Psicologia dei Gruppi e delle Relazioni Sociali

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Theoretical Lessons (Part 1):

1- An *introduction to the group dynamics (1)*
2- An *introduction to the group dynamics (2)*
3- *Studying Groups*
4- *Inclusion and Identity*
5- *Formation*
6- *Cohesion and Development*
7- *Structure*
8- *Influence*
9- *Power*
10- *Leadership*
11- *Performance*
12- *Decision Making*
13- *Teams*
14- *Conflict*
15- *Intergroup Relations*
16- *Groups in Context*
17- *Groups and Change*

Experimental activity (Part 2):

18- *From cognition to social simulation*
19- *Research in group dynamics*
20- *Community detection*
21- *Epidemic Modeling*
22- *The virtual settings*
23- *Reputation dynamics*
24- *Collective Intelligence*
25- *Group reasoning*
26- *Crowd dynamics*
27- *Social influence: new perspectives*
28- *Personality, Self and Identity (I)*
29- *Personality, Self and Identity (II)*
30- *Constructing the Self in a Digital World*
31- *Self Disclosure, Privacy and the Internet*
32- *Understanding the On-line behaviour*

Lesson: 9 - (1/4)
Title: Power

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Lesson 9 Outline

- ***Obedience to Authority***
  - ○ *The Milgram Experiments*
  - ○ *Milgram's Findings*

- ***Sources of Power***
  - ○ *Bases of Power*
  - ○ *Bases and Obedience*
  - ○ *Power Tactics*

- ***Power Processes***
  - ○ *Who Seeks Power?*
  - ○ *Hierarchies of Dominance*
  - ○ *The Power of Commitment*
  - ○ *Power and the Fundamental Attribution Error*

- ***The Metamorphic Effects of Power***
  - ○ *Changes in the Powerholder*
  - ○ *Reactions to the Use of Power*
  - ○ *Questioning Authority*

Power is essential to group life. Authorities coordinate activities of members and guide them toward their goals, but members exert influence in return by forming cooperative alliances. Power, however, can be used against the group, for authorities sometimes demand actions that members would otherwise never consider. We would not be social beings if we were immune to the impact of power, but power can corrupt.

Power
Obedience to authority

Bertrand Russell concluded many years ago that "the fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics" (1938, p. 10).

- Power, although notoriously difficult to define, suggests *influence*, the *potential to influence*, and control over outcomes (Fiske & Berdahl, 2007; Lukes, 2005).
- *Powerful people can influence other people* in significant ways (Dahl, 1957, p. 202).

But can social power—a commonplace process that shapes nearly all group interactions—generate such a dramatic and disastrous outcome as the Nazism? Can group members be so bent to the will of an authority that they would follow any order, no matter how noxious?

- Stanley Milgram's (1974) laboratory studies of obedience to authority suggest that the answer to these questions is yes.

> ## Social Power
> **The capacity to influence others, even when these others try to resist influence.**

Power

Obedience to authority: The Milgram experimets

Milgram analyzed power by creating small groups in his laboratory at Yale University. In most cases, he studied three-man groups: One member was a volunteer who had answered an advertisement; one member was the experimenter who was in charge of the session; and one member appeared to be another participant recruited from the community but was in actuality a confederate, who was part of the research team.
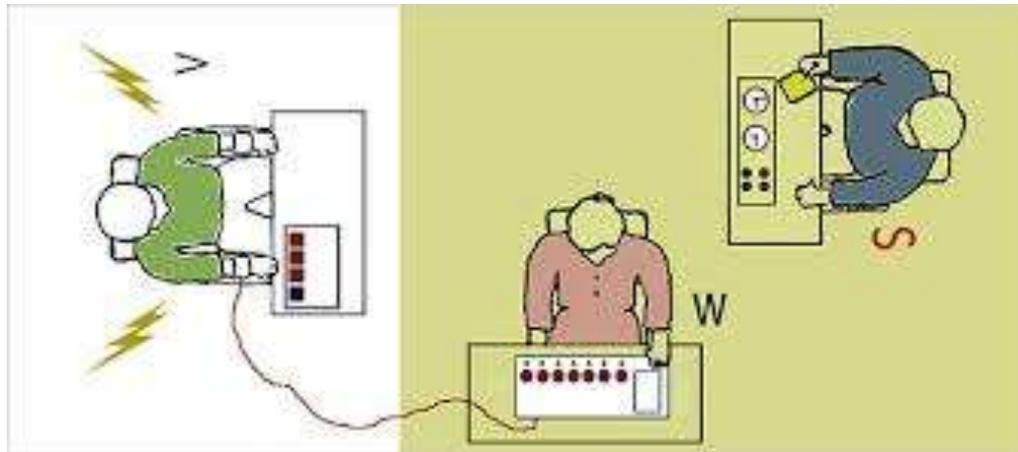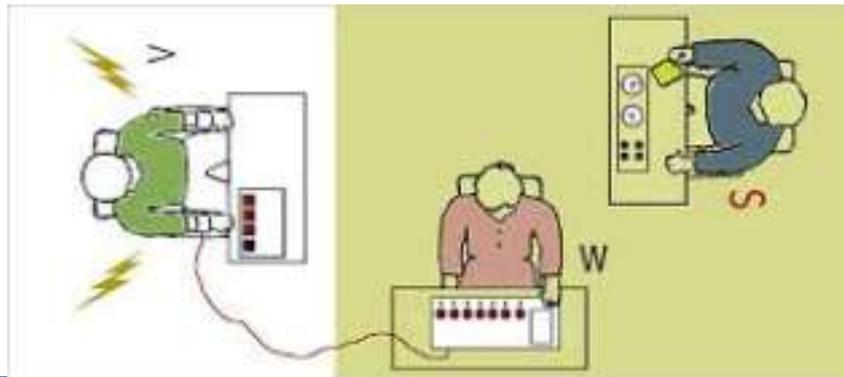
Power

