THE IMPACT OF POWER AND COMMUNAL RELATIONSHIP ORIENTATION ON THE PERCEPTION OF OUTGROUPS

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Abstract

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Research on prejudice and discrimination suggests that many variables can impact behavior toward minorities. One such variable is the amount of power that a perceiver holds. For example, recent research has found that relative to those without power, individuals who have power tend to individuate others less (Fiske, 1993; Goodwin et al., 2000). Nevertheless, not all individuals in a position of power react in a manner that deindividuates marginalized individuals. For instance, Chen and her colleagues (Chen, Lee-Chai, & Bargh, 2001) found that when primed to feel powerful, communally oriented individuals responded in socially responsible ways, whereas exchange-oriented individuals acted in terms of their self-interests. Although this research shows that relationship orientation moderates the relationship between power and behavior toward less fortunate others, the mechanisms underlying this relationship are less well understood. This research sought to extend previous findings, uncovering the role an individual's relationship orientation, in conjunction with one of three levels of power, has on the tendency to categorize or individuate a marginalized individual. Preliminary findings suggest that individuals primed to feel powerless have a greater tendency to align themselves with the outgroup observed through their indication of a greater liking for African American speakers. Further, the greater an individual's communal

relationship orientation, the less prejudiced they were toward African Americans. Future directions in the analyses and the importance of examining such variables are discussed.

Introduction

History has provided examples of individuals in a position of power utilizing their influence for both positive and negative purposes. For example, while Mohandas Gandhi used his influence to promote peace and equality through nonviolent protests, Adolf Hitler's persuasive dictatorship led to the extermination of millions of people. The ability to act in such extremely different ways in a position of power sparks the need to examine the individual differences that compose these diametric behaviors. One such variable that appears to influence how power is utilized is an individual's relationship orientation (Chen, Lee-Chai, & Bargh, 2001). Specifically, individuals primed to feel powerful who are communally oriented tend to behave in more socially responsible ways. Conversely, power-primed individuals who are exchange oriented tend to behave more in line with their own self interests (Chen et al., 2001; Lee-Chai & Bargh, 2000).

The current study seeks to determine the effects of relationship orientation and social power on the social categorization process. In other words, this study examines the possibility that different combinations of an individual's degree of social power and level of communality may alter the extent to which an individual subsequently individuates and categorizes a minority.

Social Categorization

Individuals appear to utilize two opposing strategies when organizing information about others. In individuation, the perceiver utilizes personal attributes and behaviors to form their impressions. Conversely, when categorization is used the perceiver utilizes social categories such as race, gender, and sexual orientation to form impressions (Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Utilizing information based on social category

memberships can prove beneficial as it is typically more efficient and less straining on cognitive resources (Fiske, 1993 a; b). Categorization can also lead to negative outcomes such as discrimination and stereotyping. Such detrimental effects have been found even when group assignments are meaningless (see Allen & Wilder, 1975; Billig, 1973; Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971).

Measuring social categorization. Social categorization has often been evaluated unobtrusively via the "Who said what?" paradigm, originally devised by Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, and Ruderman (1978). This experimental procedure requires participants to observe a simulated group discussion consisting of members from two different social categories (e.g. African American and Caucasian males). Each member of the group takes turns making an equal number of statements in the discussion. When making a statement, both the statement and name of the speaker are presented with a photograph of the speaker. Following the discussion, participants are given a surprise recall test in which they are required to assign each statement to the appropriate speaker. Errors this "Who said what?" paradigm can be classified into different types. A within-category error occurs when a statement is incorrectly assigned to a speaker who is a member of the same category as the correct speaker. In contrast, a between-category error occurs when a statement is incorrectly assigned to a speaker who is a member of a different category than the correct speaker. The difference in these two errors is taken as a measure of the amount of categorization that takes place in perceiving and mentally organizing information. Klauer and Wegner (1998), however, refined the paradigm after recognizing the possibility of errors due to a participant's (1) inability to remember a statement appearing, (2) inability to remember the speaker, and/or (3) stereotype-congruent

guessing due to the inability to remember a given statement or speaker. In order to ensure that assignments were not confounded with different memory and guessing processes, Klauer and Wegner (1998) added an equal number of statements that were not presented during the discussion for participants to identify as well. In other words, participants were shown a statement, had to identify whether or not it was present in the discussion, and if so, assign it to the correct speaker. The modification of the paradigm therefore made Klauer and Wegner's (1998) refined "Who said what?" paradigm more accurate in it's detection of within- and between-category errors.

Social Power

Another variable that has been shown to be related to stereotyping and prejudice is social power (e.g., Fiske, 1993; Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006; Goodwin, Gubin, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2000; Goodwin, Operario, & Fiske, 1998; Jost, 2001). While there are many variations in defining power, in general power is characterized by the ability to influence or control others through the utilization of rewards and punishments (see Copeland, 1994; Fiske, 1993a; French & Raven, 1959; Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson, 2003). While the degree of power an individual has is thought to exist on a continuum, research typically differentiates between two dichotomous categories: those who possess power, and those who lack power. Individuals lacking power are often defined as such due to their limited access to resources, which therefore makes them more vulnerable to punishments (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002). This position therefore makes low-power individuals more dependent on others and more sensitive to how others evaluate them (Keltner et al., 2003). Low-power individuals are also more likely to go along with the preferences of those in power (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002). Further,

research has shown that individuals lacking power tend to feel more uncertainty in belonging than high-power individuals (Walton & Cohen, 2007). Despite these reported findings, compiling a detailed list of general characteristics of low-power individuals is difficult, since the literature in social psychology tends to focus on the effects of possessing power, and ignores this opposite side of the spectrum (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999).

High-power individuals have been characterized as more extraverted, talkative, more likely to interrupt and to speak out of turn than their low-power counterparts (Anderson, John, Keltner, & Kring, 2001; Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003). Powerful individuals have also been found to take action more than those in a position of low power, regardless of the social implications of the behavior (Galinsky et al., 2003). Such actions also include greater risk taking (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006). Individuals possessing power are less dependent on others (Dépret & Fiske, 1993) due to their ease of access to desired resources (see Fiske & Berdahl, 2007). As such, those in a position of power are more likely to behave consistently with their own personal values (Chen, Lee-Chai, & Bargh, 2001; Keltner et al., 2003).

