theory, we predict that reduced social closeness should elicit social disengagement behaviors, as indicated by reduced helping at work, increased interaction avoidance at work, and increased withdrawal behaviors at home.

Because power and politics are critically interrelated constructs in organizational settings (Pfeffer, 1992; Tost, 2015), we also explore employees' dispositional political skill as a moderator of the relationship between experienced powerlessness and social closeness. This is an

important consideration because research has indicated that not all employees are equally sensitive to power (Foulk, Lanaj, Tu, Erez, & Archambeau, 2018*;* Maner, Gailliot, Menzel, & Kunstman, 2012). Because politically skilled employees are particularly prone to view their social environment through the lens of power dynamics (Chao, O'Leary-Kelly, Wolf, Klein, & Gardner, 1994; Munyon, Summers, Thompson, & Ferris, 2015), we theorize that the negative effect of experienced powerlessness on social closeness will be stronger for employees high (vs. low) in political skill. To test our theoretical model (Figure 1), we manipulate the experience of powerlessness across three studies. An experience-sampling field experiment (Study 1) demonstrates the distancing effects of experienced powerlessness at work and the disengagement behaviors it motivates, a scenario study (Study 2) replicates the results of Study 1 and rules out alternative explanations, and a second scenario study (Study 3) elucidates the mechanisms by which experienced powerlessness reduces social closeness.

Our work contributes to the understanding of power in organizations by specifically focusing on the experience of powerlessness to provide several important new insights into the way it affects employees. First, we extend Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) by demonstrating the distancing effects of experienced powerlessness. Specifically, we show that employees may not necessarily respond to powerlessness with affiliative behaviors, as prior work suggests (Case et al., 2015), but rather may also engage in behaviors that further exacerbate social distance, both at work and at home. Second, we delineate the mechanisms by which experienced powerlessness reduces social closeness in organizations. By elucidating these mechanisms, we build consensus in the literature by providing a rich theoretical account for how experienced powerlessness causes employees to perceive and react to their organizational environment. Finally, we revisit the wide-spread linearity assumption in the power literature by

demonstrating that the psychological experiences and subsequent behaviors of powerless individuals cannot be reliably inferred from existing knowledge on powerfulness and that more research is needed to fully appreciate the phenomenon of powerlessness.

From a practical perspective, our work provides several insights that contribute to managers' and organizations' understanding of the impact of powerlessness in the workplace. First, our work highlights that when diagnosing problems in supervisor-subordinate dyads, managers should specifically consider whether powerless subordinates' disengagement behaviors may be the cause of these problems. Second, and related, by identifying that the reason powerless employees exhibit social disengagement behaviors is due to social distance caused by their reduced affiliation motive and a perceived lack of others' interest in affiliating with them, our work also provides potential avenues for addressing problems in supervisor-subordinate dyads. Specifically, our findings suggest to managers that one way to prevent these problems is to give powerless employees reasons to affiliate with their powerful supervisors, or to make them aware that their powerful supervisors are in fact motivated to affiliate with them. Third, our work demonstrates that workplace powerlessness can spill over and influence employees' non-work relationships, highlighting that it is especially important to help powerless employees experience close relationships at work. Finally, our work helps managers and organizations have a more complete understanding of the influence of political skill on social interactions. While political skill is generally thought of as a desirable trait in organizational settings (Ferris et al., 2005; Ferris et al., 2007), our work demonstrates that managers should be aware that politically skilled employees may be especially prone to reacting negatively to experienced powerlessness.

Theory and Hypotheses

Social closeness is a dynamic construct that can be influenced by various aspects of employees' social interactions and the organizational context (Aron, Melinat, Aron, Vallone, & Bator, 1997; Aron, Norman, Aron, McKenna, & Heyman, 2000; Holman & Jacquart, 1988; Kingston & Nock, 1987). Building on prior research that suggests that multiple aspects of the work environment shape employees' experience at work (Edwards, 2008; Greguras & Diefendorff, 2009; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005), we conceptualize social closeness as a gestalt experience that can include employees' sense of interconnectedness with various social stimuli in the work environment (Aron et al., 1992). To develop our theoretical model, we build on Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) to explain how the experience of powerlessness affects employees' sense of social closeness as well as organizationally-relevant downstream consequences. In the following sections, we first argue that employees' affiliation motive and their expectation of others' interest to affiliating with them can explain why powerlessness reduces social closeness at work. Next, we argue that reduced social closeness subsequently causes disengagement behaviors, both at work and at home. Finally, we argue that political skill moderates the distancing effects of powerlessness.

Experienced Powerlessness and Social Closeness

Affiliation motive. We argue that one reason experienced powerlessness may reduce social closeness at work is because powerless employees feel that they have little to offer, thus reducing their approach-based affiliation motive (Byrne, McDonald, & Mikawa, 1963; Gable & Berkman, 2008). According to Social Distance Theory, employees are motivated to affiliate with others when they have a feeling of mutual dependence (Magee & Smith, 2013), but lower power causes employees to perceive that they are more dependent on others than others are on them (Coleman, 1994; Galinsky et al., 2015; Lawler & Yoon, 1996; Schaerer et al., 2018; Thibaut &

Kelley, 1959). In this way, powerlessness should reduce employees' affiliation motive by causing them to perceive that they have little value and are not worth affiliating with, and thus that they should wait for others to affiliate with them instead of initiating affiliation attempts. Similarly, research shows that being socially excluded can reduce affiliation motives (Blackhart et al., 2006; Twenge et al., 2001; 2007) because individuals feel that they have little control over the situation and thus little ability to reconnect with others (Derfler-Rozin et al., 2010). Powerlessness is similar to social exclusion in that it also makes employees feel as though they have little control in their environment (Narayanan, Tai, & Kinias, 2013). Therefore, powerlessness is likely to make employees feel that their affiliation attempts will be futile, and thus they will give up trying to make connections with others. This is consistent with Ashforth's (1989) position that powerlessness causes employees to feel that they cannot make social connections, resulting in alienation. Subsequently, because affiliation motivation is associated with social processes that help employees establish social closeness (Koestner & McClelland, 1992), experienced powerlessness should reduce social closeness.

Expectation of others' interest in affiliating. Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) further posits that employees' awareness of others' lack of motivation to affiliate with them can also reduce their sense of social closeness. Because employees often do not attend to low-power co-workers (Goodwin, Gubin, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2000; Gruenfeld, Inesi, Magee, & Galinsky, 2008), we argue that employees who experience powerlessness are likely to assume that others in their environment are not interested in affiliating with them. Indeed, according to Social Distance Theory, low-power employees are likely to become "at least implicitly aware" that others are not motivated to affiliate with them (Magee & Smith, 2013, p. 160), thus reducing their sense of social closeness at work. This logic is consistent with empirical evidence

suggesting that power differentials can cause low-power employees to perceive distancing cues in their social interactions (du Plessis & Dubois, 2013; Earle, Giuliano, & Archer, 1983; Slobin, Miller, & Porter, 1968). Furthermore, studies show that powerless individuals, such as the homeless (Goodman, Saxe, & Harvey, 1991), the handicapped (Snyder, Kleck, Strenta, & Mentzer (1979), and lower-class individuals (Ellis & Lane, 1967), are often socially isolated because others are not motivated to affiliate with them, or because they actively distance themselves from these social groups.

Taken together, we propose that powerlessness should reduce employees' felt social closeness at work because the experience of powerlessness a) reduces employees' motivation to affiliate and b) creates an expectation that others are not interested in affiliating with them. Our prediction is consistent with research that has found that powerlessness is positively associated with social isolation (Chiaburu, Thundiyil, & Wang, 2014) and that powerlessness can cause feelings of alienation at work (Ashforth, 1989). This position also aligns with research on learned helplessness (e.g., Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978; Maier & Seligman, 1976; Peterson & Seligman, 1983) which suggests that a perceived lack of control can negatively affect social activities and interpersonal relationships. Based on the above arguments, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1: Experienced powerlessness is negatively related to social closeness at work.

Reduced Social Closeness at Work and Social Disengagement Behaviors

In addition to considering the effects of experienced powerlessness on employees' social closeness, our model also explores how reduced social closeness – caused by experienced powerlessness – can influence employees' behaviors both at work and at home. Social closeness "is an important determinant of everyday life" (Stephan et al., 2011, p. 397), and Social Distance

Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) suggests that reduced social closeness is likely to result in social disengagement. Social disengagement includes behaviors that are intended to separate oneself from the group or to establish independence from others (Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000; Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006). Examining the relationship between powerlessness and socially disengaging behaviors is important because while the power literature tends to assume that powerlessness should result in affiliative behaviors (e.g., Case et al., 2015; Copeland, 1994; van Kleef et al., 2008), Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) proposes that reduced social closeness is likely to result in social disengagement because it signals a sense of social separation and lack of importance of social relationships.

Caldwell, Rudolph, Troop-Gordon, and Kim (2004) indicated that social disengagement can manifest as "low levels of prosocial initiative" or "high levels of social withdrawal" (p. 1143). Following this distinction, we operationalize social disengagement behaviors as reduced helping at work (a form of reduced prosocial initiative) as well as increased interaction avoidance at work (a form of increased social withdrawal). Additionally, because Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) posits that the social ramifications of experienced powerlessness can extend beyond the domain in which one experiences powerlessness, our model also considers whether reduced social closeness at work can lead to withdrawal at home.

Helping at work. Employee helping has been defined as an "interpersonal, cooperative, and affiliative extra-role behavior directed towards members of one's workgroup" (Liao, Chuang, & Joshi, 2008, p. 110) and is typically considered a voluntary behavior (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, & Bachrach, 2000). The voluntary nature of employee helping suggests that it can be an indicator of social disengagement, because employees can easily withhold this behavior as a way to disengage at work. Helping behaviors benefit others without providing a

direct benefit for the helper (Den Hartog, De Hoogh, & Keegan, 2007; Motowildo, Borman, & Schmit, 1997) and employees are motivated to help when they experience a sense of caring and concern for their coworkers and the organization (Bolino, 1999; Tang et al., 2008). We expect that because helping behaviors are typically affiliative in nature, employees will be more likely to engage in helping at work when they feel a sense of social closeness. Supporting this point, Hoffman, McCabe, and Smith (1996) found that an increase in social closeness resulted in more other-focused behaviors. Similarly, Liao et al. (2008) found that employees who felt deep-level similarity to their co-workers were also more likely to engage in helping behaviors, and Den Hartog et al. (2007) found that a sense of belongingness was a predictor of employee helping. Taken together, our theorizing suggests that social closeness will be positively related to employee helping behaviors. Thus, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2: Social closeness at work will (a) be positively related to helping at work and (b) mediate the negative relationship between experienced powerlessness and helping at work.

Interaction avoidance at work. Interaction avoidance is an important indicator of employee disengagement behavior because it captures the degree to which employees seek to avoid contact with their co-workers (Woolum, Foulk, Lanaj, & Erez, 2017). We argue that social closeness should be negatively related to interaction avoidance, because employees who feel socially close to others at work are likely to seek – rather than to avoid – the company of their co-workers. This suggestion aligns with Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013), which suggests that social closeness should be negatively associated with interaction avoidance because social closeness is associated with engaging emotions. To this point, Goffman (1956) suggested that it is difficult for individuals to engage in social interactions with others whom they feel

socially distant from, but easier with those with whom they feel close. Relatedly, Nifadkar, Tsui, and Ashforth (2012) found that liking co-workers was negatively associated with interaction avoidance, and Lucas, Knowles, Gardner, Molden, and Jefferis (2010) found that cues associated with social closeness caused individuals to interact more readily with others. In sum, these arguments suggest that social closeness should be negatively related to interaction avoidance and that social closeness should mediate the positive relationship between psychological powerlessness and interaction avoidance. Thus, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 3: Social closeness at work will (a) be negatively related to interaction avoidance at work and (b) mediate the positive relationship between experienced powerlessness and interaction avoidance at work.

Withdrawal at home. When experienced powerlessness reduces employees' social closeness at work, Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) argues that this can activate a generally distant mindset, and specifically suggests that the effects of experienced powerlessness may extend to "social targets external to the power relationship" (p. 173). In this way, powerlessness at work may not just impact employees' disengagement behaviors at work, but should extend into "all aspects of life" (Smith & Trope, 2006, p. 578). Therefore, we argue that reduced social closeness at work is likely to also result in withdrawal behaviors at home. Home withdrawal is defined as disengaging from spouses, children, and/or roommates, and includes behaviors such as wanting to be alone, a lack of interest in social interactions, or being unresponsive to others' needs (Repetti, 1989; Schulz, Cowan, Pape Cowan, & Brennan, 2004). Prior organizational research supports the idea that work events not only affect employees' withdrawal-related behaviors in their workplace, but can also have similar consequences at home (Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, & Wethington, 1989; Chan & Margolin, 1994; Repetti, 1989; 1992;

Schulz et al., 2004). Thus, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 4: Social closeness at work will (a) be negatively related to withdrawal behavior at home and (b) mediate the positive relationship between experienced powerlessness and withdrawal behavior at home.

The Moderating Effect of Political Skill

While we predict that experienced powerlessness will reduce social closeness at work, our model also recognizes that not all employees will respond to experienced powerlessness in the same way. Recent evidence suggests that employees' dispositions may influence their responses to experiences of power (e.g., Foulk et al., 2018) and Social Distance Theory also suggests that employees may differ in how they respond to environmental signals related to social closeness (Magee & Smith, 2013). Building on this perspective, and recognizing the important relationship between power and politics in organizational settings (Ferris et al., 2005; Ferris et al., 2007; Perrewé, Ferris, Frink, & Anthony, 2000; Pfeffer, 1981), we integrate employees' political skill as a moderator of the relationship between experienced powerlessness and social closeness into our model.