Obedience to authority: The Milgram experimets

Milgram was certain that very few of his participants would carry out the experimenter's orders. He went so far as to purchase special equipment that would let him record precisely the duration of each shock administered, expecting that few participants would give more than four or five shocks (Elms, 1995).

Milgram and the other experts, however, underestimated the power of the group situation. Of the 40 individuals who served as teachers in the initial experiment, 26 (65%) administered the full 450 v to the presumably helpless learner.

None broke off before the 300-v level, and several of the eventually disobedient participants gave one or two additional shocks before finally refusing to yield to the experimenter's prods.

Power

Sources of Power

Bases of Power: John R. P. French and Bertram Raven (1959), in a brilliant analysis of the roots of power in groups and organizations, identified the six key power bases.

Power Bases
Sources of social power in a group include one's degree of control over rewards and punishment, authority in the group, attractiveness, expertise, and access to and control over information needed by group members.

Reward Power
Power is based on one's control over the distribution of rewards (both personal and impersonal) given or offered to group members.

Power
Sources of Power

TABLE 8.1   French and Raven's Six Bases of Power

Power Base	Sample Indicators
Reward: The capability of controlling the distribution of rewards given or offered to the target.	determines pay level gives desirable job assignments can promote compliments and praises
Coercive: The capacity to threaten and punish those who do not comply with requests or demands.	can terminate employment (fire) controls who is given undesirable assignments can suspend without pay verbal reprimands and warnings
Legitimate: Authority that derives from the legitimate right to require and demand obedience.	duly appointed supervisor, manager, etc. representative of the group or organization role is sanctioned by the group or organization has the right to make demands of others
Referent: Influence based on the identification with, attraction to, and respect of others.	is a person meriting respect is someone who is admired by others someone with whom others identify is a nice person
Expert: Influence based on others' belief that the powerholder possesses superior skills and abilities.	can devise clever solutions to problems can provide sound task-related advice source of needed technical knowledge shares considerable experience/training
Informational: Influence based on the potential use of informational resources, including rational argument, persuasion, or factual data.	explains the basis for request gives good reasons for exactions uses reason to handle problems promotes understanding of procedures and changes

SOURCE: Adapted from French & Raven, 1959; Raven, Schwarzwald, & Koslowsky, 1998; Schriesheim, Hinkin, & Podsakoff, 1991.

Power

Sources of Power

Bases of Power: John R. P. French and Bertram Raven (1959the six key power bases.

(I) **Reward Power**: the capability of controlling the distribution of rewards given or offeredto the target.

(II) **Coercive Power:** the capacity to threaten and punish those who do not comply with requests or demands.

(III) **Legitimate Power**: Authority that derivesfrom the legitimate rightto require and demand obedience.

(IV) **Referent Power:** influence based on the identification with, attraction to, and respect of others. (

(V) **Expert Power**: Influence based on others' beflief that the powerholder possesses superior skills and abilities.

(VI) **Informational Power**: Influence based on the potential use of informational resources, including rational argument, persuasion, or factual data.