Negative effects of power. Research on the negative effects of power have found that higher power is related to more aggressive behavior (Haney, Banks, & Zimbardo, 1973), a tendency to take credit for the contributions of subordinates (Kipnis, 1972), as well as more sexually aggressive behavior (Bargh, Raymond, Pryor, & Strack, 1995; Leibold & McConnell, 2004; Lisak & Roth 1988; Pryor 1987; Pryor & Stoller,1994). Links have also been made between power and child abuse (Bugental, Lyon, Krantz, & Cortez, 1997) and self-destructive behavior (McClelland, 1987). Further, research has

also indicated that high-power individuals act more favorably to their ingroup and prefer inequality among social groups (Jost, 2001). These findings confirm the adage "power corrupts" (see Gruenfeld, Keltner & Anderson, 2003; Kipnis 1972, 1976; Rind & Kipnis, 1999). Additionally, powerful individuals tend to ignore the perspectives of others. For instance, Galinsky et al. (2006) found that individuals primed with high power were more likely to draw an E on their forehead in a self-oriented direction than those in the low power condition. In other words, high power individuals were more concerned with an accurate appearance of the E for their own viewing, while low power individuals were more likely to draw the E so that others could view the E correctly. In a second study, Galinsky et al. (2006) revealed that high power participants were less likely to take into account when other people did not possess their privileged knowledge in a given situation. Both studies therefore suggest that power leads individuals to insufficiently adjust to the perspectives of others.

The Power as Control Model (see Goodwin et al., 2000; Goodwin et al., 1998) asserts that the powerful may utilize two routes in stereotyping others. The first route involves effortlessly categorizing individuals due to inattention to stereotype-inconsistent information. Powerholders can also stereotype by design, which is characterized by effortful attention to information that confirms expectations of stereotypes. The route that the powerholder chooses depends on a variety of factors including cognitive load (Fiske, 1993). For example, individuals possessing power have been associated with low levels of cognitive complexity and disinhibition (Gruenfeld et al., 2003). Stereotyping is believed to also be strong among individuals motivated to maintain power differentials (see Fiske 1993). While various factors can change the degree to which an individual

stereotypes, in general, high power individuals have a tendency to attend to stereotype-consistent information than stereotype-inconsistent information (Dépret & Fiske, 1999; Fiske, 1993; Goodwin et al., 2000; Rodríguez-Bailón, Moya, & Yzerbyt, 2000), whereas those in low power positions are found to more effortfully seek individuating information about others, especially about those in high power positions in order to better predict their behavior (Dépret & Fiske, 1999; Stevens & Fiske, 2000). This may be due to the fact that high-power individuals are less likely to adopt the perspectives of others due to a lack of motivation to form accurate appraisals of others (Keltner & Robinson, 1997).

Positive implications of power. Newer research demonstrates that possessing power does not always lead to negative outcomes. For instance, social power has also been linked to positive behavior when responsibility is made salient (Goodwin et al., 2000) or when those in a position of power will be held accountable for their actions (Lerner & Tetlock, 1999). Individuals whose position of power is unstable rather than irrevocable are also less likely to evade careful thought about consequences or available response alternatives of a behavior (see Gruenfeld et al., 2003). Power-primed perceivers have also been found to possess greater motivation to process additional target information when asked to form an impression of a target that possesses substantial inconsistencies in their disposition than perceivers in the control condition (Chen, Ybarra, & Kiefer, 2004). In general, the overall determinant of whether an individual will negatively or positively use power appears to be related to the individual's personal goals (see Bargh & Alvarez, 2001).

Recent research has found relationship orientation to moderate the effects of power (Chen, Lee-Chai, & Bargh, 2001). Clark and Mills distinguished the distinctions

between communal and exchange relationship orientations (Clark & Mills 1979; Mills & Clark, 1982). The differences between these two orientations appear to be due to the underlying conventions governing the giving and receiving of benefits. Individuals possessing a communal relationship orientation, for example, respond to the needs of others without the expectation of reciprocity. In other words, communally oriented individuals appear to feel a general obligation to be concerned about the other's well-being. In contrast, individuals possessing an exchange-relationship orientation respond to the needs of others with the expectation of receiving a benefit in return. In other words, an individual possessing an exchange relationship orientation will help others, but are focused primarily on keeping things even (see Clark & Mills, 1979; Clark, Mills & Powell, 1986; Clark, Ouellette, Powell, & Milberg, 1987; Mills & Clark, 1982, 1994). Lee-Chai & Bargh (2000) found that when placed in a supervisory position, communally-oriented individuals were less likely than their exchange-oriented counterparts to view power as an opportunity to purse selfish goals. Lee-Chai and Chartrand (2000) provided further support for this when examining the two relationship orientations on the Manipulation of Power scale. This scale measures the pursuit of selfish goals and a disregard for the well-being of others. In this study, Lee-Chai and Chartrand found that communally-oriented individuals had lower manipulation of power scores than exchange-oriented individuals. Although this research shows that relationship orientation moderates the relationship between power and behavior toward less fortunate others, the mechanisms underlying this relationship are less well understood.

Purpose of the Current Study

Research on prejudice and discrimination suggests that many variables can impact behavior towards minorities. For instance, it has been found that relative to those without power, individuals who have power tend to individuate others less (i.e., pay less attention to; Fiske, 1993; Goodwin et al., 2000). Nevertheless, not all individuals in a position of power react in a manner that deindividuates marginalized individuals. Specifically, research on social power has identified two relationship orientations which may be responsible for the individual differences in reactions to having power (Chen et al., 2001). Further, since the literature in social psychology tends to focus on the effects of possessing power, and ignores the effects of powerlessness, one of the goals of this study is to examine the differences between high and low powered individuals to add to the existing literature concerning those who lack power. Thus the current study seeks not only to examine the effects of varying degrees of social power (i.e. high low, low power, control) but also to examine whether these differences in power affect the behavior of high and low communally-oriented individuals. Further, the study seeks to measure categorization utilizing the "who said what?" paradigm in order to unobtrusively examine the influence of the power prime and degree of communal orientation on the individuation and categorization process.

Pilot Study

Due to the fact that a powerless condition was to be utilized in this study in addition to a power and control group, an adjustment had to be made to the word-search prime utilized in the study by Chen, Lee-Chai, and Bargh (2001). As such, in order to ensure that the primes were effective, a pilot study was conducted. The pilot study was

administered to a group of introductory psychology students ($N = 50$), who were then ineligible for participation in the actual study. The effects of the word-search primes were examined by administering a word-fragment task similar to that used by Chen et al. (2001) to determine the number of power, powerless, or neutral words completed (see Appendices B-D). Three raters individually assessed participant's responses on the word-fragment prime. Inter-rater reliability was high ($\alpha = .90$) and ratings were combined into one mean for each type of power-related response.