We argue that political skill will amplify the distancing effects of experienced powerlessness because employees who are high (vs. low) in political skill are particularly attuned to the consequences of power dynamics at work. Employees who are high (vs. low) in political skill place a high priority on understanding and attending to their social environment (Ferris et al., 2005; Treadway, Shaughnessy, Breland, Yang, & Reeves, 2013). This suggests that the effects of experienced powerlessness may be especially strong for politically skilled employees, because these employees are likely to view everyday interactions with their co-workers as manifestations of their powerlessness. To this point, it has been suggested that political skill

enhances “an employee’s ability to recognize and leverage power differentials in the workplace” (Treadway et al., 2013, p. 276). Thus, experiences of power (or lack thereof) are likely to be especially influential in determining how politically-skilled employees interpret and react to their social environment. Imagine a scenario where a powerless employee has a brief, benign interaction with a coworker where the two discuss an idea, and the coworker suggests that s/he doesn’t particularly agree with the powerless employee’s position. A politically-skilled employee, who is highly sensitive to the social environment in general and power dynamics in particular, is more likely to experience reduced social closeness after this interaction, because he or she is more likely to interpret this interaction as an indication of their powerlessness and a distancing signal from their co-worker. Therefore, we hypothesize that the distancing effects of experienced powerlessness will be particularly strong for politically skilled employees:

Hypothesis 5: Political skill will moderate the negative relationship between experienced powerlessness and social closeness at work, such that this negative relationship is stronger (weaker) for employees who are high (low) in political skill.

The moderating effect of political skill on the relationship between experienced powerlessness and social closeness at work should also have implications for employees’ subsequent disengagement behavior, as our model suggests that social closeness at work will mediate the relationship between experienced powerlessness and these behaviors. Therefore, we further hypothesize:

Hypothesis 6: Political skill will moderate the indirect effect of experienced powerlessness on helping, mediated by social closeness at work, such that this negative relationship will be stronger for employees who are high (vs. low) in political skill.

Hypothesis 7: Political skill will moderate the indirect effect of experienced

powerlessness on interaction avoidance at work, mediated by social closeness at work, such that this positive relationship will be stronger for employees who are high (vs. low) in political skill.

Hypothesis 8: Political skill will moderate the indirect effect of experienced powerlessness on withdrawal behavior at home, mediated by social closeness at work, such that this positive relationship will be stronger for employees who are high (vs. low) in political skill.

Study 1

We conducted an initial test of our theoretical model in an experimental experience sampling study, for several reasons. First, power can have different results in a field setting, where participants interact with real co-workers, compared to hypothetical lab settings (Tost, 2015; Tost, Wade-Benzoni, & Johnson, 2015). Thus, our field experiment provides enhanced ecological validity for our theoretical model. Second, it has been suggested that the relationship between power and social distance can be bi-directional (Trope & Liberman, 2010), therefore our experimental manipulation of experienced powerlessness, along with temporal separation of our variables, allows for enhanced confidence in the causal inferences drawn from our model (Gabriel et al., 2018). Finally, the field-experimental nature of this study allowed us to observe employees throughout their entire day, both at work and at home, providing the opportunity to test the cross-domain effects of reduced social closeness.

Participants

We invited 203 students at a large university in Singapore to participate in this study. Data were collected in 2017, and participants were offered financial compensation of S$75 (US$55) for their participation. This study was approved and monitored by the Institutional

Review Board (IRB) at the National University of Singapore (IRB # NUS A-16-366, "Experiences and Interactions During Internships"). During the period in which the study took place, participants were engaged in full-time internships (40+ hours/week) in a variety of industries (e.g., IT, Banking and Finance, Law, Manufacturing, Tourism and Hospitality, and Healthcare) and had been in their jobs for at least 1 month prior to the start of our study. Because of the within-person experimental nature of our study, participants were instructed that the minimal participation rate was 80% of the surveys, and consistent with prior research recommending that poor responders should be dropped from ESM samples (Barnes, Lucianetti, Bhave, & Christian, 2015; Liao, Yam, Johnson, Liu, & Song, 2018; Rosen, Koopman, Gabriel, & Johnson, 2016; Uy, Lin, & Ilies, 2017) we only retained participants who completed all surveys on at least 8 of the 10 days of the study.[1] In our final sample of 142 participants, the average age was 22.65 years (*SD* = 1.63) and the majority (65.5%) was female. At the time of the survey, participants had been working in their organizations for an average of 7.80 weeks (*SD* = 2.81), and participants worked an average of 43.54 hours per week (*SD* = 4.74).

Procedure

Data were collected over three consecutive work-weeks, and included a one-time background survey and a series of daily surveys. In the first week of the study, participants were sent an email containing a link to the background survey. The background survey included the informed consent release, as well as demographic information and a measure of political skill. In the second and third weeks of the study, participants received three emails each day – one in the

[1] As a robustness test, we also estimated our full model retaining these participants, and the interpretation of all focal relationships in our model remained the same. We also conducted a series of ANOVAs on participants who were removed from the sample to ensure that they did not differ from participants retained in the sample on any of our focal constructs. Results suggested that they did not differ on social closeness ($F_{(1, 202)} = .49$, $p = .484$), helping ($F_{(1,202)} = .62$, $p = .432$), interaction avoidance ($F_{(1, 202)} = .29$, $p = .593$), nor withdrawal at home ($F_{(1,202)} = .31$, $p = .578$).

morning, one in the afternoon, and one in the evening – that each contained a link to a daily survey. The daily portion of the study took place over 10 consecutive work days (Monday-Friday across two consecutive weeks). We sent the morning survey at 7 a.m. each day, and it contained the manipulation of powerlessness (described below), followed by measures of positive and negative affect and a measure of social closeness. We sent the afternoon survey at 5 p.m. each day, and it included measures of helping, interaction avoidance, and workload. We sent the evening survey at 9 p.m. each day, and it included a measure of home withdrawal behavior. The average start time for the morning survey was 8:28 a.m. The average start time for the afternoon survey was 5:58 p.m. The average start time for the evening survey was 10:15 p.m.

To ensure temporal separation of the variables reported in our model, we excluded daily observations where the time between the morning survey and afternoon survey was less than 4 hours, and where the time between the morning survey and the evening survey was less than 6 hours[2]. Additionally, because an average sentence is around 15 words long (Cutts, 2013), to ensure that participants fully engaged in our manipulation exercise (described below), we removed daily observations where participants wrote less than 15 words in the manipulation exercise. From the 142 individuals that participated in our study, we received a total of 962 usable day-level observations, resulting in a daily response rate of 68%.

Powerlessness Manipulation

To manipulate psychological powerlessness, we used an adapted version of the procedure described by Foulk et al. (2018) to manipulate psychological power in a daily field experiment. On each of the 10 days of the daily portion of the study, we randomly assigned participants into either a *powerlessness condition* or a *control condition* using a constrained random matrix. This

[2] As a robustness test we re-estimated our model without excluding daily observations that violated the temporal assumptions of our model, and the interpretation of all focal relationships remained the same.

procedure randomizes the order in which participants are assigned to the manipulation and control conditions on a daily basis, thus participants were assigned to conditions in different orders across the 10 days of the study. This procedure also ensures that the manipulation and control conditions were randomly distributed both within and between participants. Therefore, each participant was in the powerless condition for 5 days of the study and the control condition for 5 days of the study, and on each day of the study half of the participants were in the powerless condition and half were in the control condition.

In both the manipulation and control conditions we asked participants to think about and then write about a personal experience from their past (e.g., Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003). On days in which participants were exposed to the *powerlessness condition*, they were asked to think about and then write about a time in which they had been in a powerless situation. On days in which they were in the *control condition*, participants were asked to think about and then write about a neutral experience. To ensure that participants did not write about the same experience across different days of the study we varied the instructions slightly such that there were 5 versions of the powerlessness condition and 5 versions of the control condition. In the powerlessness condition, participants were asked to "Please recall a particular incident in which someone else had power over you", "[…] had authority over you", "[…] had the ability to control some aspect of your life", "[…] had the ability to make a decision that affected you", and "[…] had the ability to force you to do something." In the control condition, participants were asked to "Please recall what you had for dinner last night", "[…] the last time you went to see a movie in the movie theatre", "[…] your drive to work today", "[…] the last activity you did before you went to sleep last night", and "[…] the most recent online purchase that you made." Participants completed each version once, in random order. Participants were asked to write two

to five sentences about each situation, describing the incident and how it made them feel.

Following the procedure described by Foulk et al. (2018), we conducted a manipulation check to ensure that our manipulation of powerlessness had the intended effect. We asked three coders who were blind to the purpose of the study as well as the study conditions to read each of the participants' responses to our manipulation and respond to the question "How powerless does this person describe being?" on a scale ranging from *1 = Not at all powerless* to *5 = Extremely powerless.* There was a high degree of agreement among the coders (ICC[1] = .80, ICC[2] = .92), therefore we aggregated each rating into a single rating of powerlessness for each response. We conducted a one-way ANOVA with the manipulation condition as the factor and the coded responses as the dependent variables. Results indicated that participants described being significantly more powerless in the powerlessness condition than in the control condition ($M_{control}$ = 1.21, $SD_{control}$ = .42; $M_{powerless}$ = 3.34, $SD_{powerless}$ = .93; $F_{(1, 961)} = 2053.49$, $p < .001$), providing evidence for the effectiveness of our manipulation.

Measures

Experienced powerlessness. We dummy-coded our powerlessness manipulation, such that days in the powerlessness condition were coded as "1" and days in the control condition were coded as "0".

Social closeness. Following the recommendation of Magee and Smith (2013) that self-other overlap "directly measure[s] social distance" (p. 17), we measured social closeness in the morning using the inclusion of other in the self (IOS) procedure described by Aron et al. (1992). Participants were asked to rate their sense of social closeness using a series of Venn-like diagrams that depicted two circles, one which represented the self and one which represented the target. Participants were shown seven degrees of overlap, ranging from no overlap to near

complete overlap, and were asked to select the amount of overlap that most closely matched the level of closeness felt with the target. Our conceptualization of social closeness as a gestalt experience suggests that it can include employees' sense of interconnectedness with multiple social stimuli (Smith & Trope, 2006; Lammers et al., 2011). Various aspects of the work environment make up employees' experience at work, including co-workers, supervisors, the organization, as well as their job (Edwards, 2008; Greguras & Diefendorff, 2009; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). Thus, we asked participants to rate their level of social closeness with these four workplace-relevant stimuli. These four targets of social closeness were combined to form an overall measure of social closeness (α = .92).

Helping at work. We measured helping in the afternoon using 3 items from a 6-item scale developed by Dalal, Lam, Weiss, Welch, and Hulin (2009). We adapted the items to fit the daily context. Participants responded on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*. The items were, *"Today at work, I tried to help someone I work with", "Today at work, I went out of my way to be nice to someone I work with,"* and *"Today at work, I tried to be available to someone I work with"* (α = .87).

Interaction avoidance at work. We measured interaction avoidance in the afternoon using 5 items from an 8-item scale developed by Nifadkar et al. (2012). We adapted the items to fit the daily context. Participants responded on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree.* The items included, *"Today at work, I avoided speaking with my coworkers unless absolutely necessary," "Today at work, I avoided initiating contact with my coworkers," "Today at work, I preferred having minimum informal interactions with my coworkers," "Today at work, I avoided asking for help or information from my coworkers,"* and *"Today at work, I tried minimizing official interactions with my coworkers"* (α = .95).

Withdrawal at home. We measured home withdrawal in the evening survey using 3 items from a 9-item scale developed by Schulz et al. (2004). Participants responded to each item on a scale ranging from 1 = *Very slightly or not at all* to 5 = *Very much.* Items included, *"Since leaving work today, I was withdrawn," "Since leaving work today, I wanted to be alone,"* and *"Since leaving work today, I wanted some quiet time for myself"* (α = .90).

Political skill. We measured participants' dispositional political skill in the background survey using the scale developed by Ahearn, Ferris, Hochwarter, Douglas, and Ammeter (2004). Participants responded to six items on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree.* Sample items included, *"I understand people well" and "I usually try to find common ground with others"* (α = .86).

Controls. We controlled for workload because employees' in-role workload can influence the degree to which they are able to engage in helping behaviors and interact with others at work. We measured workload using four items from the scale developed by Janssen (2001). We adapted the items to fit the daily context. Participants responded to these items on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = *Never* to 5 = *All the time.* Items included, *"Today, I had too much work to do," "Today, I had to work fast," "Today, I worked under time pressure,"* and *"Today, I had to work extra hard to finish a task"* (α = .95). Because start of workday moods can influence behaviors at work (Rothbard & Wilk, 2011), we also controlled for morning positive and negative affect on our downstream behaviors. We measured positive and negative affect each with the five items from the short-form Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS: Mackinnon et al., 1999; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Example items for positive affect were *inspired, alert,* and *excited* (α = .92); example items for negative affect were *afraid,*

upset, and *nervous* (α = .87).[3]

To verify the distinctiveness of the variables in our model, we conducted a multilevel confirmatory factor analysis. At the within-level, we included social closeness, helping, interaction avoidance, withdrawal, workload, and positive and negative affect. At the between level, we included political skill. Using the Satorra-Bentler χ^2 difference test incorporating the Maximum-Likelihood Restricted scaled correction factors (Satorra & Bentler, 2001), which adjusts the chi-square values of multilevel models so they can be readily compared to each other, we compared our full model to several alternative models. First, we compared our proposed model to a model in which positive and negative affect loaded on a single factor, and all other constructs loaded on their own factor (χ^2 = 2982.96, df = 371, p < .001, RMSEA = .09, CFI = .80, TLI = .77, SRMR = .13). Results indicated that our proposed model fit the data better than this model ($\Delta\chi^2$ = 5472.35, Δdf = 6, p < .001). Next, we compared our proposed model to a model in which interaction avoidance and withdrawal loaded on a single factor and all other constructs loaded on their own factor (χ^2 = 2209.39, df = 371, p < .001, RMSEA = .07, CFI = .86, TLI = .84, SRMR = .08). Results indicated that our proposed model also fit the data better than this model ($\Delta\chi^2$ = 1280.24, Δdf = 6, p < .001). The fit statistics indicated that our proposed model fit the data well (χ^2 = 791,38, df = 365, p < .001, RMSEA = .04, CFI = .97, TLI = .96, SRMR = .04), thus this model was retained.