Power

Bases and Obedience

Power Tactics: People do not use only promises, rewards, threats, punishment, expertise, and information to influence people—they have far more power tactics at their disposal when they need to poke, prod, or prompt others into action. Examples of some of these tactics, which differ in terms of their softness, rationality, and laterality (Falbo & Peplau, 1980; Raven et al., 1998).

Soft and hard.
- Soft tactics ***exploit the relationship between the influencer and the target to extract compliance***. When individuals use such methods as collaboration, socializing, friendships, personal rewards, and ingratiation ***they influence more indirectly and interpersonally***.
- Hard tactics, in contrast, are often described as ***harsh, forcing, or direct because they rely on economic, tangible outcomes, such as impersonal rewards or threats to well-being***.
- ***Hard tactics are not, however, necessarily more powerful than soft ones***; threatening people with exclusion from a group or public embarrassment may lead to substantially greater change than the threat of some deprivation or corporal punishment (Fiske & Berdahl, 2007).

Power
Bases and Obedience

Power Tactics: People do not use only promises, rewards, threats, punishment, expertise, and information to influence people—they have far more power tactics at their disposal when they need to poke, prod, or prompt others into action. Examples of some of these tactics, which differ in terms of their softness, rationality, and laterality (Falbo & Peplau, 1980; Raven et al., 1998).

Rational and nonrational.

- ***Tactics that emphasize reasoning, logic, and good judgment are rational tactics***; bargaining and persuasion are examples.
- ***Tactics such as ingratiation and evasion are nonrational tactics of influence***, because they rely on emotionality and misinformation.

Unilateral and bilateral.

- ***Some tactics are interactive***, involving give-and-take on the part of both the influencer and the target of the influence. Such bilateral tactics include ***persuasion, discussion, and negotiation***.
- Unilateral tactics, in contrast, can be enacted without the cooperation of the target of influence. Such tactics include ***demands, faits accomplis, evasion, and disengagement***.

Power

Bases and Obedience

Power Tactics:

- More ***interpersonally oriented people***—those more concerned with being liked and accepted—showed a ***preference for soft, indirect, and rational power tactics*** (Falbo, 1997).
- Those who espoused a ***Machiavellian***, manipulative philosophy when dealing with others tended to ***use indirect/nonrational tactics***, as did those who scored ***lower in terms of agreeableness and emotional stability*** (Butkovic & Bratko, 2007).
- ***Extraverts use a greater variety of tactics than introverts*** (Caldwell & Burger, 1997).
- ***Men and women also differ*** somewhat in their choice of power tactics (Keshet et al., 2006).
- Men and women who supervised an ineffective employee used both rewards and criticism, but ***women intervened less frequently with a more limited range of tactics***. They ***promised fewer pay raises and threatened more pay deductions than men***, and they were ***more likely to criticize subordinates*** (Instone, Major, & Bunker, 1983).

Power
Bases and Obedience

Power Tactics:

- The ***sexes also differ in their use of power in more intimate relationships***, for ***men tend to use bilateral and direct tactics***, whereas ***women report using unilateral and indirect methods*** (Falbo & Peplau, 1980).
- People also choose different power tactics depending on the nature of the group situation (Yukl & Michel, 2006).
- A person who has ***high status*** in a group that is already rife with conflict ***will use different tactics than an individual who is low in status*** and wants to minimize conflict. (Krause & Kearney, 2006).
- Who one is attempting to influence can also dictate choice of power tactic (Kipnis et al., 1984).
- ***People also shift from soft to hard tactics when they encounter resistance*** (Carson, Carson, & Roe, 1993; Teppner, 2006).

Power
Bases and Obedience

TABLE 8.2   **A Sampling of the Many Power Tactics People Use to Influence Other People in Everyday Situations**

Tactic	Examples
Apprise	I point out what she will gain.
	I note the personal benefits he'll receive.
Bully	I yell at him.
	I push him around.
Collaboration	I offer to help.
	I provide assistance as needed.
Complain	I gripe about all the work I have to do.
	I grumble about having to study.
Consulting	I ask him to help me with the project.
	I get her involved in the work.
Criticism	I point out her limitations.
	I find fault with their work.
Demand	I demand that the problem be solved.
	I order her to continue.
Discuss	I give him supporting reasons.
	We talk about it.
Disengage	I give him the cold shoulder.
	I stop talking to her.
Evade	I change the subject when it comes up.
	I skip the meeting.
Expertise	I let her know I'm an expert.
	I rely on my experience.
Fait accompli	I just do it.
	I don't get anyone's permission.
Humor	I try to make a joke out of it.
	I tell a funny story.
Ingratiate	I flatter her.
	I compliment him on the way he looks.
Inspire	I appeal to her sense of fair play.
	I cheer him on.
Instruct	I teach him how to do it.
	I set an example.