Results

Two participants were excluded from the final data set, one because English was not their first language, and the other due to failure to complete the task. Our final sample thus consisted of 48 students who were then randomly assigned into one of the three power conditions; power ($N = 17$), powerless ($N = 15$), and control ($N = 16$). Since previous research has already established the effectiveness of priming power through this word search task (see Chen et al., 2001), a contrast was conducted to determine the effects of the powerless prime. Specifically, the mean number of powerless words completed in the powerless prime condition was compared to the power and control conditions. Results indicated that individuals in the powerless prime were completing more words associated with powerlessness than the other two conditions ($ns = .34$; see figure 1).

Experiment

In this experiment, participants were first recruited based on their degree of communal orientation. This was accomplished by a mass pre-screen session in Introductory to Psychology classes. Upon selection, participants were first asked to

complete a word-search task. This task exposed individuals to words related to power, powerlessness, or served as a control. A word search prime was utilized due to the belief that it allows for the access of differing effects of power and powerlessness outside of participants conscious awareness, therefore eliminating possible confounds (see Keltner et al., 2003). The overall goal of this study is to examine the effects of degree of an individual's communal orientation and feelings of social power on a number of variables related to categorization and stereotyping.

Method

Participants

Ninety-one undergraduate students at The College at Brockport were recruited via e-mail to complete the study in return for partial credit toward their introductory psychology course.

Participants were chosen based on their scores on the Communal Relationship Orientation Scale questionnaire (Clark et al., 1987). Only individuals possessing the highest and lowest communal orientation scores were recruited for the purpose of this study, and therefore those falling in the middle of the distribution of communal orientation scores (range= 3.72 – 4.13) were excluded from the study. Individuals with the highest communal relationship orientation scores (range = 4.14 – 5) were recruited as high communal relationship orientation participants, while those whose scores fell in the bottom third (range = 1- 3.71) were recruited as low communally oriented participants.

Design

The experiment employed a 2 (*Relationship orientation*: high communal vs. low communal) x 3 (*Power*: powerful vs. powerless vs. control) between-subjects factorial design.

Stimulus Materials

Participants were run separately on Dell computers. Stimulus materials and questionnaires were presented using Media Lab and Direct RT software (Jarvis, 2002).

Relationship orientation. Participants completed the Communal Relationship Orientation Scale (Clark et al., 1987) during a prescreening session for credit in their introductory psychology course (see Appendix A). The scale consisted of 14 questions assessing an individuals communal relationship orientation (e.g. "I believe people should go out of their way to be helpful") and was measured on a 1 (*extremely uncharacteristic of them*) to 5 (*extremely characteristic of them*) scale.

Power prime. For the present purposes three versions of a word-search priming task (Chen et al., 2001) were employed to either manipulate participants' feeling of power (powerful or powerless) or to serve as a control[1] (see Appendices B-D). Participants in the power prime condition completed a word-search task in which six of the ten words were related to power (e.g., authority, control, boss), whereas participants in the powerless condition completed a word-search task in which six of the ten words were related to powerlessness (e.g., victim, feeble, minority). Participants in the control condition completed a word-search task in which all ten of the words were unrelated to power (e.g., clock, chalk, house).

Manipulation check. In order to establish whether the priming task was effective, participants completed a word-fragment task (adapted from Chen et al., 2001; see Appendix E). In this task, participants were instructed to form a grammatically correct word from the fragment given. Some of these words have the ability to form words associated with power (e.g., _ O W E R, power), powerlessness (e.g., W E _ _, weak) or are neutral (e.g., D _ _ R, deer). Responses were categorized to examine the frequency of powerful, powerless, and neutral word formations.

Pool of statements for the categorization task. Statements for the categorization task were gathered from a pilot study at Ohio University (Ratcliff, 2007), and then adapted for relevance to Brockport students (see Appendix F). In this study, participants were told that the purpose of the study was to obtain feedback from Brockport students regarding how various aspects of the university could be improved. Their task was to make suggestions-in complete sentence format-on how several areas of the university could be enhanced. A total of 140 statements comprised the final pool and related to six topic categories (i.e., course requirements; classrooms/professors; the library and other study facilities; dining options and locations; campus parking and housing issues; recreation and the Tuttle Athletic Complex).

Photographs for the categorization task. Four head and shoulder color pictures of Caucasian male college-age students, and four head and shoulder color pictures of African American male college-age students, previously normed to be average in attractiveness (Ratcliff, 2007), served as photographs in the categorization task. These were also combined into four photo strips with speakers arranged in different orders with labels for participants to choose which speaker made which statement.

Categorization task. The categorization task was a modification of the "who said what?" paradigm, originally designed by Klauer and Wegener (1998). At the start of the task participants received the following instructions:

"We are interested in gaining an understanding of Brockport students' concerns regarding their university, and thus we have recruited students who represent a variety of perspectives on campus to participate in discussion groups related to the conditions on their campus. In the next task you will observe snippets from one of our discussion groups at SUNY Brockport. The eight speakers whom you will be observing today are male undergraduate students at SUNY Brockport. As each person speaks, his statement will appear beneath his photograph. Captions will appear above the photographs to identify the speaker by his name. Your task is to try to form an impression of the discussion group as a whole."

After the presentation of the instructions, participants watched a succession of statements that appeared on the computer screen beneath a given speaker's photograph. A caption appeared above each picture to identify the speaker by name. Each statement and photograph remained on the screen for 7 s with an interstimulus interval of 0.5 s. Respective speakers made one statement per round and there were six rounds, for a total of six statements per speaker and 48 statements total. The order of the speakers within each round was randomized for every participant.

During the test phase of the task, all of the statements appearing during the discussion, as well as 48 new statements, were individually presented to participants in a random order. Participants were instructed to indicate if they recognized the statement from the discussion ("old") or if they did not recognize the statement ("new"). Following

a "new" response, the next statement appeared. If the participant indicated the statement was "old", they were then asked to identify which speaker made the statement by clicking on the picture of the appropriate speakers. Participants were instructed to guess if they could not remember the speaker.

Liking and willingness to interact. To assess liking for, and willingness to interact with, stigmatized and nonstigmatized targets, participants were shown slides depicting each of the speakers in a randomized order. Their task was to answer questions regarding liking and willingness to interact with each speaker (Vescio, Judd, & Kwan, 2004; see Appendix G). The questions were presented one at a time with each speaker's photograph appearing above the question. Each question was created for willingness to interact with each group of speakers. The measures were reliable, with liking producing α = .96 and willingness to interact producing α = .90.

Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. Motivation to respond without prejudice toward African Americans was assessed with the combined Internal Motivation and External Motivation scale (Plant & Devine, 1998). The measure contained two subscales-IM (e.g., "I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced toward African Americans") and EM (e.g., "I try to hide any negative thoughts about African Americans in order to avoid negative reactions from others"). Each subscale comprised 5 items measured on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) rating scale (see Appendix H). The measure was reliable, α = .72.