Results

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics as well as within- and between-person correlations for all study variables. To ensure that multilevel modeling was appropriate, we examined the

[3] As a robustness test, we ran a supplemental model where we estimated our path model without these control variables, and the interpretation of each of our focal relationships remained the same.

within-person variance in our focal endogenous variables. Using MPlus 7.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 2014), we estimated a null model for each variable to partition its variance into its within- and between-person components. Results indicated that all of our focal variables had substantial within-person variance (social closeness = 13%; helping = 60%; interaction avoidance = 47%; withdrawal = 58%). Therefore, we tested our model by estimating a multilevel path model in MPlus 7.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 2014), and results of this model are presented in Table 2. We modeled hypothesized paths with free slopes and control paths with fixed slopes (Enders & Tofighi, 2007). Following the recommendations of Hofmann, Griffin, and Gavin (2000), we group-mean centered all level 1 endogenous predictors to remove between-person confounds[4]. Our between person predictor of political skill was grand-mean centered. Indirect effects were tested using the procedure described by Preacher, Zyphur, and Zhang (2010), which uses a Monte Carlo simulation with 20,000 replications to construct bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals for each indirect effect. We estimated the covariances between the random slopes in our model, and because they were non-significant we followed the recommendation of Tofighi, West, and MacKinnon (2013) and omitted them from our model estimation.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that powerlessness would be negatively related to social closeness. As shown in Table 2, this relationship was negative and significant (B = -.08, SE = .04, p = .029), providing support for Hypothesis 1.[5] Hypothesis 2a predicted that social closeness

[4] Because our exogenous predictor of experienced powerlessness was manipulated, we did not group-mean center this variable. However, as a robustness test we ran a supplemental model where we centered manipulated powerlessness, and the results of this model were nearly identical to the one reported here.

[5] An alternative explanation for our findings is that our manipulation may simply be priming participants to think more negatively, which causes them to feel less social closeness in the work environment. To consider this alternative explanation, we ran several supplemental models. First, we explored whether negative affect mediated the relationship between our powerlessness manipulation and social closeness, and found no evidence for this mediating effect (.01, 95% CI [-.001, .023]). We also estimated a model with negative affect as a simultaneous mediator, along with social closeness, and in this model all of our hypothesized relationships remained significant, while the effects of negative affect were generally non-significant. These analyses suggest that negative affect is

would be positively related to helping at work. As shown in Table 2, this relationship is positive and significant (B = .14, SE = .03, p < .001), providing support for Hypothesis 2a. Hypothesis 2b predicted that social closeness would mediate the relationship between powerlessness and helping. Following the procedure recommended by Preacher et al. (2010), we estimated a 95% confidence interval for this indirect effect and found that the confidence interval did not contain zero (-.01; 95% CI [-.025, -.002]), providing support for Hypothesis 2b.

Hypothesis 3a predicted that social closeness would be negatively related to interaction avoidance at work. As shown in Table 2, this relationship was negative and significant (B = -.18, SE = .04, p < .001), providing support for Hypothesis 3a. Hypothesis 3b predicted that social closeness would mediate the relationship between powerlessness and interaction avoidance. The 95% confidence interval for this relationship (.01; 95% CI [.002, .030]) did not contain zero, providing support for Hypothesis 3b. Hypothesis 4a predicted that social closeness would be negatively related to withdrawal at home. As shown in Table 2, this relationship was negative and significant (B = -.10, SE = .04, p = .017), providing support for Hypothesis 4a. Hypothesis 4b predicted that social closeness would mediate the relationship between powerlessness and withdrawal. Results indicated that this relationship was positive and significant (.01; 95% CI [.001, .024]), providing support for Hypothesis 4b.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that political skill would moderate the relationship between experienced powerlessness and social closeness, such that the negative relationship would be stronger for those high (vs. low) in political skill. As shown in Table 2, we found a significant interaction effect of political skill and the powerlessness condition (B = -.11, SE = .04, p = .006), supporting Hypothesis 5. To ease the interpretation of this result, following the recommendation

---

neither the explanation for the relationship between experienced powerlessness and social closeness, nor a competing mechanism in our theoretical model.

of Cohen, Cohen, West, and Aiken (2003), we plotted this relationship at high (+1SD) and low (-1SD) levels of political skill. This plot is presented in Figure 2. Furthermore, following Preacher, Curran, and Bauer (2006), we estimated simple slopes at high (+1SD) and low (-1SD) levels of political skill. Consistent with our hypothesis, these results indicated that the negative relationship between powerlessness and social closeness is stronger for individuals high (B = -.17, SE = .06, p = .002) compared to those low (B = .01, SE = .04, p = .777) in political skill.

Hypothesis 6 predicted that the negative indirect effect of experienced powerlessness on helping, mediated by social closeness, would be stronger for employees high (vs. low) in political skill. We estimated a confidence interval for this conditional indirect effect at high (+1*SD*) and low (-1*SD*) levels of political skill, and as expected, at high political skill this relationship was negative and significant (-.02; 95% CI [-.046, -.008]), but at low levels of political skill this relationship was non-significant (.002; 95% CI [-.010, .013]), providing support for Hypothesis 6. Hypothesis 7 predicted that the positive indirect effect of experienced powerlessness on interaction avoidance, mediated by social closeness, would be stronger for employees high (vs. low) in political skill. As expected, at high (+1*SD*) political skill, this relationship was positive and significant (.03; 95% CI [.012, .055]), but at low (-1*SD*) political skill, this relationship was non-significant (-.002; 95% CI [-.016, .014]), supporting Hypothesis 7. Hypothesis 8 predicted that the positive indirect effect of experienced powerlessness on withdrawal behavior at home, mediated by social closeness, would be stronger for employees high (vs. low) in political skill. As expected, at high (+1*SD*) political skill, this relationship was positive and significant (.02; 95% CI [.003, .046]), but at low level of political skill (-1*SD*) this relationship was non-significant (-.001; 95% CI [-.012, .007]), providing support for Hypothesis 8.

To ease the interpretation of the meaningfulness of our findings, we used the procedure recommended by Snijders and Bosker (1999) to calculate the *pseudo-R^2 (~R2)* for each focal endogenous variable in our model to estimate the variance explained by our model in each of these variables. Results indicated that our model explained 9% of the variance in social closeness, 11% of the variance in helping, 17% of the variance in interaction avoidance, and 4% of the variance in withdrawal – which is considerable given the subtle nature of our powerlessness manipulation and the temporal distance between the independent and dependent variables (Prentice & Miller, 1992).

Study 2

Study 1 provides strong support for our theoretical model, and Study 2 builds on these results in several ways. First, we recognize that our hypotheses are not within-person specific, and recently scholars have suggested that the most robust test of a phenomenon that is not expected to differ at the within- and between-person levels of analysis is to test it at both (Gabriel et al., 2018). Thus, in Study 2 we test our model in a lab study using an older and more experienced sample than Study 1. Second, in Study 2 we also consider potential competing mechanisms, beyond social closeness, for the relationship between powerlessness and disengagement behaviors. Third, a recent review of the power literature suggested that conclusions relating to experiences of power can be sharpened by comparing them to both an equal-power control condition as well as a moderate-power control condition (Schaerer et al., 2018, p. 85). Therefore, in Study 2 we include both types of control conditions to further increase the validity of the conclusions drawn from our model.

Participants

We recruited 300 full-time employees (age: M = 37.11, SD = 10.18; gender: 52.3% male,

47.7% female) from across the United States via Amazon's Mechanical Turk to participate in this study in exchange for $1.50. This study was approved and monitored by the IRB at Singapore Management University (IRB# 19-029-A038(419), "Power and Social Closeness"), and the data were collected in 2019. To qualify for the study, participants had to pass an attention check (involving counting the number of cans in an image) in order to proceed to the study (Oppenheimer, Meyvis, & Davidenko, 2009). Participants reported having an average of 5.27 years (*SD* = 5.18) of work experience in their current job and working an average of 42.04 hours (*SD* = 9.37) per week. More than half (58.3%) of the participants indicated that they had one or more employees directly reporting to them.

Procedure and Manipulation

Participants first completed a "Leadership Questionnaire" adopted from Anderson and Berdahl (2002). In the questionnaire, participants reported demographic information and a battery of questions about their personality (adopted from Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003). Then, participants learned that the questions they answered are typically used to assess people's leadership potential, and that they would be assigned to a role that matched their potential in the upcoming task. This assignment into a role served as our manipulation of experienced powerlessness, though in reality the information from the leadership questionnaire was not used to assign participants into conditions (i.e., they were randomly assigned into a condition).

To manipulate experienced powerlessness, we followed the role manipulation procedure of Anderson and Berdahl (2002). Specifically, in the *powerlessness condition* participants learned that based on their score in the leadership questionnaire they had been assigned the role of an "Analyst" at a company called "Intertech Industries." They were further told that as analyst, they had to follow the instructions of their supervisors, who would be in charge of their

evaluations and compensation. They were told that they had very little power in this organization and that everybody in the organization had power over them. They were also shown a picture of their work space at Intertech Industries (a small cubicle with a phone and a computer screen). To examine the effects of experienced powerlessness relative to a baseline state in a conservative way, we employed a combination of two separate control conditions recommended by Schaerer and colleagues (2018). In the first control condition (*moderate-power condition*), participants were told that based on their score on the leadership questionnaire that they would be assigned to the role of "Middle Manager" (Anicich & Hirsh, 2017; Duguid & Goncalo, 2015). Participants learned that in their role as middle manager, they had to follow the instructions of their supervisor but that they would also be in charge of evaluating their own subordinates. They were told that they had a moderate amount of power as some people in the organization had power over them, while they had power over others. In the second control condition (*equal-power condition*), participants were not given any information about their test performance and were told that they would be working with other individuals (i.e., their co-workers) at Intertech Industries (for a similar manipulation, see Kunstman, Fitzpatrick, & Smith, 2018). They were informed that nobody had power over them nor did they have power over others.

Measures

After being exposed to the manipulation, participants completed a manipulation check, our dependent measures of interest, and a short demographic questionnaire.

Manipulation check. To assess the effectiveness of our manipulation, we used the 8-item Sense of Power scale developed by Anderson, John, and Keltner (2012) to test how powerful participants felt after the manipulation. Example items included "*Right now, I feel that I have a great deal of power*," "*Right now, I feel that I would easily get may way*," and "*Right*

now, I feel that I can get others to listen to what I say" (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*) (α = .90). A lower score thus indicates more experienced powerlessness.

Social closeness. We measured social closeness using the same 4-items derived from the IOS (Aron et al., 1992) scale used in Study 1 (α = .87).

Helping. To measure participants' intention to help, we used the same three items as in Study 1 (Dalal et al., 2009), but adapted them to the current context (e.g., "*I would try to help someone*") (α = .86).

Interaction avoidance. Interaction avoidance was measured using the same five-item scale as in Study 1, but we changed the wording of the items to reflect the current context (e.g., "*I would avoid initiating contact with my coworkers*")(α = .93).[6]

Alternative mediators. To test whether the effect of experienced powerlessness is robust to alternative explanations, we measured three additional mediators. First, because powerlessness may simply cause employees see themselves in a more negative light (Rosenberg, 1989), leading them to disengage from others, we included self-esteem in this model. *Self-esteem* was measured using a 7-item scale developed by Rosenberg (1989) and ranged from *1 = Strongly disagree* to *5 = Strongly agree*, and a sample item was "*Right now, I am satisfied with myself*" (α = .89). Second, because fluctuations in power may drain employees' resources, which could result in negative behaviors directed towards others (Rosen et al., 2016), we also included depletion in our model. *Depletion* was measured using five items adopted from Twenge, Muraven, and Tice (2004; see also Christian & Ellis, 2011). The scale ranged from *1 = Strongly disagree* to *5 = Strongly agree* and an example item was "*I feel drained right now*" (α = .95). Finally, to ensure that powerlessness employees do not disengage merely because they are in a bad mood, we

[6] We did not include home-withdrawal in this scenario study because the scenario was work-focused.

included positive and negative affect in this model. We measured *positive affect* and *negative affect* using a 10-item PANAS scale (Mackinnon et al., 1999; Watson et al., 1988). Both affect dimensions included five items and were measured on a 5-point scale ranging from *1 = Very slightly or not at all* to 5 = *Very much*. An example item for of positive affect was "*Excited*" (α =.86) and an example item of negative affect was "*Upset*" (α = .95).

Controls. We also measured pre-manipulation mood by asking participants to indicate how they felt right after the consent form but before starting the leadership questionnaire. Participants indicated their mood on a 5-point scale using a pictorial, single-item smiley scale ranging from *1 = Sad* to *5 = Happy*.

Results

Descriptive statistics and bi-variate correlations can be found in Table 3, and regression results can be found in Table 4. Since our independent variable was multi-categorical (3 experimental conditions), we followed the indicator-coding procedure recommended by Hayes and Preacher (2014) and conducted dummy variable regressions for all analyses below. Specifically, we created dummy variables representing the powerlessness condition (1, 0, 0), the moderate-power condition (0, 1, 0), and the equal-power condition (0, 0, 1). We then regressed the powerlessness dummy onto our dependent variables while including the dummy variable of the control condition that was *not* used as the focal contrast variable (e.g., to compare the powerlessness condition to the moderate-power condition, the equal-power condition dummy was included as a covariate).

We first conducted a manipulation check to ensure that the manipulation was effective. Regression results revealed that participants in the powerlessness condition felt significantly less powerful (M = 2.59, SD = 1.50) than those in the moderate-power condition (M = 4.71, SD = .82)

(*B* = -2.12, *SE* = .16, *t*(297) = -13.06, *p* < .001, *d* = 1.75), and those in the equal-power condition (*M* = 4.28, *SD* = 1.02) (*B* = -1.69, *SE* = .16, *t*(297) = -10.41, *p* < .001, *d* = 1.32), indicating our manipulation worked as intended.

We predicted that individuals in the powerlessness condition would experience reduced social closeness, relative to control participants. Indeed, participants in the powerlessness condition reported lower social closeness (*M* = 2.35, *SD* = .97) than those in the moderate-power condition (*M* = 3.31, *SD* = .82) (*B* = -.97, *SE* = .13, *t*(297) = -b7.59, *p* < .001, *d* = 1.07) and those in the equal-power condition (*M* = 3.12, *SD* = .90) (*B* = -.78, *SE* = .13, *t*(297) = 6.09, *p* < .001, *d* = .82), providing support for Hypothesis 1.

Next, we tested whether social closeness mediated the relationship between experienced powerlessness and our two dependent measures (helping, interaction avoidance). We again used the powerlessness condition dummy as independent variable while including the respective control condition dummy as a covariate. In this model we also included the four competing mediators (self-esteem, depletion, positive affect, negative affect) to test the robustness of the social closeness mediation. Finally, we also controlled for pre-manipulation mood.