Power
Bases and Obedience

T A B L E   8.2 **(Continued)**

Tactic	Examples
Join forces	I get the boss to agree with me.
	I turn the group against her.
Manipulate	I lie.
	I leave out important details.
Negotiate	I offer her a bargain.
	I wheel and deal.
Persist	I don't take no for an answer.
	I reiterate my point.
Persuade	I coax her into it.
	I convert him to my side.
Promise	I promise to never do it again.
	I offer to do some of his work for him.
Punish	I fire her.
	I slap him.
Put Down	I insult him.
	I say something like, "You are an idiot."
Request	I ask him to do me a favor.
	I tell her what I expect.
Reward	I increase his pay.
	I give her a present.
Socialize	I make small talk for a while.
	I ask about the family.
Supplicate	I plead.
	I beg humbly for permission.
Threaten	I threaten legal action.
	I tell him that he might get fired.

SOURCE: Drawn from various studies of influence, including Caldwell & Burger, 1997; Dillard & Fitzpatrick, 1985; Emans, Munduate, Klaver, & Van de Vliert, 2003; Falbo, 1977; Falbo & Peplau, 1980; Fu, Peng, Kennedy, & Yukl, 1997; Howard, Blumstein, & Schwartz, 1986; Instone, Major, & Bunker, 1983; Kipnis, 1984; Littlepage, Nixon, & Gibson, 1992; Stets, 1997; Wiseman & Schenck-Hamlin, 1981; Yukl & Michel, 2006.

Lesson: 9 - (2/4)
Title: Power

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Power Processes

Who seeks power?

The micro-society of the group is not, in most cases, egalitarian. The members of a newly formed group begin as equals, but before long, some members gain greater influence over others. Influence often settles on the shoulders of those who most seek it, for some wish to not only control their own outcomes, but others' outcomes as well.

Power, however, is a group-level process, and so the rise to a position of authority also depends on the group itself: its status hierarchies, systems of roles and duties, and reciprocal networks of influence among members (Stolte, Fine, & Cook, 2001).

Power Processes

Who seeks power?

Not everyone seeks power over others. Some members are content to be rank-and-file members, equal in responsibilities and influence to most of the others in the group, and so do not desire to rise upward in the group's hierarchy.

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)
A dispositional tendency to accept and even prefer circumstances that sustain social inequalities, combined with a general preference for hierarchical social structures.

- Other individuals seek only personal power: They wish to control their own individual outcomes and experiences, but they are not concerned about controlling other's outcomes (Van Dijke & Poppe, 2006).
- **People who are high in their need or hope for power**, for example**, tend to pursue status and prestige more vigorously than others**.
- **They describe themselves as hoping to have power in the future**: "I want to have power in every aspect of my life" (Harms, Roberts, & Wood, 2007).

Power Processes
Who seeks power?

Not everyone seeks power over others. Some members are content to be rank-and-file members, equal in responsibilities and influence to most of the others in the group, and so do not desire to rise upward in the group's hierarchy.

> **Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)**
> *A dispositional tendency to accept and even prefer circumstances that sustain social inequalities, combined with a general preference for hierarchical social structures.*

- *Need for power*, measured when people are first hired for a large company, *predicts their rise to positions of authority in the corporation's management hierarchy some 8 to 16 years later* (McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982).
- *They report feeling more powerful when they interact with others* (Fodor & Riordan, 1995),
- but if they are not able to act on this need*, they tend to have high blood pressure and other health problems* (McClelland, 1975).
- *When individuals who were high in need for power watched a videotape* of someone acting very assertively rather than submissively they reported *experiencing negative emotions and exhibited physiological signs of tension*, such as muscle activity in the corrugator supercilli of the brow (Fodor, Wick, & Hartsen, 2006).

Power Processes
Hierarchies of Dominance

Humans, like many social species, live in groups with organized systems of power relations. Field studies of many primates, such as chimpanzees, baboons, and bonobos, reveal complex patterns of power relations that determine various privileges and responsibilities.