Attitude toward blacks (ATB) scale. Prejudice scores were obtained using the Attitude Toward Blacks scale (Brigham, 1993; see Appendix I). The ATB is a 20-item measure of prejudice toward African Americans that is measured on a 1 (*strongly*

disagree) to 9 (*strongly agree*) rating scale, with higher scores indicating greater prejudice. The ATB Scale was utilized in order to measure pre-existing prejudices towards black individuals which may influence how participants react to the power manipulation used in this study (e.g. "It would not bother me if my new roommate was black"). The measure was reliable, $\alpha = .94$.

Allophilia. The degree to which participants indicate prior liking for African Americans as a group (e.g., "I am comfortable when I hang out with African Americans") was assessed using the Allophilia Scale developed by Pittinsky, Rosenthal, and Montoya (2008). The scale consists of 17-items in which participants respond on a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) about, with higher scores indicating greater liking (see Appendix J). The measure was reliable, $\alpha = .96$.

Social desirability scale. Social Desirability was assessed using the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding Version 6 (Paulhus,1994; see Appendix K). The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR) consists of forty items. Half of the items examine self deceptive enhancement (e.g., "I have not always been honest with myself") and the remaining items examine impression management (e.g., "I never cover up my mistakes"). Items were measures on a 1 (*not true*) to 7 (*very true*) rating scale. The measure was reliable, $\alpha = .80$.

Funnel Debriefing. To probe for general suspicion or awareness concerning the priming manipulation, participants completed a funnel debriefing questionnaire. Questions progressed from general ones that asked about the overall purpose of the study to more specific inquiries about any influence they felt the word-search task might have had on their behavior (Reis & Judd, 2000).

Procedure

Several hundred introductory psychology students completed the Communal Orientation Scale questionnaire (Clark et al., 1987) at the beginning of the fall semester as part of a pre-screening. The scores obtained were then divided into thirds. Those who fell into the top third, and therefore had the highest communal relationship orientation scores (range = 4.14 – 5) were recruited as high communally oriented participants. Those whose scores were in the bottom third (range = 1 – 3.71), were recruited as low communally oriented participants. Students were considered ineligible to participate if they were not Caucasian or if their communal orientation scores fell in the middle of the distribution (range= 3.72 – 4.13). On arrival, participants- run in groups of 1 to 4- were greeted by an experimenter and seated at a desk in front of a computer monitor to complete a study on "understanding university students' experiences on campus." Following completion of the informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to either the power, powerless, or control version of the word-search task. The experimenter explained that working on this task was intended to help participants' clear their minds before the actual experiment commenced (cf. Chartrand, 2001). Upon completion of the word-search task, participants were instructed to complete the word-fragment task, which was also described to the participants as a measure used to clear their minds before the experiment began. Participants then began the computerized portion of the experiment, during which time they first observed the discussion snippets. Following this task, participants were tested for their memory of the statements and of the corresponding speakers. The 48 sentences that were actually presented during the discussion were presented intermixed with 48 new sentences that the participant has not

seen before. After the test phase of the categorization task ended, participants were asked to complete the liking and willingness to interact questions, the ATB scale, the IM/EM scale and the BIDR scale. At the conclusion of the experiment, participants were first probed for suspicion utilizing the funnel debrief and then were finally fully debriefed regarding the purpose of the research. Participants were then given the opportunity to ask the researcher any questions they may have.

Results

While no participants were excluded for expressing any knowledge regarding the purpose of the word-search primes, eleven individuals were excluded due to computer errors, and five individuals were removed from the data for not following instructions. Our final sample thus consisted of 75 participants (17 male, 58 female), 36 of whom were considered high communally oriented, while 39 comprised the low communally oriented individuals. Of the high communally oriented individuals, the mean communal score was 4.30. The mean communal score for the low communally oriented individuals was 3.6.

Correlations Between Communality and Prejudicial Attitudes, Liking, and Willingness to Interact

To test the relationship between an individual's communal orientation and their degree of prejudice toward African Americans, liking for the outgroup as well as liking and willingness to interact with the outgroup speakers, were determined through correlational analyses. As indicated in Table 1, the greater an individual's communal orientation, the less prejudiced they were toward African Americans ($r = -.25$, $p < .05$). Not surprisingly, individuals indicating less prejudice toward African Americans also reported greater liking for African Americans as a group ($r = -.82$, $p < .01$). Examination

of individuals' liking and willingness to interact with the speakers depicted in the "who-said-what?" task revealed that individuals who reported greater liking for the black speakers also reported greater willingness to interact with the black speakers ($r = .79$, $p < .01$). Further, the more individuals reported liking the black speakers, the less prejudiced they were towards African Americans ($r = -.50$, $p < .01$) and the more the reported liking African Americans as a group ($r = .48$, $p < .01$). Individuals who indicated less prejudice toward African Americans also reported a greater willingness to interact with the African American speakers as well as a greater liking for African Americans ($r = .40$, $p < .01$; $r = .33$, $p < .01$, respectively). Finally, those who were less prejudiced toward African Americans indicated more liking for African Americans ($r = -.82$, $p < .01$).

Power and Liking

A Repeated Measures ANOVA was utilized to assess the effect of power condition on liking for the race of the speakers. Interestingly, there appears to be a difference in liking within the powerless condition. In this group, it appears those primed to feel powerless indicate a greater liking for the African American speakers than Caucasian speakers, $F(2,69) = 3.55$, $p < .05$; see Figure 2.

Discussion

As predicted, communal relationship orientation appears to play a role in an individual's prejudicial attitudes toward African Americans. Specifically, individuals who were more communally oriented, and thus act in more a socially responsible manner (Chen et al., 2001; Lee-Chai & Bargh; 2000; Lee-Chai & Chartrand, 2000), exhibited less prejudicial attitudes, as measured on the Attitudes Toward Blacks scale, than their lower communally oriented counterparts. Not surprisingly, results also support a negative

relationship between allophilia and prejudice. In other words, the more individuals indicated liking African Americans, the less prejudice they demonstrated.

Taking the examination one step further in order to determine how individuals felt about specific speakers within a minority group, rather than assessing the group as an ambiguous whole, the results determined that individuals possessing less prejudicial attitudes toward African Americans also liked and were more willing to interact with the African American speakers presented during the task.

The current research examining the effects of social power demonstrates that those in a position lacking power like the speakers in the minority group to a greater extent than their liking for the speakers of their own racial group. As suggested in the expectation states theory proposed by Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch (1972), as well as Eagly's (1987) social role theory, certain characteristics bestow status and power – including one's demographic group. In this situation, Caucasian individuals are seen to be higher status than African Americans in society. Thus, our interesting findings may be explained by the powerless individuals in the task identifying more with the speakers who also are socially in a position of lesser power- the African Americans.