We first ran the models using *helping* as the dependent variable. Results indicated that social closeness had a significant effect on helping while controlling for mood, self-esteem, depletion, and positive/negative affect (*B* = .20, SE = .06, p < .001), providing support for Hypothesis 2a. To explore the indirect effect of powerlessness on helping via social closeness, we first compared the powerlessness condition to the moderate-power condition by regressing the powerlessness dummy onto helping while including the equal-power dummy as a covariate. Using a multiple-mediator model with a bootstrapping procedure and 5,000 iterations (see Hayes, 2013; Model 4), we found a significant indirect effect via social closeness (-.18, *SE* = .07,

95% CI [-.332, -.061]), but none of the alternative mediators had a significant indirect effect on helping, providing support for Hypothesis 2b. The results were similar when we used the equal-power condition as the baseline. Specifically, there was a significant indirect effect for social closeness (-.16, SE = .06, 95% CI [-.288, -.051]), but not for any of the alternative mediators.

Next, we ran the models using *interaction avoidance* as the dependent variable. Results indicated that social closeness had a significant effect on interaction avoidance while controlling for mood, self-esteem, depletion, and positive/negative affect (B = -.21, SE = .06, $p < .001$), providing support for Hypothesis 3a. Next we explored the indirect effect of powerlessness on interaction avoidance via social closeness by first comparing the powerlessness condition to the moderate-power condition. As expected, we found a significant indirect effect via social closeness (.19, SE = .07, 95% CI [.070, .349]), providing support for Hypothesis 3b. However, there was no indirect effect via self-esteem, depletion or negative affect. There was an indirect effect via positive affect (-.06, SE = .04, 95% CI [-.146, -.006]), suggesting that positive affect may serve as an additional mediator for interaction avoidance (but not helping; see Figure 3, bottom panel). The results were similar when we used the equal-power condition as the baseline. There was a significant indirect effect for social closeness (.17, SE = .06, 95% CI [.056, .300]), but not for any of the alternative mediators.

Study 3

Based on Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013), our theoretical model suggests that experienced powerlessness will reduce social closeness by reducing employees' affiliation motivation, as well as their expectation of others' interest in affiliating with them. Thus, to provide a more nuanced theoretical account of the distancing effects of powerlessness, in the final study we specifically tested whether these two processes mediated the indirect effect of

experienced powerlessness on social closeness.

Participants

We recruited 300 full-time employees (age: M = 34.21, SD = 9.08; gender: 64.0% male, 36.0% female) from across the United States via Amazon's Mechanical Turk to participate in this study in exchange for $1.50. This study was approved and monitored by the IRB at Singapore Management University (IRB# 19-029-A038(419), "Power and Social Closeness"). The data was collected in 2019, and we used the same attention check procedure as in Study 2 (Oppenheimer et al., 2009). Participants reported having an average of 4.87 years (SD = 6.13) of work experience in their current job and working an average of 41.28 hours (SD = 6.52) per week. About half (47.7%) of the participants indicated that they had one or more employees directly reporting to them. We employed the same procedure and manipulation as in Study 2. Thus, participants were randomly assigned to a powerlessness, equal-power, or moderate-power condition.

Measures

Following the powerlessness manipulation, participants completed a manipulation check, measures of our variables of interest, and a short demographic questionnaire.

Manipulation check. We used the same manipulation check scale as was used in Study 2 (α = .91). A lower score indicates more experienced powerlessness.

Motivation to affiliate. We measured participants' motivation to affiliate with six items adopted from Hill (1987). The scale ranged from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree.* Example items included "*Right now, I feel like being close to others would be very satisfying*," "*Right now, I would enjoy being around others and finding out about them*," and "*Right now, I feel my feelings are easily hurt if others don't accept me*" (reverse coded) (α = .71).

Expectation of others' interest to affiliate. To measure participants' perception of other people's motivation to affiliate with them, we adopted three items from the communion striving scale developed by Barrick, Stewart, and Piotrowski (2002) to our current context. The scale ranged from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*. The items were "*Right now, I feel like my co-workers are trying hard to get along with me*," "*Right now, I feel like my co-workers are trying to like me*," and "*Right now, I feel like my co-workers are trying to build good relationships with me*" (α = .87).

Social closeness. We measured social closeness using the same 4-items derived from the IOS (Aron et al., 1992) scale as in Studies 1 and 2 (α = .88).

Results

Descriptive statistics and bi-variate correlations can be found in Table 5 and the regression results are summarized in Table 6. For all analyses below, we used the same indicator coding procedure (Hayes & Preacher, 2014) as in Study 2 to account for the multicategorical nature of our independent variable. We first conducted a manipulation check to ensure that our manipulated conditions had the intended effect. A dummy variable regression revealed that participants in the powerlessness condition reported feeling significantly more powerless (M = 2.41, SD = 1.30) than those in the moderate-power condition (M = 4.72, SD = .75) (B = -2.31, SE = .15, $t(297)$ = -15.30, $p < .001$, d = 2.18) and those in the equal-power condition (M = 4.18, SD = 1.08) (B = -1.77, SE = .15, $t(297)$ = -11.76, $p < .001$, d = 1.48), providing evidence that our powerlessness manipulation had the intended effect.

Motivation to affiliate. We predicted that experienced powerlessness (relative to the two control conditions) would lead to a reduced motivation to affiliate, and results were consistent with this expectation. Indeed, participants in the powerlessness condition reported lower

motivation to affiliate (M = 3.10, SD = .79) than those in the moderate-power condition (M = 3.40, SD = .60) (B = -.29, SE = .10, t(297) = -3.04, p = .003, d = .43) and those in the equal-power condition (M = 3.39, SD = .64) (B = -.29, SE = .10, t(297) = -2.97, p = .003, d = .40) (see Figure 4, top panel).

Expectation of others' interest. We predicted that experienced powerlessness (relative to the two control conditions) would lead to lower expectations of others' interest to affiliate. Results were consistent with this expectation. As expected, participants in the powerlessness condition expected others to want to affiliate with them less (M = 2.86, SD = 1.03) than those in the moderate-power condition (M = 3.70, SD = .70) (B = -.85, SE = .12, t(297) = -7.13, p < .001, d = .95) and those in the equal-power condition (M = 3.76, SD = .75) (B = -.90, SE = .12, t(297) = -7.58, p < .001, d = 1.00) (see Figure 4, bottom panel).

Social closeness. We predicted that individuals in the powerlessness condition would experience reduced social closeness, relative to participants in the control condition, and results were consistent with this expectation. Participants in the powerlessness condition reported lower social closeness (M = 2.12, SD = .95) than those in the moderate-power condition (M = 3.26, SD = .81) (B = -1.15, SE = .12, t(297) = -9.26, p < .001, d = 1.29) and those in the equal-power condition (M = 3.03, SD = .87) (B = -.91, SE = .12, t(297) = -7.37, p < .001, d = 1.00) (see Figure 5). Thus, Study 3 provides further support for Hypothesis 1.

Mediation analysis. Finally, we tested whether the motivation to affiliate and expectations of others' interest in affiliating jointly mediated the effect of experienced powerlessness on social closeness (See Figure 6). We first compared the powerlessness condition to the moderate-power condition by regressing the powerlessness dummy onto social closeness while including the equal-power dummy as a covariate. Using a multiple-mediator model with a

bootstrapping procedure and 5,000 iterations (see Hayes, 2013; Model 4), we found a significant indirect effect via motivation to affiliate (-.07, *SE* = .03, 95% CI [-.145, -.020]) and expectation of others' interest to affiliate (-.28, *SE* = .06, 95% CI [-.409, -.162]). We also found a significant indirect effect via motivation to affiliate (-.07, *SE* = .03, 95% CI [-.140, -.017]) and expectation of others' interest in affiliating (-.30, *SE* = .06, 95% CI [-.434, -.180]) when we compared the powerlessness condition to the equal-power condition while including the moderate-power dummy as a control variable.

General Discussion

Following recent work that emphasizes the need to better understand the organizational implications of experienced powerlessness (Anicich & Hirsh, 2017; Schaerer et al., 2018), we present a theoretical model that explores the ways in which experienced powerlessness influences how employees feel towards and behave in their social environments. Building on Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013), our model elucidates how experienced powerlessness causes employees to feel reduced social closeness at work, and the downstream consequences of this reduced social closeness for employees' disengagement behaviors both at work and at home. Additionally, our model elucidates the specific processes by which experienced powerlessness reduces employees' felt social closeness, finding that employees' affiliation motives as well as their expectation of others' interest in affiliating with them mediate the relationship between experienced powerlessness and felt social closeness. Finally, our model demonstrates that because employees' dispositional political skill causes them to be particularly sensitive to power dynamics, the negative relationship between experienced powerlessness and felt social closeness is stronger for employees who are high (vs. low) in political skill.

Theoretical Implications

This research makes several important theoretical contributions to the understanding of experienced powerlessness in organizations. First, by exploring the organizational implications of experienced powerlessness through the lens of Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013), our work helps to clarify the effects of powerlessness on employees' felt social closeness. While Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) is relatively clear regarding the distancing effects of experienced *powerfulness* at work, there have been ambiguous and sometimes conflicting predictions for the distancing effects of experienced *powerlessness* (e.g. Lammers et al., 2011; Case et al., 2015). Our work helps build consensus in this literature by demonstrating that experienced powerlessness can reduce employees' felt social closeness by causing them to be less motivated to affiliate with others, as well as by reducing their expectations of their coworkers' interest in affiliating with them (Magee & Smith, 2013). These findings are also important in that they challenge the widely-held assumption in the power literature that the effects of powerfulness and powerlessness should be linear and opposite of each other (e.g., Schaerer et al., 2018). While numerous studies have shown that powerfulness increases social distance (Galinsky, Magee, Gruenfeld, Whitson, & Liljenquist, 2008; Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006; Kipnis, 1972; Lammers et al., 2011; Smith & Trope, 2006; Weick & Guinote, 2008), our work demonstrates that it cannot simply be assumed that powerlessness will increase social closeness. Our work thus illustrates the importance of studying powerlessness as a focal phenomenon, and that doing so can provide a more veridical picture of the ramifications power has on employees.

Second, our work helps shift consensus regarding the way in which we understand how employees will respond to powerlessness-induced social distance. Prior work has suggested that employees who feel powerless would engage in affiliative behaviors aimed at establishing social

closeness (Case et al., 2015). In contrast, our work elucidates a more complete picture of the behavioral responses to experienced powerlessness by demonstrating that employees may also engage in social disengagement behaviors that exacerbate social distance. This dualistic view of the potential responses to experienced powerlessness is consistent with other literatures that indicate that employees may respond to aversive social situations with "mixed feelings" (Derfler-Rozin et al., 2010, p. 141). Specifically, employees may simultaneously wish to establish social closeness, while also engaging in psychological processes that make it difficult for them to do so (Derfler-Rozin et al., 2010). In line with this perspective, our work demonstrates that only considering employees' affiliative responses to experienced powerlessness paints an overly simplistic picture, and that a complete understanding of experienced powerlessness requires that we also consider that powerless employees may exhibit disengagement behaviors.

Finally, our model further extends Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) by demonstrating an important boundary condition of its predictions. Specifically, recognizing that power and politics are critically interrelated in organizational settings (Ferris et al., 2005; Ferris et al., 2007), we theorized and found support for the idea that the distancing effects of experienced powerlessness would be stronger for employees high (vs. low) in political skill. This finding has important implications for our theoretical understanding of employee reactions to experienced powerlessness, because it suggests that some employees' reactions may thus be amplified in situations in which they feel powerless.

Practical Implications

From a practical perspective, our work has several implications for managers and organizations relating to their understanding of how employees experience powerlessness. First, given that powerlessness is generally associated with a lack of control or influence at work

(Schaerer et al., 2018), it may be tempting for managers to assume that social friction between powerful supervisors and powerless subordinates is likely the fault of the supervisors. Our work clarifies this view by demonstrating that powerless employees can also exhibit social disengagement behaviors, because they feel like they have little to offer and that others are not interested in affiliating with them. Therefore, when diagnosing issues between powerful and powerless employees, managers and organizations should actively consider the perspective of powerless employees to identify probable drivers of social friction in these relationships.

Second, by demonstrating that the reason powerless employees socially disengage is that they feel socially distant from their colleagues, job, and organization, our work also provides potential remedies for these situations. Specifically, it suggests that managers can assuage problems between powerful and powerless employees by giving powerless employees the motivation to affiliate with their powerful supervisor, or by making powerless employees aware that their powerful supervisors are motivated to affiliate with them. This could be implemented through simple interventions that help facilitate social interactions across hierarchical levels, such as open-door policies, actively signaling interest in subordinates' opinions and perspectives, or by recognizing the strengths and accomplishments of employees.

Third, our work illustrates that it is important that managers are aware of the impact of experienced powerlessness on employees after they leave work, as our study provides evidence that social distance at work can spill over and cause employees to exhibit withdrawal behaviors at home. This is an important departure from previous social power research (e.g., Magee & Galinsky, 2008; Sturm & Antonakis, 2015), which has not systematically considered how power dynamics in the workplace may affect employees' personal lives at home. Our work demonstrates that managers should be aware of the wide-ranging implications of workplace

power dynamics, and suggests that organizations should consider strategies to minimize felt social distance at work. For example, managers could organize end-of-day meetings, where employees engage in activities to build close relationships with others, because (a lack of) social closeness can have important consequences for employees' lives outside of work.

Finally, our work demonstrates that managers should consider the complex nature of political skill and its effect on employees. There is a widespread belief that political skill helps employees build social connections at work (Ferris, Perrewé, Anthony, & Gilmore, 2000; Wu, Yim, Kwan, and Zhang, 2012), and the main effect of political skill on social closeness in Study 1 supports this position. However, our work also suggests that the effect of political skill on social connections may be more complicated than previously realized, because it shows that political skill can cause employees to react more negatively to experienced powerlessness. In this way, our work suggests that rather than being a trait that universally helps employees build connections, political skill can in some cases exacerbate employees' sense of social distance by making them more sensitive to power dynamics at work. Thus, it may be prudent for managers and organizations to seek positions that minimize the experience of powerlessness for politically-skilled employees.

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

Despite several strengths of our studies, such as the field-experimental nature of Study 1 and the replication of our model at both the within- and between-person levels (Gabriel et al., 2018), our studies have several limitations that provide exciting avenues for future research. First, although we manipulated powerlessness, all other variables in our model were self-reported, which raises potential concerns associated with common method and source bias (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Scholars have suggested that in experience

sampling studies (such as the one employed in Study 1), participants are in the best position to rate their own behaviors, as no other employee is in a position to observe all interactions a participant has with others throughout the day (Courtright, Gardner, Smith, McCormick, & Colbert, 2016; Foulk et al., 2018; Gabriel et al., 2018). Furthermore, recent research that has compared self-reported and other-reported daily behaviors has found that both ways of measuring employee behaviors exhibit comparable accuracy (Vazire & Mehl, 2008). From a statistical point of view, we group-mean centered all of our within-person endogenous variables, which removes concerns relating to social desirability and self-enhancement (Beal, 2015). Still, we recognize that the self-reported nature of our data represents a potential limitation, and we encourage future work to replicate our findings using other methods to capture the constructs in our model, such as third party ratings or behavioral indicators.