As an evolutionary account of human gregariousness would suggest, group members accept influence from others because such behavioral responses are adaptive. So long as the authority is motivated to advance the interests of the group, then those lower in the status hierarchy—the low men or women on the totem pole—tend to do as they are told by those with higher status (Kessler & Cohrs, 2008).
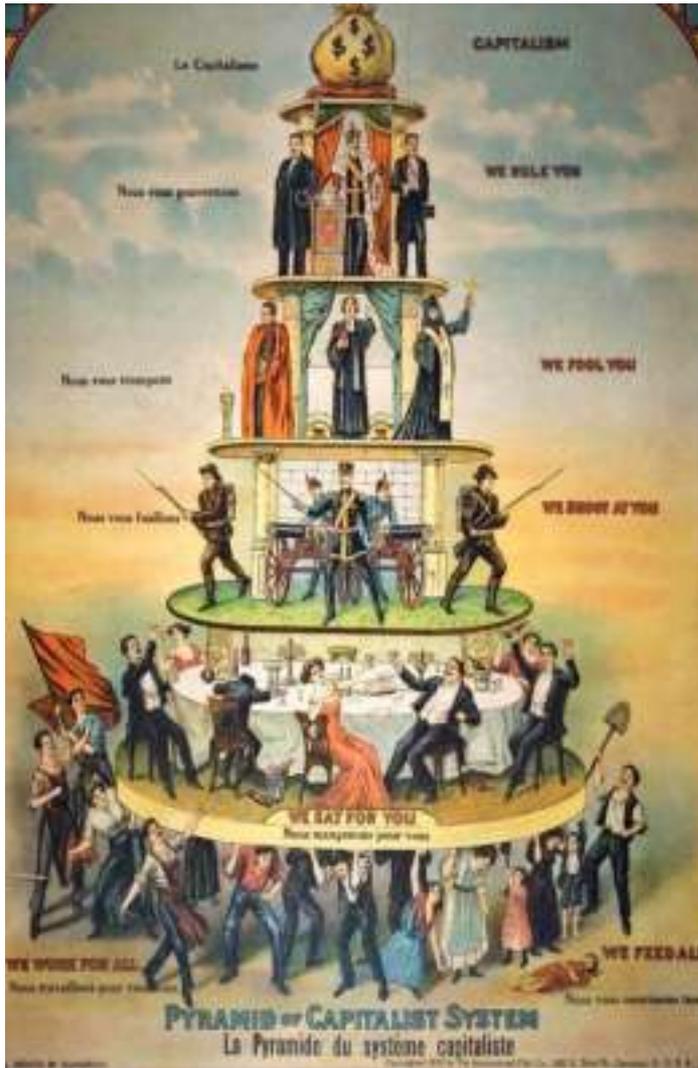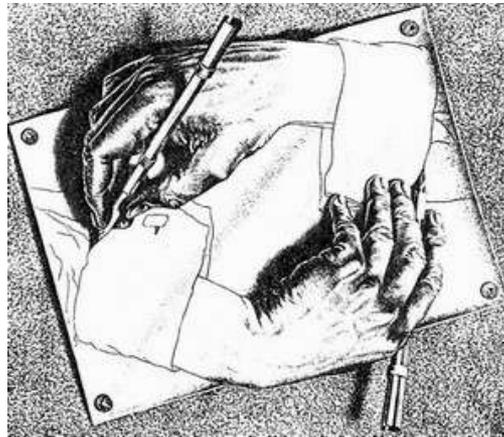
Power Processes
Hierarchies of Dominance

Interpersonal Complementarity Hypothesis

The predicted tendency for certain behaviors to evoke behaviors from others that are congruous with the initial behavior, with positive behaviors evoking positive behaviors, negative behaviors evoking negative behaviors, dominant behaviors evoking submissive behaviors, and submissive behaviors evoking dominant behaviors.

Power Processes
Hierarchies of Dominance

The interpersonal complementarity hypothesis suggests that obedience and authority are reciprocal, complementary processes. This hypothesis assumes that each group member's action tends to evoke, or "pull," a predictable set of actions from the other group members (Carson, 1969).

The interpersonal complementary hypothesis thus predicts that
- (1*) positive behaviors evoke positive behaviors and negative behaviors evoke negative behaviors*, and
- (2) *dominant behaviors evoke submissive behaviors and submissive behaviors evoke dominant behaviors* (Sadler & Woody, 2003).
- *Group members who display signs of submissiveness* when talking to someone who seems powerful *are better liked*, as are those who take charge when interacting with docile, submissive individuals (Tiedens & Fragale, 2003).