Future Directions

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this study has yet to be analyzed. The data concerning categorization and individuation within the "who-said-what" paradigm still needs to be examined. Since much previous research demonstrates that powerful individuals tend to categorize others (Dépret & Fiske, 1999; Fiske, 1993; Goodwin et al., 2000; Rodríguez-Bailón et al., 2000), yet research shows that individuals with a communal relationship orientation appear to be more selfless (e.g. Clark et al., 1987), we

predict our study will reveal an interaction in which high power individuals who are communally oriented will individuate more and have greater liking for African Americans. Those in a position of power who are low in communal orientation, however, are predicted to individuate less. We believe this may be the case as previous research has shown that high power individuals tend only to individuate subordinates when it is relevant to succeeding at the task at hand (see Chen, Ybarra, & Kiefer, 2004; Overbeck & Park, 2001). Since participants are not aware that they will be participating in a recall task, we suspect they may not have accurately attended to dissimilar others.

Perhaps more intriguing will be the examination of the results of the "who-said-what?" paradigm related to individuals in the powerless condition. While there is less research about individuals in low-power positions, based on the current finding that individuals in the low power prime demonstrate a greater liking for African Americans, we predict that these individuals will also individuate speakers more. Since individuation requires more effort, we believe these individuals will be more motivated to pay attention to the details of those they feel similar to (see Bodenhausen, 2005; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990).

Footnotes

[1] The powerless prime was created for the current work, see pilot study for reliabilities.

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Table 1

Relationship Between Communal Orientation, Degree of Prejudice Toward African Americans, Liking For, and Willingness to Interact With, the Outgroup

	Liking-Black	Willingness-Black	ATB	Allophilia
Communality	.144	.121	-.249*	.222
Liking-Black		.789**	-.498**	.478**
Willingness-Black			-.396**	.327**
ATB				-.816**

Note. Communality = communal relationship orientation scale score; Liking-Black = the extent to which liking was expressed toward African American speakers; Willingness-Black = the extent to which participants expressed a willingness to interact with African American speakers; ATB = score on the attitudes toward blacks scale; Allophilia = score on the allophilia scale

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Figure 1

Mean Number of Powerless Words Completed Based on Power Condition

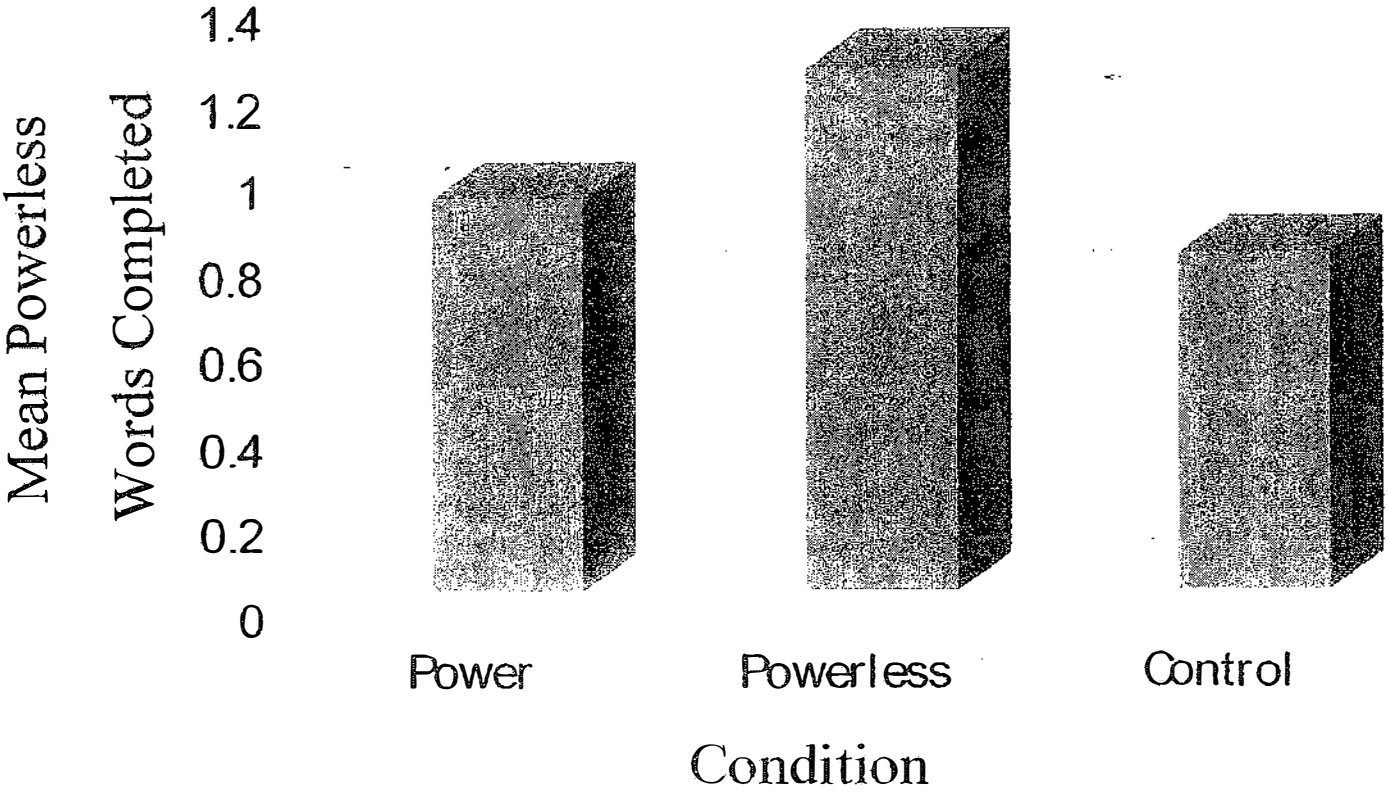
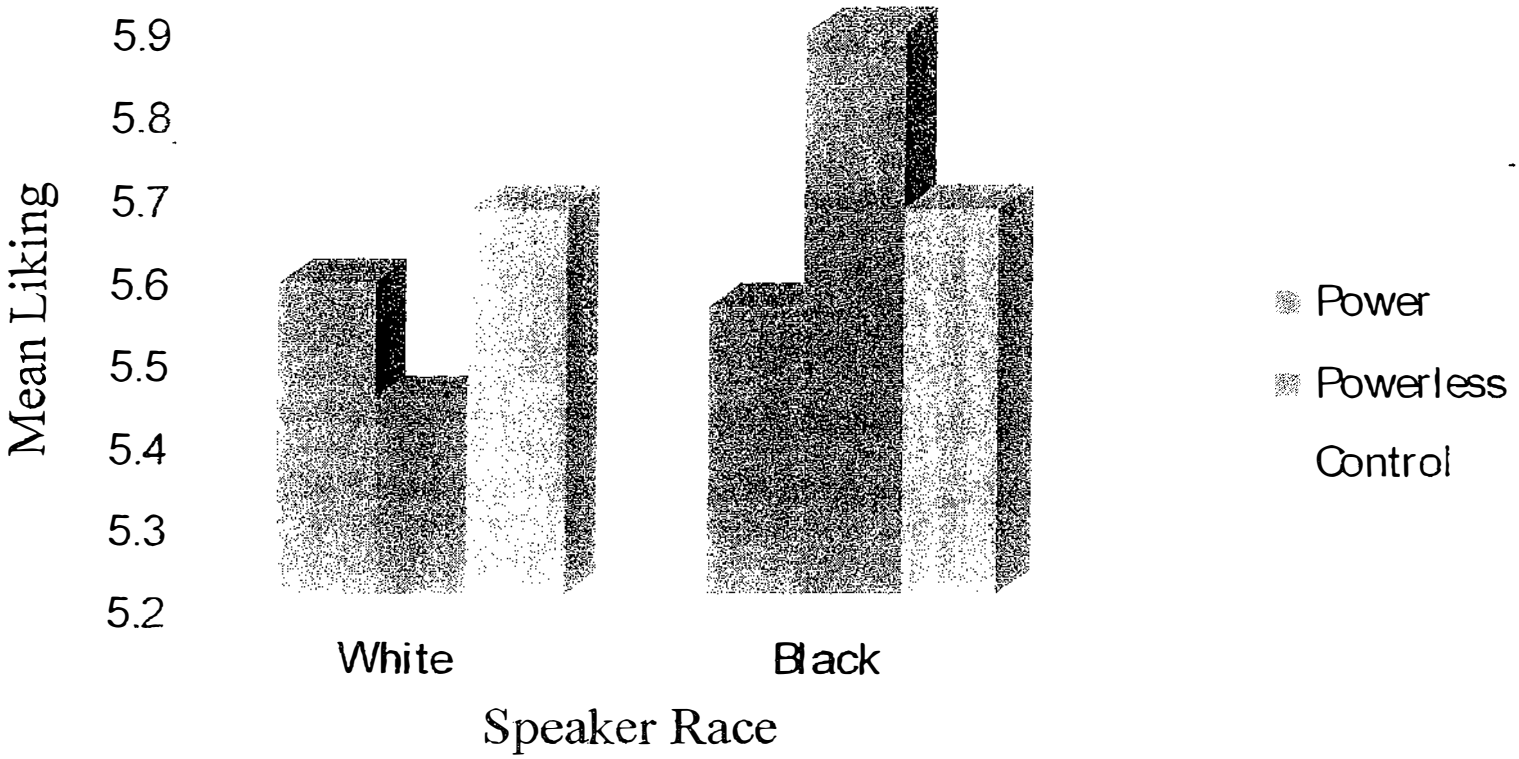