Second, our sample in Study 1 consisted of young and relatively inexperienced interns, which may influence the generalizability of our results. However, because our model focuses on experienced powerlessness, which is theoretically distinct from structural power (Bugental & Lewis, 1999; Foulk et al., 2018; Tost, 2015), there is no theoretical reason to believe that participants' organizational role should influence the way experienced powerlessness affected them. Supporting this point, in Studies 2 and 3 we conceptually replicated the relationship between powerlessness and social closeness on samples that were both older and more experienced than the sample in Study 1. Nevertheless, we believe more research is needed to fully understand how psychological and structural power interact with each other (e.g., Tost, 2015) and how age and experience may influence the current results.

Third, in demonstrating that experienced powerlessness can cause employees to exhibit social disengagement behaviors, our work qualifies prior work suggesting that powerlessness

should result in affiliative behaviors (Case et al., 2015; Copeland, 1994; van Kleef et al., 2008). With this in mind, it would be interesting for future work to explore when powerlessness causes disengagement vs. affiliation behaviors. One possibility, consistent with our finding that political skill moderates the distancing effects of powerlessness, is that individual differences could help understand this distinction. Another possibility is that behavioral responses may vary depending on the specific trigger that caused the employee to feel powerless. A third possibility is that the context in which powerlessness occurs – for example at work vs. outside of work – may be an important boundary condition for the distancing effects of powerlessness. We encourage future work to explore these interesting possibilities.

Additionally, in trying to understand when employees may affiliate versus socially disengage, an implicit assumption is that employees must do one or the other. However, it is possible that employees may initially feel socially distant and thus disengage, but may later realize that this is ineffective and subsequently engage in affiliation behaviors. Thus, it would be possible to conceptualize these dichotomous behaviors as part of an integrated process that unfolds over time, and we encourage future research to consider this interesting possibility. Relatedly, in both studies we measured social closeness immediately after our manipulation of powerlessness, therefore we cannot conclude how long this effect lasts, and future research could also consider the duration of the distancing effects of powerlessness.

In all of our studies we manipulated experienced powerlessness, for several reasons. First, the majority of research on the social implications of power has used manipulations (e.g., Galinsky et al., 2015), and some scholars have criticized measures of experienced power (Sturm & Antonakis, 2015), therefore to be consistent with this ever-growing body of work we chose to manipulate powerlessness. Additionally, scholars have recently suggested that the relationship

between power and social distance may be bi-directional (Trope & Liberman, 2010), therefore we felt that manipulating powerlessness could help enhance causal inferences. However, we encourage future research to replicate our findings measuring naturally-occurring fluctuations in powerlessness (e.g., Smith & Hofmann, 2016).

Guided by Social Distance Theory (Magee & Smith, 2013), we focused on affiliation motive and expectation of others' affiliation motive as the mediating mechanisms for the distancing effects of powerlessness. While this theory primarily focuses on these processes, it also proposes that distinctiveness, freedom to focus on distal concerns, and subjective vertical distance may also function as alternative mediators. Indeed, in Study 3 we observed partial mediation, suggesting that other processes may also be at play. Thus, future research could consider these, and other, mediators for the effect of powerlessness on social closeness. Future research could also explore whether these same mechanisms are responsible for the distancing effects of power*ful*ness, and if different mechanisms are uncovered, it would be interesting for researchers to delineate where the breaks occur between powerfulness and powerlessness.

Finally, recognizing the critical relationship between power and politics in organizational settings, we focused on employees' political skill as a moderator of the relationship between powerlessness and social closeness. While political skill strengthens this relationship, there may be additional dispositions that make employees more or less susceptible to the distancing effects of powerlessness, and we encourage future research to explore such personality traits. Furthermore, we conceptualized political skill as a moderator of the relationship between experienced powerlessness and social closeness. However, it is also possible that political skill predicts experienced power in organizational settings, and we encourage future research to explore the nuances of the relationship between power and politics in organizations.

Conclusion

Across two studies, we explored the social implications of experienced powerlessness, and found that powerless employees feel more social distance at work, which causes them to exhibit social disengagement behaviors both at work and at home. Additionally, we explored the mechanisms underlying the distancing effects of powerlessness and found that employees' affiliation motive as well as their expectations of others' motivation to affiliate with them mediated the effect of experienced powerlessness on social closeness. Finally, we found that the distancing effects of experienced powerlessness were not identical for all employees, but rather that this effect was stronger for employees who are high (vs. low) in political skill. Our work elucidates the distancing effects of powerlessness for employees, and emphasizes that the behavioral responses to powerlessness may not be as simple as previously assumed. In so doing, we demonstrate that a thorough and complete understanding of power dynamics in organizations requires studying not only powerfulness, but also focusing on powerlessness as a focal phenomenon, and we hope that our work will inspire more research on powerlessness and its implications for employees both at work and in other life domains.

REFERENCES

Abramson, L. Y., Seligman, M. E., & Teasdale, J. D. (1978). Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 87*, 49-74. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-843X.87.1.49

Acton, J. D. (1907). Letter to Bishop Mandell Creighton, 5 April, 1887. *dalam Historical Essays and Studies,(peny. JN Figgis dan RV Laurence), London: Macmillan*.

Ahearn, K. K., Ferris, G. R., Hochwarter, W. A., Douglas, C., & Ammeter, A. P. (2004). Leader Political Skill and Team Performance. *Journal of Management, 30*, 309-327. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jm.2003.01.004

Anderson, C., & Berdahl, J. L. (2002). The experience of power: Examining the effects of power on approach and inhibition tendencies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*, 1362-1377. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.6.1362

Anderson, C., John, O. P., & Keltner, D. (2012). The Personal Sense of Power. *Journal of Personality, 80*, 313-344. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2011.00734.x

Anicich, E. M., & Hirsh, J. B. (2017). The Psychology of Middle Power: Vertical Code-Switching, Role Conflict, and Behavioral Inhibition. *Academy of Management Review, 42*, 659-682. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amr.2016.0002

Aron, A., Aron, E. N., & Smollan, D. (1992). Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale and the structure of interpersonal closeness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 63*, 596-612. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.63.4.596

Aron, A., Melinat, E., Aron, E. N., Vallone, R. D., & Bator, R. J. (1997). The Experimental Generation of Interpersonal Closeness: A Procedure and Some Preliminary Findings. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23*, 363-377. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167297234003

Aron, A., Norman, C. C., Aron, E. N., McKenna, C., & Heyman, R. E. (2000). Couples' shared participation in novel and arousing activities and experienced relationship quality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78*, 273-284. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.78.2.273

Ashforth, B. E. (1989). The experience of powerlessness in organizations. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 43*, 207-242. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978(89)90051-4

Barnes, C. M., Lucianetti, L., Bhave, D. P., & Christian, M. S. (2015). "You Wouldn't Like Me When I'm Sleepy": Leaders' Sleep, Daily Abusive Supervision, and Work Unit Engagement. *Academy of Management Journal, 58*, 1419-1437. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amj.2013.1063

Barrick, M. R., Stewart, G. L., & Piotrowski, M. (2002). Personality and job performance: Test of the mediating effects of motivation among sales representatives. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*, 43-51. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.1.43

Beal, D. J. (2015). ESM 2.0: State of the Art and Future Potential of Experience Sampling Methods in Organizational Research. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior, 2*, 383-407. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-032414-111335

Blackhart, G. C., Baumeister, R. F., & Twenge, J. M. (2006). Rejection's Impact on Self-Defeating, Prosocial, Antisocial, and Self-Regulatory Behaviors *Self and relationships: Connecting intrapersonal and interpersonal processes.* (pp. 237-253). New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.

Bolger, N., DeLongis, A., Kessler, R. C., & Wethington, E. (1989). The Contagion of Stress across Multiple Roles. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 51*, 175-183. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/352378

Bolino, M. C. (1999). Citizenship and Impression Management: Good Soldiers or Good Actors? *Academy of Management Review, 24*, 82-98. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amr.1999.1580442

Bugental, D. B., & Lewis, J. C. (1999). The Paradoxical Misuse of Power by Those Who See Themselves as Powerless: How Does It Happen? *Journal of Social Issues, 55*, 51-64. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00104

Byrne, D., McDonald, R. D., & Mikawa, J. (1963). Approach and avoidance affiliation motives. *Journal of Personality, 31*, 21-37. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1963.tb01837.x

Caldwell, M. S., Rudolph, K. D., Troop-Gordon, W., & Kim, D.-Y. (2004). Reciprocal Influences Among Relational Self-Views, Social Disengagement, and Peer Stress During Early Adolescence. *Child Development, 75*, 1140-1154. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2004.00730.x

Case, C. R., Conlon, K. E., & Maner, J. K. (2015). Affiliation-seeking among the powerless: Lacking power increases social affiliative motivation. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 45*, 378-385. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2089

Chan, C.-J., & Margolin, G. (1994). The Relationship between Dual-Earner Couples' Daily Work Mood and Home Affect. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 11*, 573-586. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0265407594114005

Chao, G. T., O'Leary-Kelly, A. M., Wolf, S., Klein, H. J., & Gardner, P. D. (1994). Organizational socialization: Its content and consequences. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 79*, 730-743. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.79.5.730

Chiaburu, D. S., Thundiyil, T., & Wang, J. (2014). Alienation and its correlates: A meta-analysis. *European Management Journal, 32*, 24-36. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.emj.2013.06.003

Christian, M. S., & Ellis, A. P. J. (2011). Examining the Effects of Sleep Deprivation on Workplace Deviance: A Self-Regulatory Perspective. *Academy of Management Journal, 54*, 913-934. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amj.2010.0179

Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S. G., & Aiken, L. S. (2003). Applied multiple correlation/regression analysis for the social sciences: Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Coleman, W. D. (1994). Banking, interest intermediation and political power. *European Journal of Political Research, 26*, 31-58. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1994.tb01204.x

Copeland, J. T. (1994). Prophecies of power: Motivational implications of social power for behavioral confirmation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67*, 264-277. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.67.2.264

Courtright, S. H., Gardner, R. G., Smith, T. A., McCormick, B. W., & Colbert, A. E. (2016). My Family Made Me Do It: A Cross-Domain, Self-Regulatory Perspective on Antecedents to Abusive Supervision. *Academy of Management Journal, 59*, 1630-1652. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amj.2013.1009

Cutts, M. (2013). *Oxford Guide to Plain English*: OUP Oxford.

Dalal, R. S., Lam, H., Weiss, H. M., Welch, E., & Hulin, C. L. (2009). A dynamic approach to organizational citizenship behavior and counterproductive work behavior: Behavioral co-occurrence and switching, and dynamic relationships with mood and overall job performance. *Academy of Management Journal, 52*, 1051-1066. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amj.2009.44636148

Den Hartog, D. N., De Hoogh, A. H. B., & Keegan, A. E. (2007). The interactive effects of belongingness and charisma on helping and compliance. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*, 1131-1139. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.4.1131

Derfler-Rozin, R., Pillutla, M., & Thau, S. (2010). Social reconnection revisited: The effects of social exclusion risk on reciprocity, trust, and general risk-taking. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 112*, 140-150. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2010.02.005

du Plessis, C., & Dubois, D. (2013). La vie en Rose at the Top? Why positive (negative) information goes up (down) in a hierarchy. *ACR North American Advances*.

Duguid, M. M., & Goncalo, J. A. (2015). Squeezed in the middle: The middle status trade creativity for focus. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 109*, 589-603. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0039569

Earle, W. B., Giuliano, T., & Archer, R. L. (1983). Lonely at the Top: The Effect of Power on Information Flow in the Dyad. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 9,* 629-637. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167283094012

Edwards, J. R. (2008). 4 Person–Environment Fit in Organizations: An Assessment of Theoretical Progress. *Academy of Management Annals, 2,* 167-230. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/19416520802211503

Ellis, R. A., & Lane, W. C. (1967). Social Mobility and Social Isolation: A Test of Sorokin's Dissociative Hypothesis. *American Sociological Review, 32,* 237-253. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2091814

Enders, C. K., & Tofighi, D. (2007). Centering predictor variables in cross-sectional multilevel models: A new look at an old issue. *Psychological Methods, 12,* 121-138. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1082-989X.12.2.121

Ferris, G. R., Perrewé, P. L., Anthony, W. P., & Gilmore, D. C. (2000). Political skill at work. *Organizational Dynamics, 28,* 25-37. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0090-2616(00)00007-3

Ferris, G. R., Treadway, D. C., Kolodinsky, R. W., Hochwarter, W. A., Kacmar, C. J., Douglas, C., & Frink, D. D. (2005). Development and Validation of the Political Skill Inventory. *Journal of Management, 31,* 126-152. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0149206304271386

Ferris, G. R., Treadway, D. C., Perrewé, P. L., Brouer, R. L., Douglas, C., & Lux, S. (2007). Political Skill in Organizations. *Journal of Management, 33,* 290-320. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0149206307300813

Foulk, T. A., Lanaj, K., Tu, M.-H., Erez, A., & Archambeau, L. (2018). Heavy Is the Head that Wears the Crown: An Actor-centric Approach to Daily Psychological Power, Abusive Leader Behavior, and Perceived Incivility. *Academy of Management Journal, 61,* 661-684. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amj.2015.1061

Gable, S. L., & Berkman, E. T. (2008). Making connections and avoiding loneliness: Approach and avoidance social motives and goals *Handbook of approach and avoidance motivation.* (pp. 203-216). New York, NY, US: Psychology Press.