Power Processes
Hierarchies of Dominance

Lucifer effect

The transformation of benign individuals into morally corrupt ones by powerful, but malevolent, social situations; named for the biblical character Lucifer, an angel who fell from grace and was transformed into Satan. (Just to follow the role's prescriptions!!)

Agentic State

A psychological state described by Stanley Milgram that occurs when subordinates in an organized status hierarchy experience such a marked reduction in autonomy that they are unable to resist authorities' orders.

Power Processes
The Power of Committment

Foot-in-the-door Technique
A method of influence in which the influencer first makes a very small request that the target will probably agree to; once the target agrees to the minor request, he or she is more likely to agree to the influencer's more important request.

- Studies of the influence tactics used by panhandlers, salespeople, fundraisers, and authorities confirm the **power of gradually escalating demands** (Cialdini, 2009).
- **Investigators demonstrated the strength of this technique** by asking home owners to post a large, unattractive sign in their yards. Nearly all refused—unless this major request had been preceded by a smaller request (Freedman & Fraser, 1966).
- Similar studies have also found that **the two requests called for by the foot-in-the-door technique are superior to a single request** for many types of behaviors, although such factors as the sex of the influencer and the amount of time that elapses between the two requests moderate the power of the foot-in-the-door method (Beaman et al., 1983; Dillard, 1991).

Power Processes
The Power and the Fundamental Attribution Error

> ### *Fundamental Attribution Error (FAE)*
> ### *The tendency to overestimate the causal influence of dispositional factors and underemphasize the causal influence of situational factors.*

- A church member obediently swallowing poison.
- A soldier executing innocent civilians.
- A worker installing substandard building materials.
- A participant in an experiment giving an innocent victim painful shocks.

On first hearing about such events, people often fall prey to the fundamental attribution error (FAE): *They blame the personalities of the individuals rather than the powerful group processes at work that forced them to obey*.

Power Processes
The Power and the Fundamental Attribution Error

Fundamental Attribution Error (FAE)
The tendency to overestimate the causal influence of dispositional factors and underemphasize the causal influence of situational factors.

Yet obedience is not a reflection of the nature of the individuals in the group, but an indication of the power of the group itself. By controlling key bases of power, using power tactics, exploiting the nature of the subordinate–authority relationship, and prefacing large demands with minor ones, authorities exert great influence on group members.

"Many evil actions are not the volitional products of individual evil-doers. Instead, they are in some sense societal products, in which a complex series of social forces interact to cause individuals to commit multiple acts of stunning evil" (Darley, 1992, p. 204).

Lesson: 9 - (3/4)
Title: Power

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Power Processes
The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Changes in the Powerholder

Approach/Inhibition Theory
An integrative conceptual analysis of the transformative effects of power that finds power to be psychologically and behaviorally activating but the lack of power inhibiting.

developed by
Dacher Keltner and his colleagues (2003, 2008), agrees with the wisdom of the ancients, for its assumes that power—having power, using power, even thinking about power—transforms individuals' psychological states.

The theory notes that most organisms display one of two basic types of reactions to environmental events.

One reaction, **approach**, is associated with action, self-promotion, seeking rewards and opportunities, increased energy, and movement.

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Power Processes
The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Changes in the Powerholder

> **Approach/Inhibition Theory**
> *An integrative conceptual analysis of the transformative effects of power that finds power to be psychologically and behaviorally activating but the lack of power inhibiting.*

The second reaction, ***inhibition***, is associated with reaction, self-protection, avoiding threats and danger, vigilance, loss of motivation, and an overall reduction in activity. Significantly, the approach/inhibition model suggests that power increases approach tendencies, whereas reductions in power trigger inhibition.

Power activates people—it causes them to experience increases in drive, energy, motivation, and emotion—and so often leads to positive consequences.

But power, and the activation it brings, also has a dark side, for it can create a Jim Jones or an Adolph Hitler as often as a Mahatma Gandhi.

Power Processes

The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Changes in the Powerholder

> *The Positive Effects of Power*

- *Powerful individuals are usually the busiest people* in the group and organization, for *they are engaged with the group* and *responsive to changes* within the group and its environment (Keltner et al., 2008).
- They *are proactive*; they would rather *speak first during a debate*, make *the first move in a competition*, or make the *first offer during a negotiation* (Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld, 2007).
- In a work setting, they *plan more task-related activities* (Guinote, 2008).
- *High-power individuals usually feel good* about things—their *moods are elevated*, they report *higher levels of such positive emotions as happiness and satisfaction*, and they even *smile more than low-power group members* (Berdahl & Martorana, 2006; Watson & Clark, 1997).