Figure 2

Mean Liking for Speakers Based on Speaker Race and Power Condition



Appendix A

COMMUNAL RELATIONSHIP ORIENTATION

Instructions: For each of the following statements, please indicate the extent to which you feel the statement describes you according to the scale below

Extremely Uncharacteristic				*Extremely Characteristic*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*

1. It bothers me when other people neglect my needs.
2. When making a decision, I take other people's needs and feelings into account.
3. I'm not especially sensitive to other people's feelings.
4. I don't consider myself to be a particularly helpful person.
5. I believe people should go out of their way to be helpful.
6. I don't especially enjoy giving others aid.
7. I expect people I know to be responsive to my needs and feelings.
8. I often go out of my way to help another person.
9. I believe it's best not to get involved taking care of other people's personal needs.
10. I'm not the sort of person who often comes to the aid of others.
11. When I have a need, I turn to others I know for help.
12. When people get emotionally upset, I tend to avoid them.
13. People should keep their troubles to themselves.
14. When I have a need others ignore, I'm hurt.

Appendix B

POWER PRIME

Instructions: Find and circle each word in the grid below. The words may be written forwards, backwards, up down, or horizontally.

K	X	N	A	V	K	W	U	D	K	B
C	O	F	F	E	E	N	O	E	T	S
E	Y	I	N	F	L	U	E	N	C	E
T	X	F	L	J	C	F	N	E	M	X
D	X	E	H	O	U	S	E	Y	W	D
A	A	M	C	A	R	I	S	U	R	R
O	U	E	M	U	S	T	R	G	L	A
S	Y	T	X	O	T	R	N	S	U	O
J	R	E	H	T	M	I	T	O	E	B
N	J	E	A	O	D	J	V	G	C	W
H	C	I	R	N	R	B	E	E	Q	G
K	C	O	L	C	L	I	O	J	E	K
M	U	H	E	C	Y	O	T	S	W	O
X	K	J	K	S	X	Z	O	Y	S	Z

board
authority
executive
coffee
clock
boss
influence
house
rich
control

Appendix C

POWERLESS PRIME

Instructions: Find and circle each word in the grid below. The words may be written forwards, backwards, up down, or horizontally.

B	O	V	V	I	C	T	I	M	B	M
Z	E	M	L	E	U	A	G	O	T	L
K	H	C	L	O	C	K	A	Y	U	N
Z	P	O	W	F	D	R	T	Z	U	R
F	V	H	U	C	D	I	F	Z	O	F
N	S	J	B	S	R	M	T	I	H	N
C	B	Q	N	O	E	D	D	P	E	F
Y	M	W	N	S	R	Q	E	O	L	K
V	M	I	E	J	X	E	E	O	P	F
Q	M	C	W	A	L	O	F	R	L	U
Y	A	M	W	B	K	S	F	E	E	C
F	I	R	E	R	N	I	O	C	S	P
Z	L	E	E	P	F	E	C	C	S	Y
G	F	O	U	D	S	D	E	P	X	I

board
feeble
victim
coffee
clock
minority
weak
house
poor
helpless

Appendix D

CONTROL PRIME

Instructions: Find and circle each word in the grid below. The words may be written forwards, backwards, up down, or horizontally.