Gabriel, A. S., Podsakoff, N. P., Beal, D. J., Scott, B. A., Sonnentag, S., Trougakos, J. P., & Butts, M. M. (2018). Experience Sampling Methods: A Discussion of Critical Trends and Considerations for Scholarly Advancement. *Organizational Research Methods*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1094428118802626

Galinsky, A. D., Gruenfeld, D. H., & Magee, J. C. (2003). From Power to Action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85,* 453-466. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.85.3.453

Galinsky, A. D., Magee, J. C., Gruenfeld, D. H., Whitson, J. A., & Liljenquist, K. A. (2008). Power reduces the press of the situation: Implications for creativity, conformity, and dissonance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*, 1450-1466. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0012633

Galinsky, A. D., Magee, J. C., Inesi, M. E., & Gruenfeld, D. H. (2006). Power and Perspectives Not Taken. *Psychological Science, 17*, 1068-1074. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01824.x

Galinsky, A. D., Rucker, D. D., & Magee, J. C. (2015). Power: Past findings, present considerations, and future directions *APA handbook of personality and social psychology, Volume 3: Interpersonal relations.* (pp. 421-460). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.

Goffman, E. (1956). Embarrassment and Social Organization. *American Journal of Sociology, 62*, 264-271. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/222003

Goodman, L. A., Saxe, L., & Harvey, M. (1991). Homelessness as psychological trauma: Broadening perspectives. *American Psychologist, 46*, 1219-1225. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.46.11.1219

Goodwin, S. A., Gubin, A., Fiske, S. T., & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2000). Power Can Bias Impression Processes: Stereotyping Subordinates by Default and by Design. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 3*, 227-256. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1368430200003003001

Gosling, S. D., Rentfrow, P. J., & Swann, W. B. (2003). A very brief measure of the Big-Five personality domains. *Journal of Research in Personality, 37*, 504-528. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0092-6566(03)00046-1

Greguras, G. J., & Diefendorff, J. M. (2009). Different fits satisfy different needs: Linking person-environment fit to employee commitment and performance using self-determination theory. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 94*, 465-477. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0014068

Gruenfeld, D. H., Inesi, M. E., Magee, J. C., & Galinsky, A. D. (2008). Power and the objectification of social targets. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*, 111-127. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.1.111

Guinote, A. (2017). How Power Affects People: Activating, Wanting, and Goal Seeking. *Annual Review of Psychology, 68*, 353-381. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010416-044153

Hayes, A. F. (2013). Methodology in the social sciences. Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach. New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.

Hayes, A. F., & Preacher, K. J. (2014). Statistical mediation analysis with a multicategorical independent variable. *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology, 67*, 451-470. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/bmsp.12028

Hill, C. A. (1987). Affiliation motivation: People who need people… but in different ways. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 52*, 1008-1018. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.52.5.1008

Hoffman, E., McCabe, K., & Smith, V. L. (1996). Social Distance and Other-Regarding Behavior in Dictator Games. *The American Economic Review, 86*, 653-660.

Hofmann, D. A., Griffin, M. A., & Gavin, M. B. (2000). The application of hierarchical linear modeling to organizational research *Multilevel theory, research, and methods in organizations: Foundations, extensions, and new directions.* (pp. 467-511). San Francisco, CA, US: Jossey-Bass.

Holman, T. B., & Jacquart, M. (1988). Leisure-Activity Patterns and Marital Satisfaction: A Further Test. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 50*, 69-77. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/352428

Janssen, O. (2001). Fairness Perceptions as a Moderator in the Curvilinear Relationships Between Job Demands, and Job Performance and Job Satisfaction. *Academy of Management Journal, 44*, 1039-1050. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/3069447

Keltner, D., Gruenfeld, D. H., & Anderson, C. (2003). Power, approach, and inhibition. *Psychological Review, 110*, 265-284. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.110.2.265

Kingston, P. W., & Nock, S. L. (1987). Time Together Among Dual-Earner Couples. *American Sociological Review, 52*, 391-400. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2095358

Kipnis, D. (1972). Does power corrupt? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 24*, 33-41. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0033390

Kitayama, S., Markus, H. R., & Kurokawa, M. (2000). Culture, Emotion, and Well-being: Good Feelings in Japan and the United States. *Cognition and Emotion, 14*, 93-124. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/026999300379003

Kitayama, S., Mesquita, B., & Karasawa, M. (2006). Cultural affordances and emotional experience: Socially engaging and disengaging emotions in Japan and the United States. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 91*, 890-903. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.91.5.890

Koestner, R., & McClelland, D. C. (1992). The affiliation motive. *Motivation and personality: Handbook of thematic content analysis.* (pp. 205-210). New York, NY, US: Cambridge University Press.

Kristof-Brown, A. L., Zimmerman, R. D., & Johnson, E. C. (2005). Consequences of individuals' fit at work: A meta-analysis of person-job, person-organization, person-group, and person-supervisor fit. *Personnel Psychology, 58*, 281-342. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2005.00672.x

Kunstman, J. W., Fitzpatrick, C. B., & Smith, P. K. (2018). Poisoned Praise: Discounted Praise Backfires and Undermines Subordinate Impressions in the Minds of the Powerful. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 9*, 470-480. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1948550617712028

Lammers, J., Galinsky, A. D., Gordijn, E. H., & Otten, S. (2011). Power Increases Social Distance. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 3*, 282-290. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1948550611418679

Lawler, E. J., & Yoon, J. (1996). Commitment in Exchange Relations: Test of a Theory of Relational Cohesion. *American Sociological Review, 61*, 89-108. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2096408

Liao, H., Chuang, A., & Joshi, A. (2008). Perceived deep-level dissimilarity: Personality antecedents and impact on overall job attitude, helping, work withdrawal, and turnover. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 106*, 106-124. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2008.01.002

Liao, Z., Yam, K. C., Johnson, R. E., Liu, W., & Song, Z. (2018). Cleansing my abuse: A reparative response model of perpetrating abusive supervisor behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 103*, 1039-1056. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl0000319

Lucas, G. M., Knowles, M. L., Gardner, W. L., Molden, D. C., & Jefferis, V. E. (2010). Increasing Social Engagement Among Lonely Individuals: The Role of Acceptance Cues and Promotion Motivations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 36*, 1346-1359. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167210382662

Mackinnon, A., Jorm, A. F., Christensen, H., Korten, A. E., Jacomb, P. A., & Rodgers, B. (1999). A short form of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule: evaluation of factorial validity and invariance across demographic variables in a community sample. *Personality and Individual Differences, 27*, 405-416. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0191-8869(98)00251-7

Magee, J. C., & Galinsky, A. D. (2008). Social Hierarchy: The Self-Reinforcing Nature of Power and Status. *Academy of Management Annals, 2*, 351-398. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/19416520802211628

Magee, J. C., & Smith, P. K. (2013). The Social Distance Theory of Power. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 17*, 158-186. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1088868312472732

Maier, S. F., & Seligman, M. E. (1976). Learned helplessness: Theory and evidence. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 105*, 3-46. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0096-3445.105.1.3

Maner, J. K., Gailliot, M. T., Menzel, A. J., & Kunstman, J. W. (2012). Dispositional Anxiety Blocks the Psychological Effects of Power. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 38*, 1383-1395. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167212453341

Motowildo, S. J., Borman, W. C., & Schmit, M. J. (1997). A Theory of Individual Differences in Task and Contextual Performance. *Human Performance, 10*, 71-83. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/s15327043hup1002_1

Munyon, T. P., Summers, J. K., Thompson, K. M., & Ferris, G. R. (2015). Political Skill and Work Outcomes: A Theoretical Extension, Meta-Analytic Investigation, and Agenda for the Future. *Personnel Psychology, 68*, 143-184. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/peps.12066

Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2014). Mplus 7.3. *Muthén, Muthén, 3463*.

Narayanan, J., Tai, K., & Kinias, Z. (2013). Power motivates interpersonal connection following social exclusion. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 122(2), 257-265. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2013.08.006

Nifadkar, S., Tsui, A. S., & Ashforth, B. E. (2012). The Way You Make Me Feel and Behave: Supervisor-Triggered Newcomer Affect and Approach-Avoidance Behavior. *Academy of Management Journal, 55*, 1146-1168. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amj.2010.0133

Oppenheimer, D. M., Meyvis, T., & Davidenko, N. (2009). Instructional manipulation checks: Detecting satisficing to increase statistical power. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45*, 867-872. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.03.009

Perrewé, P. L., Ferris, G. R., Frink, D. D., & Anthony, W. P. (2000). Political skill: An antidote for workplace stressors. *Academy of Management Perspectives, 14*, 115-123. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/ame.2000.4468071

Peterson, C., & Seligman, M. E. P. (1983). Learned Helplessness and Victimization. *Journal of Social Issues, 39*, 103-116. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1983.tb00143.x

Pfeffer, J. (1981). *Power in organizations* (Vol. 33): Pitman Marshfield, MA.

Pfeffer, J. (1992). *Managing with power: Politics and influence in organizations*: Harvard Business Press.

Phillips, D. J., & Zuckerman, E. W. (2001). Middle-Status Conformity: Theoretical Restatement and Empirical Demonstration in Two Markets. *American Journal of Sociology, 107*, 379-429. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/324072

Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., Lee, J.-Y., & Podsakoff, N. P. (2003). Common method biases in behavioral research: A critical review of the literature and recommended remedies. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 88,* 879-903. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.88.5.879

Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., Paine, J. B., & Bachrach, D. G. (2000). Organizational Citizenship Behaviors: A Critical Review of the Theoretical and Empirical Literature and Suggestions for Future Research. *Journal of Management, 26*, 513-563. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/014920630002600307

Preacher, K. J., Curran, P. J., & Bauer, D. J. (2006). Computational Tools for Probing Interactions in Multiple Linear Regression, Multilevel Modeling, and Latent Curve Analysis. *Journal of Educational and Behavioral Statistics, 31*, 437-448. http://dx.doi.org/10.3102/10769986031004437

Preacher, K. J., Zyphur, M. J., & Zhang, Z. (2010). A general multilevel SEM framework for assessing multilevel mediation. *Psychological Methods, 15*, 209-233. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0020141

Prentice, D. A., & Miller, D. T. (1992). When small effects are impressive. *Psychological Bulletin, 112*, 160-164. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.112.1.160

Repetti, R. L. (1989). Effects of daily workload on subsequent behavior during marital interaction: The roles of social withdrawal and spouse support. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57*, 651-659. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.57.4.651

Repetti, R. L. (1992). Social withdrawal as a short-term coping response to daily stressors *Hostility, coping, & health.* (pp. 151-165). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.

Rosen, C. C., Koopman, J., Gabriel, A. S., & Johnson, R. E. (2016). Who strikes back? A daily investigation of when and why incivility begets incivility. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 101*, 1620-1634. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl0000140

Rosenberg, M. (1989). *Society and the adolescent self-image.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rothbard, N. P., & Wilk, S. L. (2011). Waking Up on the Right or Wrong Side of the Bed: Start-of-Workday Mood, Work Events, Employee Affect, and Performance. *Academy of Management Journal, 54*, 959-980. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amj.2007.0056

Satorra, A., & Bentler, P. M. (2001). A scaled difference chi-square test statistic for moment structure analysis. *Psychometrika, 66*, 507-514. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/BF02296192

Schaerer, M., du Plessis, C., Yap, A. J., & Thau, S. (2018). Low power individuals in social power research: A quantitative review, theoretical framework, and empirical test.

Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 149, 73-96. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2018.08.004

Schaerer, M., Swaab, R. I., & Galinsky, A. D. (2015). Anchors Weigh More Than Power: Why Absolute Powerlessness Liberates Negotiators to Achieve Better Outcomes. *Psychological Science, 26*, 170-181. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956797614558718

Schulz, M. S., Cowan, P. A., Pape Cowan, C., & Brennan, R. T. (2004). Coming Home Upset: Gender, Marital Satisfaction, and the Daily Spillover of Workday Experience Into Couple Interactions. *Journal of Family Psychology, 18*, 250-263. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.18.1.250

Slobin, D. I., Miller, S. H., & Porter, L. W. (1968). Forms of address and social relations in a business organization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 8*, 289-293. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0025657

Smith, P. K., & Hofmann, W. (2016). Power in everyday life. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 113*, 10043. http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1604820113

Smith, P. K., & Trope, Y. (2006). You focus on the forest when you're in charge of the trees: Power priming and abstract information processing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*, 578-596. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.4.578

Snijders, T. A. B., & Bosker, R. J. (1999). Multilevel analysis: An introduction to basic and advanced multilevel modelling: London: Sage.

Snyder, M. L., Kleck, R. E., Strenta, A., & Mentzer, S. J. (1979). Avoidance of the handicapped: An attributional ambiguity analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 37*, 2297-2306. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.37.12.2297

Stephan, E., Liberman, N., & Trope, Y. (2011). The effects of time perspective and level of construal on social distance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 47*, 397-402. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2010.11.001

Sturm, R. E., & Antonakis, J. (2015). Interpersonal Power: A Review, Critique, and Research Agenda. *Journal of Management, 41*, 136-163. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0149206314555769

Tang, T. L.-P., Sutarso, T., Davis, G. M.-T. W., Dolinski, D., Ibrahim, A. H. S., & Wagner, S. L. (2008). To Help or Not to Help? The Good Samaritan Effect and the Love of Money on Helping Behavior. *Journal of Business Ethics, 82*, 865-887. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10551-007-9598-7

Thibaut, J. W., & Kelley, H. H. (1959). *The social psychology of groups*. Oxford, England: John Wiley.

Tofighi, D., West, S. G., & MacKinnon, D. P. (2013). Multilevel mediation analysis: The effects of omitted variables in the 1–1–1 model. *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology, 66*, 290-307. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8317.2012.02051.x

Tost, L. P. (2015). When, why, and how do powerholders "feel the power"? Examining the links between structural and psychological power and reviving the connection between power and responsibility. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 35*, 29-56. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.riob.2015.10.004

Tost, L. P., Wade-Benzoni, K. A., & Johnson, H. H. (2015). Noblesse oblige emerges (with time): Power enhances intergenerational beneficence. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 128*, 61-73. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2015.03.003

Treadway, D. C., Shaughnessy, B. A., Breland, J. W., Yang, J., & Reeves, M. (2013). Political skill and the job performance of bullies. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 28*, 273-289. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/02683941311321169

Trope, Y., & Liberman, N. (2010). Construal-level theory of psychological distance. *Psychological Review, 117*, 440-463. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0018963

Twenge, J. M., Baumeister, R. F., DeWall, C. N., Ciarocco, N. J., & Bartels, J. M. (2007). Social exclusion decreases prosocial behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92*, 56-66. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.1.56

Twenge, J. M., Baumeister, R. F., Tice, D. M., & Stucke, T. S. (2001). If you can't join them, beat them: Effects of social exclusion on aggressive behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*, 1058-1069. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.81.6.1058

Twenge, J. M., Muraven, M., & Tice, D. M. (2004). Measuring state self-control: Reliability, validity, and correlations with physical and psychological stress. *Unpublished manuscript, San Diego State University*.