Power Processes
The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Changes in the Powerholder

The Positive Effects of Power

- ***Their partners***, unfortunately, ***reported more anger, fear, tension, and sadness*** (Langner & Keltner, 2008).
- Power is also ***associated with optimism about the future***, apparently because more ***powerful individuals tend to focus their attention on more positive aspects*** of the environment (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006).
- Those ***without power***, in contrast, ***are more likely to be watching out for threats and punishments*** and, therefore, ***are more likely to interpret ambiguous situations as threatening ones*** (Keltner et al., 2003).
- ***Those with power also tend to think more globally***—they focus on the forest rather than the trees (Guinote, 2007; Smith & Trope, 2006).
- Those with power seem ***to carry out executive cognitive functions more rapidly and successfully***, including general internal control mechanisms that coordinate attention, decision-making, planning, and goal-selection (Smith et al., 2008).

Power Processes
The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Changes in the Powerholder

> *Does Power Corrupt?*

- *Powerful people are proactive*, but in some cases their actions are risky, inappropriate, or unethical ones (Emler & Cook, 2001).

- Just as their moods tend to be positive, *they tend to generate negative emotional reactions in their subordinates*, particularly when there is disagreement and conflict in the group (Fodor & Riordan, 1995).

- *When individuals gain power, their self-evaluations grow more favorable, whereas their evaluations of others grow more negative* (Georgesen & Harris, 1998).

- *If they feel that they have a mandate from their group* or organization to get things done, *they may do things they are not empowered to do* (Clark & Sechrest, 1976).

Power Processes

The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Changes in the Powerholder

> *Does Power Corrupt?*

- *When individuals feel powerful*, they sometimes *treat others unfairly*, particularly if they are *more self-centered rather than focused on the overall good* of the group (Chen, Lee-Chai, & Bargh, 2001).
- Some individuals (primarily men) *associate power with sexuality*, and so when they are empowered, they engage in inappropriate sexual behaviors, including sexual harassment (MacKinnon, 2003).
- Powerholders can be discerning judges of those who work for them, but often only when their personal success depends on recognizing the strengths and weaknesses of subordinates (Overbeck and Park, 2001).
- *Power tends to weaken one's social attentiveness*, with the result that powerful people have a more difficult time understanding other people's point of view (Galinsky et al., 2006).
- *Powerful individuals also spend less time gathering and processing information* about their subordinates and, as a result, *may perceive them in a stereotypical fashion* (Fiske, 1993a)

Power Processes
The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Changes in the Powerholder

The Iron Law of Oligarchy
Robert Michels's principle of political and social control which predicts that in any group where power is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals (an oligarchy), these individuals will tend to act in ways that protect and enhance their power.

Lesson: 9 - (4/4)
Title: Power

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Power Processes

The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Reactions to the Use of Power

Power, by its very nature, suggests tension, conflict, and turmoil. In many cases, power does not just include power with people and over people, but also power against people. Powerholders can influence, sometimes dramatically, the outcomes of those who have little power, prompting them to do things they would rather not. How do people respond—behaviorally, cognitively, and emotionally— when the directives of authorities conflict with the goals they have set for themselves?

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Power Processes

The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Reactions to the Use of Power

- *Approach/inhibition theory suggests that individuals who find themselves without power*, relative to others, *avoid rather than approach*.
- *They not only lack resources*, but they *are dependent on others* for the resources that they need.
- They therefore *tend to display more negative affect*, they are *sensitive to threats* and punishments, and they tend *to follow closely the dictates of the norms of the group* (Keltner et al., 2003).
- Studies conducted in a range of settings, including schools, military organizations, prisons, and families, suggest that *harsh influence tactics*—such as punishment (both personal and impersonal), legitimate authority (such as rule-based sanctions), and nonpersonal *rewards— are less effective than soft influence methods*—expert power, referent power, and personal rewards (Fiske & Berdahl, 2007; Pierro, Cicero, & Raven, 2008).
- *Harsh tactics generate a range of negative emotions, including hostility, depression, fear, and anger*, whereas those influenced by softer methods tend to reciprocate with cooperation (Krause, D. E., 2006).

Power Processes

The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Reactions to the Use of Power

- Moreover, even when mildly coercive methods, such as threats, are used, *people often overreact and respond with even stronger counterthreats, setting in motion an upward spiral of conflict* (Youngs, 1986).