J	O	Q	L	X	J	V	D	F	Y	D
O	S	N	B	C	G	Z	R	R	R	R
T	P	V	U	L	N	C	K	E	F	A
K	L	Z	J	X	I	L	G	T	C	O
Z	L	B	H	E	D	O	L	A	O	B
D	C	E	Y	N	L	C	U	W	F	F
W	Y	N	V	O	I	K	P	N	F	K
E	Q	I	X	H	U	K	L	H	E	L
D	W	Z	V	P	B	L	P	O	E	A
J	F	A	X	E	E	A	M	U	H	M
O	C	G	R	L	X	H	H	S	X	P
V	W	A	K	E	F	C	O	E	C	K
C	G	M	R	T	M	A	F	S	N	H
U	F	P	G	V	C	X	T	K	J	J

board
coffee
clock
house
chalk
building
telephone
magazine
lamp
water

Appendix E

MANIPULATION CHECK

Instructions: Fill in the blanks with letters, creating the first word that comes to mind.
Example: M __ __ S __ R E can become MEASURE

1. __ __ Y E R

2. __ E A K

3. P O __ E __

4. D I S __

5. C O M __ __ __ __

6. __ I G __ T

7. __ __ P L E

8. __ R A I __

9. C O __ __ __ D

10. D __ __ R

11. L O __ E R

12. D O M I N __ __ __

13. __ A I N __

14. C O __ __ __ T E R

15. S T R __ __ __

16. C O N __ __ __ __

17. __ __ __ B L E

18. __ __ A P

19. __ E A D

20. S L __ __ E

Appendix F

POOL OF STIMULUS SENTENCES

Related to Course Requirements

1. Prerequisites for various courses should be reduced or eliminated.
2. The foreign language requirement is important, but should be lightened.
3. The course requirements should be more clearly spelled out for students.
4. One or two business courses should be required for every student.
5. The number of elective courses should be increased.
6. Course requirements should be more focused in the student's major.
7. Classes should include hands on opportunities, like labs and demonstrations.
8. Students who have undeclared majors should be able to take more classes.
9. It would be helpful if more courses were offered each semester.
10. There should be more room to take classes outside of one's major.
11. Students should be able to place out of certain classes, like freshman English.
12. I think that more evening classes should be offered to accommodate students.
13. Most classes on campus could be more challenging to students.
14. It would help transfer students if more of their previous credits counted here.
15. Brockport students could benefit from having more 1 and 2 credit courses offered.
16. I think that if more English classes were required, our students would benefit.
17. The DARS could be easier to read and understand.
18. Freshman would be better off if there were more 100 level courses offered.
19. The number of hours required to graduate should be reduced.
20. Course content and requirements should be available prior to registration.

Related to Classrooms and Instructors

21. There should be more seats available in the classrooms.
22. Something should be done to regulate the temperature in the classrooms better.
23. I would make the seats in some of the classrooms more comfortable to sit in.
24. Students could benefit if the class sizes were a little bit smaller.
25. If I could change the classrooms, I would add more left-handed desks.
26. I think that new buildings should be built so that more classes can be offered.
27. The lighting in each of the classrooms could be brighter.
28. All professors teaching large classes should be given microphones.
29. It seems like we could get rid of the black boards in the classrooms.
30. There should be more room between rows of seats in the lecture halls.
31. Money should be evenly disbursed between colleges so that facilities are equal.
32. The classrooms should be cleaned more often, because some are a mess.
33. All professors and lecturers at Brockport should be fluent in English.
34. The instructors could be more available for students with more office hours.
35. All instructors should be required to use Angel.
36. Professors should try to be more approachable and friendly toward students.
37. Instructors should be required to follow their syllabus more directly.
38. Courses should be standardized so that they don't differ so much between instructors.

39. Graduate students should not be teaching large lecture courses.
40. Given that we are adults, class attendance policies should be more lenient.
41. Testing could be improved if all instructors were fairer in their questions.
42. It would be nice if advisors took more of an interest in undergraduate students.
43. Instructors should be given more freedom to run their classes as they want to.
44. Brockport should put more of an emphasis on teaching than on research and money.
45. It should be mandatory for professors to meet with each student once per semester.
46. More grants and scholarships should be available for students.
47. Financial aid should not be based solely on parent's income.
48. Majors should not be eliminated if students are still in them.
49. Classes should be taught on the quarter system and the semester system should be eliminated.
50. Tuition for courses should be less expensive.
51. Instructors should choose books that are not so expensive for students.
52. The admission standards should be raised so that the quality of students is higher.

Related to Library and other Study Facilities

53. The library hours should be longer and more flexible.
54. The library should have more quiet study rooms.
55. The quiet study rooms should have better lighting.
56. The quiet study rooms should have better wireless connection.
57. The library could use more computers so that everyone can be accommodated.
58. The study areas in the library could be more comfortable and inviting.
59. I think students would appreciate it if media were more accessible at the library
60. All students should be given a comprehensive map of the library.
61. One change for the library should be that they increase the number of dvds available.
62. The library should have more student writing help available.
63. The library should send out e-mail alerts before a book is due.
64. The website for the library could be easier to navigate.
65. There should be more group areas in the library for group work.
66. I think that the library should have restrooms on every floor.
67. The learning area of the library on the third floor should be expanded.
68. Students need to have more employees available to help them at the library.
69. It would be nice if the dorms had mini libraries in them.
70. The café at the library should be open longer.
71. More Macs should be added to the library for apple users.
72. Brockport needs to make sure that our computer networks are secure so that students are protected.

Related to Dining Options and Locations

73. The dining system at Brockport could be improved by adding more variety to each meal.
74. Sandwiches should be offered every dinner in both dining halls.

75. The students' health would benefit from more fresh foods in the dining halls.
76. The dining halls should offer more vegetarian options.
77. It would be great if the dining halls were cleaner.
78. I think the food available in the Union and in the cafes is overpriced.
79. I think that there should be more grab and goes around campus.
80. Brockport should offer more fun dining hall nights such as casino night.
81. Brockport should add one dining hall on campus that offers only healthy organic food.
82. The dining halls do not include enough ethnic food choices.
83. The staff at Harrison could be friendlier
84. Meal plans should be made more affordable to students.
85. I am tired of eating fried foods in the dining halls and think that they should be cut out of the menu.
86. The dining plan would better serve students if meals were counted by the semester and not by the week.
87. I don't feel that students should be forced to get a meal plan.
88. The meal plans should be friendlier to commuter students.
89. Harrison should offer more variety at each meal
90. Aerie café could have more hours.
91. The dining halls should be open later because of evening classes.
92. The nutritional value of all food choices should be available in the dining halls.
93. The portions of food at the cafes and union should be larger.
94. There should be more of an effort made to have enough food for everyone in the dining halls.
95. I don't think that Harrison should have been remodeled.