Uy, M. A., Lin, K. J., & Ilies, R. (2017). Is it Better to Give or Receive? The Role of Help in Buffering the Depleting Effects of Surface Acting. *Academy of Management Journal, 60*, 1442-1461. http://dx.doi.org/10.5465/amj.2015.0611

van Kleef, G. A., Oveis, C., van der Löwe, I., LuoKogan, A., Goetz, J., & Keltner, D. (2008). Power, Distress, and Compassion: Turning a Blind Eye to the Suffering of Others. *Psychological Science, 19*, 1315-1322. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02241.x

Vazire, S., & Mehl, M. R. (2008). Knowing me, knowing you: The accuracy and unique predictive validity of self-ratings and other-ratings of daily behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*, 1202-1216. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0013314

Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54*, 1063-1070. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.54.6.1063

Weick, M., & Guinote, A. (2008). When subjective experiences matter: Power increases reliance on the ease of retrieval. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 94*, 956-970. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.94.6.956

Wiesenfeld, B. M., Reyt, J.-N., Brockner, J., & Trope, Y. (2017). Construal Level Theory in Organizational Research. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior, 4*, 367-400. http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-032516-113115

Woolum, A., Foulk, T., Lanaj, K., & Erez, A. (2017). Rude color glasses: The contaminating effects of witnessed morning rudeness on perceptions and behaviors throughout the workday. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 102*, 1658-1672. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/apl0000247

Wu, L.-Z., Yim, F. H.-k., Kwan, H. K., & Zhang, X. (2012). Coping with Workplace Ostracism: The Roles of Ingratiation and Political Skill in Employee Psychological Distress. *Journal of Management Studies, 49*, 178-199. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.2011.01017.x

Table 1

Study 1 Within and Between Person Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

	M	Within-SD	Between-SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1) Condition	.54	.50	.19		-.23**	-.12	.12	-.05	.01	-.01	.08	-.05
2) Social closeness	3.19	.47	1.35	-.07*	**(.92)**	.32**	-.45**	-.17*	.15	.37**	.17*	.29**
3) Helping	3.54	.61	.63	.00	.08*	**(.87)**	-.36**	-.14	.19*	.20*	-.15	.31**
4) Interaction avoidance	2.15	.63	.78	-.01	-.06	-.19**	**(.95)**	.24**	-.01	-.10	.41**	-.34**
5) Withdrawal	2.29	.79	.86	.02	-.06	-.02	.09**	**(.90)**	.13	.06	.22**	-.05
6) Workload	2.60	.74	.88	.05	.03	.07*	.11**	.12**	**(.95)**	.19*	.13	.17*
7) Positive affect	1.96	.51	.77	-.06	.20**	.03	-.08*	-.03	-.05	**(.92)**	.19*	.20*
8) Negative affect	1.40	.43	.47	.05	-.13**	.01	.01	.06*	.05	.06	**(.87)**	-.13
9) Political skill	5.28	--	.80									**(.86)**

Notes: N (level 1) = 962; *N* (level 2) = 142. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$. Within-individual correlations are presented below the diagonal; between-individual correlations are presented above the diagonal. Alpha coefficients are presented along the diagonal.

Table 2

Study 1 Multilevel Path Model Results

	Social closeness		Helping		Interaction avoidance		Withdrawal	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Intercept	3.24**	.11	3.12**	.11	2.72**	.14	2.59**	.17
Powerlessness	-.08*	.04	-.01	.04	-.03	.05	.01	.05
Social closeness			.14**	.03	-.18**	.04	-.10*	.04
Workload			.06	.03	.09*	.04	.13**	.04
Positive affect			.02	.05	-.06	.05	-.02	.07
Negative affect			.03	.05	-.01	.06	.09	.07
Political skill	.54**	.13						
Political skill X Powerlessness	-.11**	.04						
Pseudo-R^2	.09		.11		0.17		0.04	

Notes: *N* (level 1) = 962; *N* (level 2) = 142. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Unstandardized coefficients are reported. Endogenous level 1 predictors were group mean centered. Level 2 predictors were grand mean centered.

Table 3

Study 2 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1) Powerlessness (dummy)	.33	.47										
2) Pre-manipulation mood	3.83	.78	.01									
3) Sense of power	3.86	1.46	-.61**	.15**	**(.90)**							
4) Social closeness	2.93	.99	-.42**	.25**	.59**	**(.87)**						
5) Helping	4.25	.78	-.22**	.11	.23**	.27**	**(.86)**					
6) Interaction avoidance	2.21	1.08	.23**	-.04	.01	-.05	-.48**	**(.93)**				
7) Self-esteem	4.10	.81	-.06	.34**	.07	.12*	.31**	-.42**	**(.89)**			
8) Depletion	2.04	1.08	.06	-.18**	.17**	.11	-.17**	.56**	-.59**	**(.95)**		
9) Positive affect	3.25	.96	-.12*	.46**	.30**	.48**	.16**	.02	.41**	-.17**	**(.86)**	
10) Negative affect	1.53	.92	-.01	-.04	.28**	.28**	-.15*	.55**	-.41**	.67**	.11	**(.95)**

Notes: $N = 300$; ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$. The powerlessness condition dummy was coded as 1 = powerlessness, 0 = moderate power, 0 = equal power. Alpha coefficients are presented along the diagonal.

Table 4

Study 2 Results

DV:	**Helping**								**Interaction avoidance**							
Comparison condition:	Moderate power				Equal power				Moderate power				Equal power			
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7		Model 8	
	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β
Intercept	4.40**		3.01**		4.35**		2.95**		2.02**		1.53**		2.04**		1.66**	
	(.08)		(.36)		(.08)		(.36)		(.11)		(.41)		(.11)		(.41)	
Powerlessness (dummy)	-.39**	-.24	-.22	-.13	-.34**	-.21	-.16	-.10	.53**	-.23	.40**	.18	.51**	.22	.27*	.12
	(.11)		(.11)		(.11)		(.11)		(.15)		(.13)		(.15)		(.12)	
Social closeness			.20**	.25			.20**	.25			-.21**	-.19			-.21**	-.19
			(.06)				(.06)				(.06)				(.06)	
Self-esteem			.27**	.28			.27**	.28			-.25**	-.19			-.25**	-.19
			(.07)				(.07)				(.08)				(.08)	
Depletion			.03	.04			.03	.04			.30**	.30			.30**	.30
			(.06)				(.06)				(.07)				(.07)	
Positive affect			-.05	-.06			-.05	-.06			.23**	.21			.23**	.21
			(.06)				(.06)				(.07)				(.07)	
Negative affect			-.11	-.12			-.11	-.12			.36**	.31			.36**	.31
			(.07)				(.07)				(.07)				(.07)	
Pre-manipulation mood			-.02	-.02			-.02	-.02			.06	.04			.06	.04
			(.06)				(.06)				(.07)				(.07)	
Moderate power (dummy)					.05	-.03	.06	-.04					-.02	-.01	-.14	.06
					(.11)		(.10)						(.15)		(.12)	
Equal power (dummy)	-.05	-.03	-.06	-.04					.02	.01	.14	.06				
	(.11)		(.10)						(.15)		(.12)					
Adjusted R^2	.04		.16		.04		.16		.05		.45		.05		.45	
F	7.89**		7.95**		7.89**		7.95**		8.04**		31.28**		8.04**		31.28**	

Notes: $N = 300$. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Unstandardized coefficients (B) are reported as the main analysis and standardized coefficients (β) are reported in parentheses below the unstandardized coefficient. The powerlessness condition dummy was coded as 1 = powerlessness, 0 = moderate power, 0 = equal power, the moderate power dummy was coded as 0 = powerlessness, 1 = moderate power, 0 = equal power, and the equal power dummy was coded as 0 = powerlessness, 0 = moderate power, 1 = equal power

Table 5

Study 3 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1) Powerlessness (dummy)	.33	.47					
2) Sense of power	3.77	1.45	-.66**	**(.91)**			
3) Motivation to affiliate	3.30	.69	-.20**	.24**	**(.71)**		
4) Expectations of others' interest	3.44	.93	-.44**	.52**	.30**	**(.87)**	
5) Social closeness	2.80	1.00	-.48**	.61**	.32**	.49**	**(.88)**

Notes: $N = 300$; ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$. The powerlessness condition dummy was coded as 1 = powerlessness, 0 = moderate power, 0 = equal power. Alpha coefficients are presented along the diagonal.

Table 6

Study 3 Results

DV: Social closeness	Powerlessness vs. Moderate power				Powerlessness vs. Equal power			
	Model 1: Main effect		Model 2: Including mediators		Model 3: Main effect		Model 4: Including mediators	
	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β	B (SE)	β
Intercept	3.26**		1.22**		3.03**		.97**	
	(.09)		(.29)		(.09)		(.29)	
Powerlessness (dummy)	-1.15**	-.54	-.80**	-.38	-.91**	-.43	-.55**	-.26
	(.12)		(.12)		(.12)		(.12)	
Motivation to affiliate			.24**	.17			.24**	.17
			(.07)				(.07)	
Expectations of others' interest			.33**	.31			.33**	.31
			(.06)				(.06)	
Moderate power (dummy)					.23	.11	.25*	.12
					(.12)		(.11)	
Equal power (dummy)	-.23	-.12	-.25*	-.12				
	(.12)		(.11)					
Adjusted R^2	.24		.36		.24		.36	
F	47.87**		42.95**		47.87**		42.95**	

Notes: $N = 300$. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. Unstandardized coefficients (B) are reported as the main analysis and standardized coefficients (β) are reported in parentheses below the unstandardized coefficient. The powerlessness condition dummy was coded as 1 = powerlessness, 0 = moderate power, 0 = equal power, the moderate power dummy was coded as 0 = powerlessness, 1 = moderate power, 0 = equal power, and the equal power dummy was coded as 0 = powerlessness, 0 = moderate power, 1 = equal power.

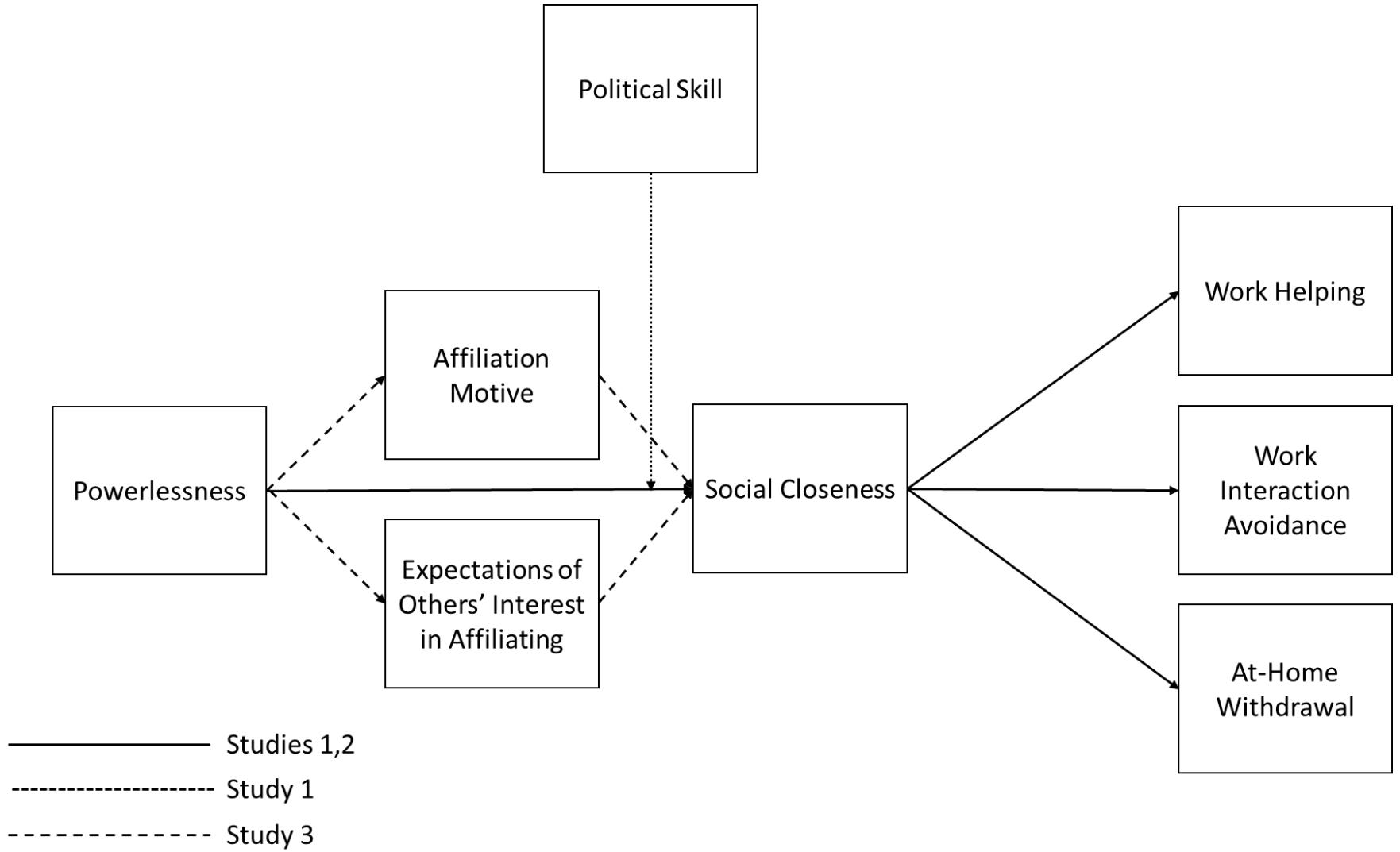


Figure 1. Conceptual Model.