- *A powerholder who uses coercive influence tactics*, such as threats and punishments, is *often tolerated by group members when the group is successful* (Michener & Lawler, 1975),

- When the group is successful *the leader is trusted* (Friedland, 1976),

- *and the use of such tactics is justified by the group's norms* (Michener & Burt, 1975).

- *Coercive methods are also more effective when they are applied frequently and consistently* to punish prohibited actions (Molm, 1994).

Power Processes

The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Reactions to the Use of Power

In some cases, however, group members resist the authority's influence.

They may escape the powerholder's region of control or apply influence in return. Members contend against those in power individually—particularly when they feel that others in the group have more power than they do.

- *When members feel a sense of shared identity with the other low-power members of the group, they are more likely to join with them in a revolutionary coalition* that opposes the powerholder (Dijke & Poppe, 2004; Lawler, 1975).

- In one study of group rebellion, group members worked under the direction of a leader who was appointed to that post because he or she had outscored them on a bogus test of ability. The leader then proceeded to keep more than half of the money earned by the group, giving each participant less than one fourth. If the leader had personally decided how to apportion payment, 58% of the participants rebelled by forming a coalition with the other low-status participants. If the leader was not responsible for the payment scheme, only 25% revolted (Lawler & Thompson, 1978, 1979).

Power Processes
The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Reactions to the Use of Power

In some cases, however, group members resist the authority's influence. They may escape the powerholder's region of control or apply influence in return. Members contend against those in power individually—particularly when they feel that others in the group have more power than they do.

- *Group members are also more likely to resist an authority who lacks referent power*, *uses coercive influence methods*, and *asks the group members to carry out unpleasant assignments* (Yukl, Kim, & Falbe, 1996).

- *Such conditions can generate reactance in group members*. When reactance occurs, individuals strive to reassert their sense of freedom by affirming their autonomy (Brehm, 1976).

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Power Processes

The Metamorphic Effects of Power: Reactions to the Use of Power

Compliance and Conversion Both Milgram's participants and the People's Temple members did as they were told, but the two groups differed in one crucial respect: Most of Milgram's participants struggled to withstand the authority's pressure, for they believed that the learner should not be held against his will. Many of Jones's followers, in contrast, zealously followed his orders. They did not strain against his authority; they had converted to his way of thinking (Darley, 1995; Lutsky, 1995; Staub, 1989, 2004).

- In some cases, the powerholder only produces compliance—the group members do what they are told to do, but only because the powerholder demands it. Privately, they do not agree with the powerholder, but publicly they yield to the pressure. Like Milgram's participants, they obey only when the powerholder maintains surveillance. Identification occurs when the target of the influence admires and therefore imitates the powerholder.
- When group members identify with the powerholder, their self-image changes as they take on the behaviors and characteristics of the person with power. Many members of the People's Temple admired Jones and wanted to achieve his level of spirituality. They obeyed his orders because they identified with him.
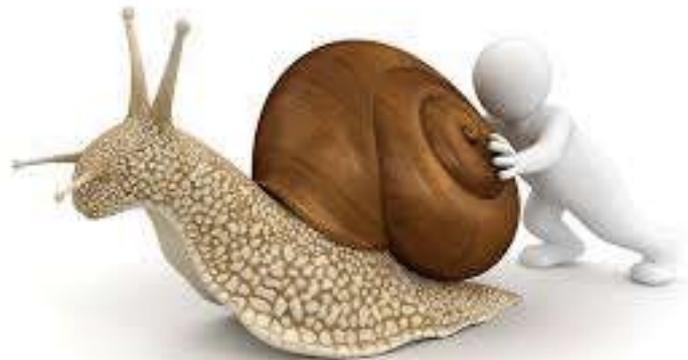
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Reactance
A complex emotional and cognitive reaction that occurs when individuals feel that their freedom to make choices has been threatened or eliminated.

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Herbert Kelman (1958, 1961, 2006) identified three basic reactions that people display in response to coercive influence

T A B L E 8.3   Kelman's Compliance-Identification-Internalization Theory of Conversion

Stage	Description
Compliance	Group members comply with the powerholder's demands, but they do not personally agree with them. If the powerholder does not monitor the members, they will likely not obey.
Identification	Group members' compliance with the actual or anticipated demands of the powerholder are motivated by a desire to imitate and please the authority. The members mimic the powerholder's actions, values, characteristics, and so on.
Internalization	Group members follow the orders and advice of the powerholder because those demands are congruent with their own personal beliefs, goals, and values. They will perform the required actions even if not monitored by the powerholder.

SOURCE: Kelman, 1958.