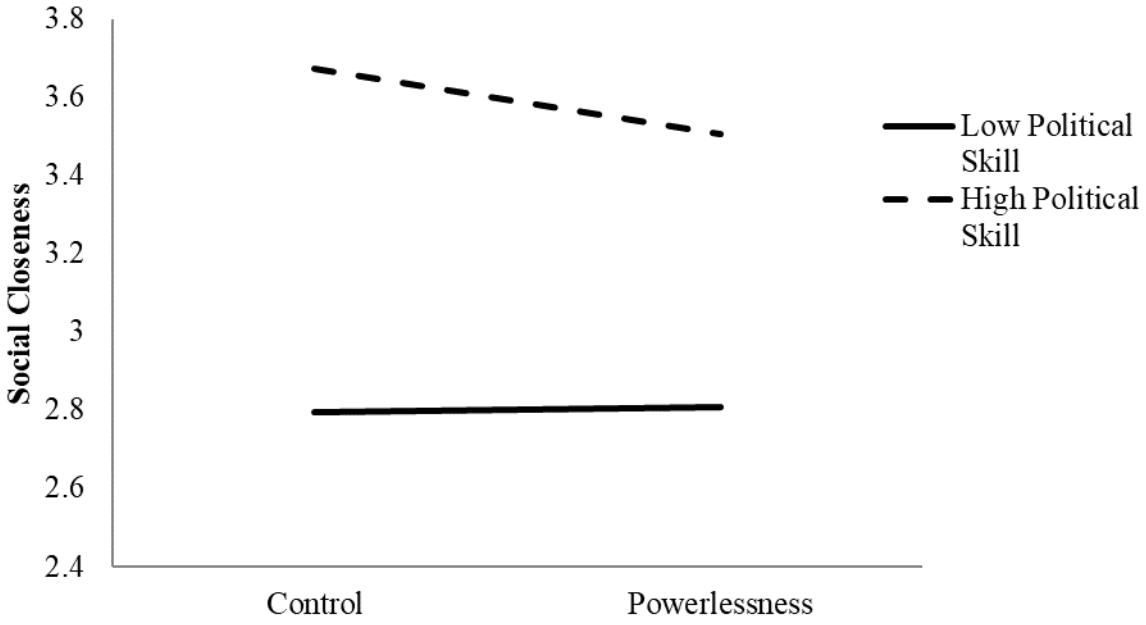
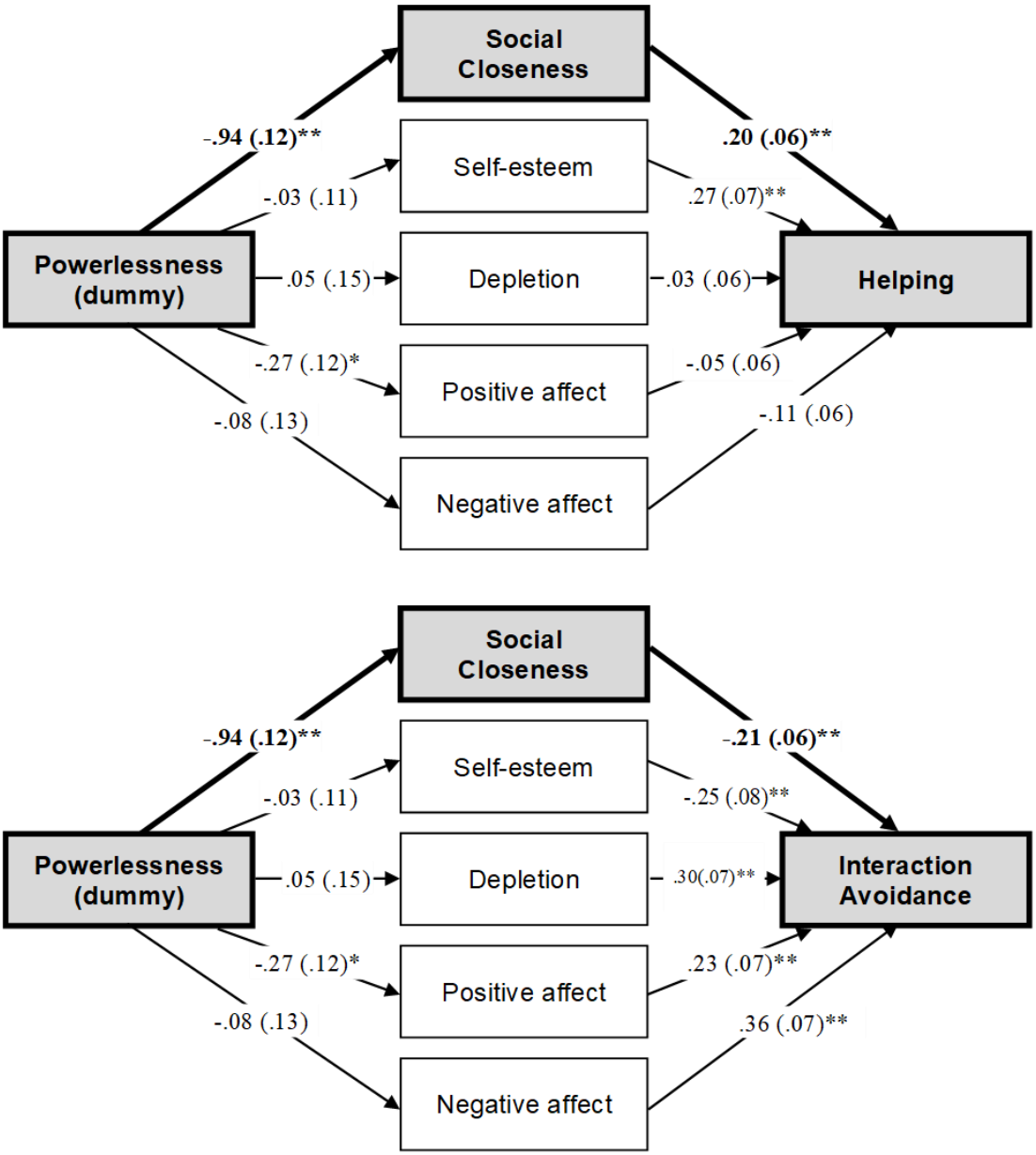


Figure 2. Study 1 Moderating Effect of Political Skill on the Relationship Between Experienced Powerlessness and Social Closeness.



Notes: $N = 300$. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. The models depicted compare the powerlessness condition to the moderate-power condition. Unstandardized coefficients are reported with SEs in parentheses. R-squared values for the models above are .18 (Helping) and .46 (Interaction avoidance). Identical results are found when the equal-power condition is used as the baseline.

Figure 3. Study 2 Mediation Models Predicting Helping (Top Panel) and Interaction Avoidance (Bottom Panel).

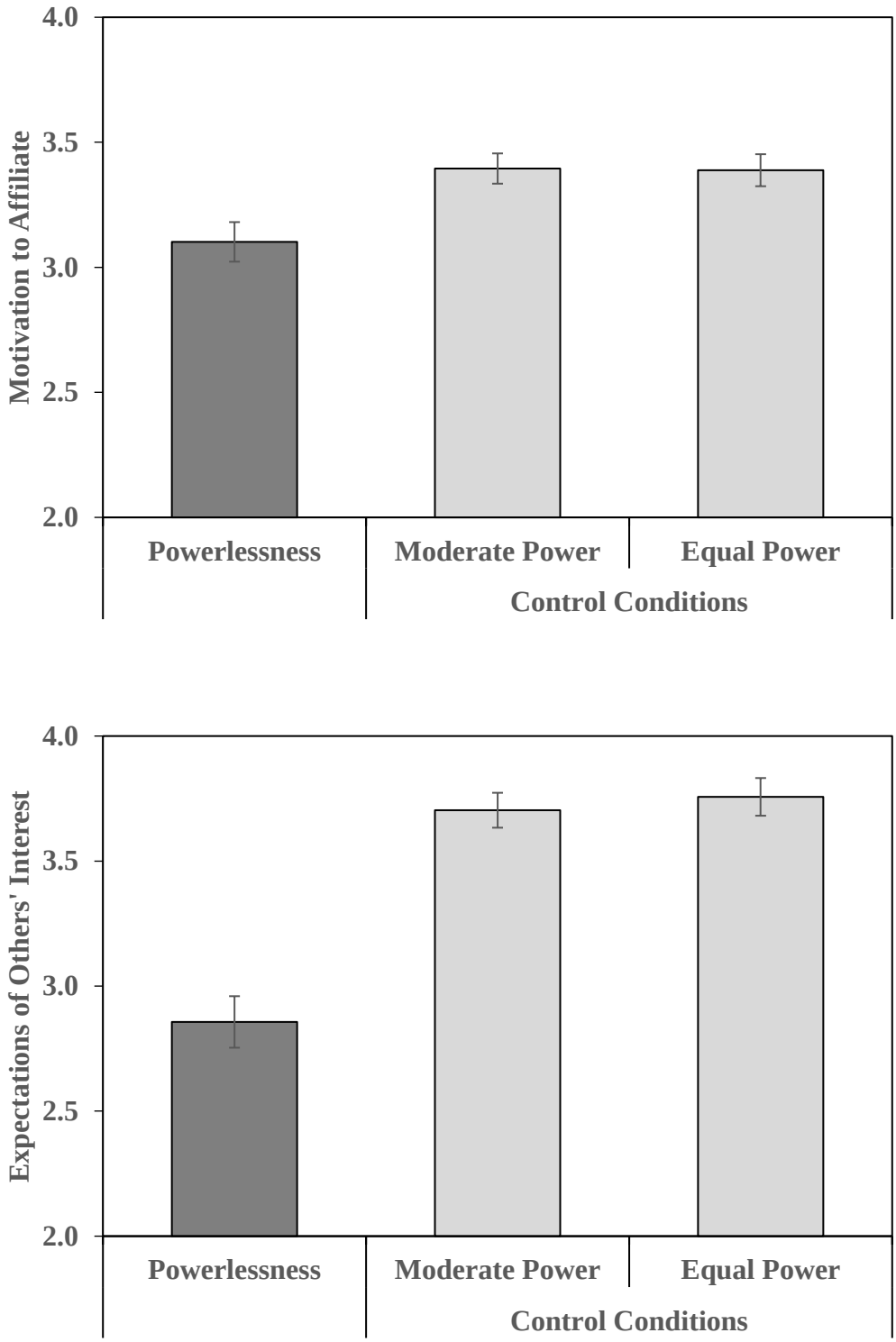


Figure 4. Study 3 Means and SEs of Motivation to Affiliate (Top Panel) and Expectations of Others' Interest (Bottom Panel) by Experimental Condition.

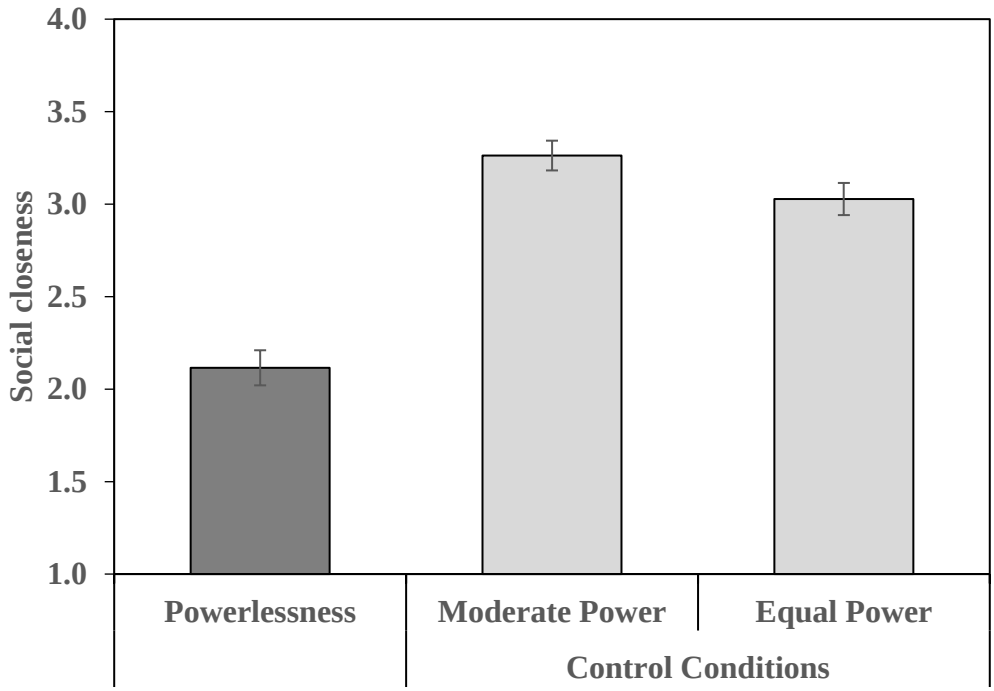
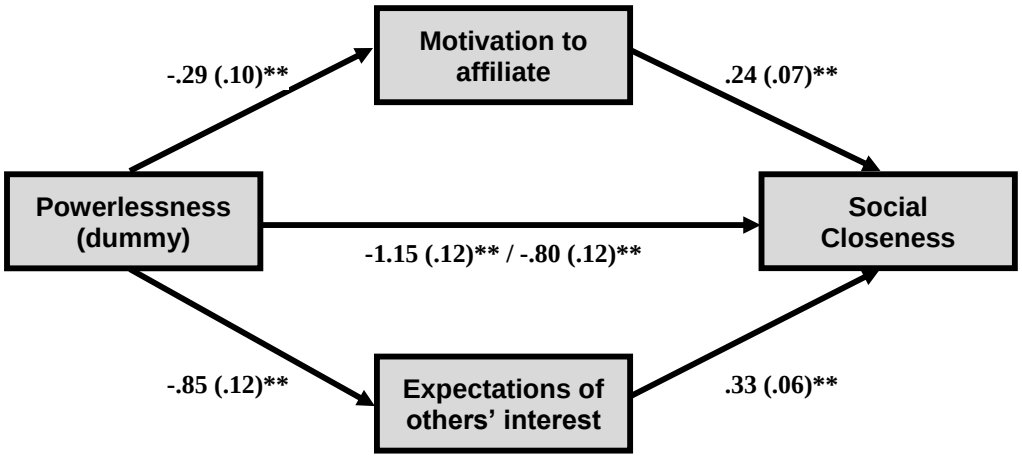


Figure 5. Study 3 Means and SEs of Social Closeness by Experimental Condition.



Notes: $N = 300$. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. The model depicted compares the powerlessness condition to the moderate-power condition. Unstandardized coefficients are reported with SEs in parentheses. The R-squared value for the model above is .37. For the path from powerlessness to social closeness, the coefficient to the left of the slash represents the effect of powerlessness on social closeness independent of the effects of motivation to affiliate and expectations of others' interest. The coefficient to the right of the slash represents the effect of powerlessness on social closeness when motivation to affiliate and expectations of others' interest were included in the regression model. Identical results are found when the equal-power condition is used as the baseline.

Figure 6. Study 3 Mediation Model.