Related to Campus Parking and Housing Issues

96. All residence halls should have air conditioning installed.
97. Brockport needs parking lots for commuters that don't require passes.
98. For students living on campus, more parking closer to the dorms should be available.
99. I think that there should be more long term metered spaces, like 5 or 10 hours.
100. We could use more available parking for visitors.
101. There is more parking for faculty and staff than is necessary and it should be made into student space.
102. The parking lots on campus should have more affordable permit parking.
103. There should be clear labels on lots that you will get towed from on campus.
104. I think that the fire lanes around campus need to be repainted because they are difficult to see.
105. I would like to see some 15 minute meters around campus for quick stops into buildings.
106. If freshman can't park on campus, better transportation should be available around campus.
107. Parking on campus after 5:00 in the evening, should not require a permit.

108. Students should be able to purchase temporary parking passes for a week at a time.
109. Underclassmen should have more opportunity to purchase yellow permits.
110. Brockport should add better traffic control so that students can cross the streets safely.
111. More transportation should be available and accessible to handicapped students.
112. There should be more residence halls on campus because they are currently too full.
113. My suggestion is that we add a room for bikes in the dorms.
114. The excessive number of rounds that RAs make in the dorms is distracting.

Related to Recreation and Tuttle Athletic Complex/Fitness center

115. The fitness center could use a bigger weight room with more weights and machines.
116. Visitors should have an easier time getting a temporary pass to the fitness center.
117. It would be great if Tuttle had a real indoor soccer field rather than the gym floor.
118. I think students would enjoy batting cages at Tuttle so that they could practice more.
119. I would ensure that the Tuttle really stays open until midnight.
120. Each student should get three free guest passes for the Tuttle Athletic Complex each semester.
121. It is too bad that Tuttle isn't more centrally located on campus.
122. The fitness center should make a rule that students have to wipe off their equipment before leaving.
123. Brockport students would use more ping pong tables if they were available at Tuttle.
124. A method should be established for students to get into the fitness center with their ID cards.
125. If there were more activities at Tuttle at night, it might help with the student drinking problem.
126. I think that the staff at Tuttle should receive customer service training, because they can be rude.
127. Staff should be available at Tuttle to help students learn how to appropriately use equipment.
128. Tuttle needs more basketball courts because the wait is too long.
129. The equipment rental desk at Tuttle should be in a better location.
130. Given that we already pay large fees for Tuttle, all of the activities should be free for students.
131. I would add a 50 meter pool to the back of Tuttle along with a recreational pool.
132. I think that Tuttle/the fitness center should be open 24 hours a day 7 days a week.
133. Freshmen should be required to take a general recreation course to familiarize them with their options.
134. The refs for intramurals should receive official training.
135. Brockport should bring in more musical acts for students.

136. If I could change recreation on campus, I would make all activities free for students.
137. There should be more opportunities for field trips on campus.
138. We should have a battle of the bands on campus every year.
139. Recreation could be more tailored to what students really want by holding student forums on the issue.
140. Brock-the-Port should be more widely embraced and planned for.

Appendix G

INGROUP AND OUTGROUP LIKING AND WILLINGNESS TO INTERACT WITH TARGETS

Please indicate on the following scale how you feel about each speaker:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Strongly Disagree								Strongly Agree

Ingroup and Outgroup Liking Questions:

1. Had I met Person X upon first arriving at Brockport we would have probably been friends.
2. Person X is a likeable person.
3. I would feel uncomfortable having a candid discussion with Person X about the difficulties I experienced adjusting to college.
4. I would avoid having a friendship with Person X.
5. Person X's feelings are similar to the feelings I have about Brockport.
6. Person X's background/interests are very different from my own background/interests.
7. I have little in common with Person X.
8. I would enjoy having Person X as a neighbor.

Willingness to Interact Question:

1. If I had a chance to work with Person X on coming up with strategies to improve Brockport, would I want to do so.

Appendix H

IM AND EM SCALES

Instructions: For each of the following statements, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement according to the scale below

Strongly Disagree								Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1. I try to hide any negative thoughts about African Americans in order to avoid negative reactions from others.
2. I attempt to act in non-prejudiced ways toward African Americans because it is personally important to me.
3. According to my personal values, using stereotypes about African Americans is OK.
4. I try to act non-prejudiced toward African Americans because of pressure from others.
5. I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be non-prejudiced toward African Americans.
6. If I reacted prejudiced toward African Americans, I would be concerned others would be angry with me.
7. Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear non-prejudiced toward African Americans.
8. Being non-prejudiced is important to my self-concept.
9. Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes about African Americans is wrong.
10. I attempt to appear non-prejudiced toward African Americans in order to avoid disapproval from others.

Appendix I

ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS (ATB)

This questionnaire is designed to measure attitudes towards African Americans. It is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers. Answer each item as carefully and as honestly as you can by placing a number beside each as follows:

Strongly Disagree	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*Strongly Agree*

1. If a black were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice and direction from him or her.
2. If I had a chance to introduce black visitors to my friends and neighbors, I would be pleased to do so.
3. I would rather not have blacks live in the same apartment building I live in.
4. I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a black in a public place.
5. I would not mind it at all if a black family with about the same income and education as me moved in next door
6. I think that black people look more similar to each other than white people do.
7. Interracial marriage should be discouraged to avoid the "who-am-I?" confusion which the children feel.
8. I get very upset when I hear a white make a prejudicial remark about blacks.
9. I favor open housing laws that allow more racial integration of neighborhoods.
10. It would not bother me if my new roommate was black.
11. It is likely that blacks will bring violence to neighborhoods when they move in.
12. I enjoy a funny racial joke, even if some people might find it offensive.
13. The federal government should take decisive steps to override the injustices blacks suffer at the hands of local authorities.
14. Black and white people are inherently equal.
15. Black people are demanding too much too fast in their push for equal rights.
16. Whites should support blacks in their struggle against discrimination and segregation.
17. Generally, blacks are not as smart as whites.
18. I worry that in the next few years I may be denied my application for a job or a promotion because of preferential treatment given to minority group members.
19. Racial integration (of schools, business, residences, etc.) has benefited both whites and blacks.
20. Some blacks are so touchy about race that it is difficult to get along with them.

Appendix J

ALLOPHILIA SCALE

Instructions: For each of the following statements, please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement according to the scale below

Strongly Disagree					*Strongly Agree*
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*

1. In general, I have positive attitudes about African Americans.
2. I respect African Americans.
3. I like African Americans.
4. I feel positively toward African Americans.
5. I am at ease around African Americans.
6. I am comfortable when I hang out with African Americans.
7. I feel like I can be myself around African Americans.
8. I feel a sense of belonging with African Americans.
9. I feel a kinship with African Americans.
10. I would like to be more like African Americans.
11. I am truly interested in understanding the points of view of African Americans.
12. I am motivated to get to know African Americans better.
13. To enrich my life, I would try and make more friends who are African American.
14. I am interested in hearing about the experiences of African Americans.
15. I am impressed by African Americans.
16. I feel inspired by African Americans.
17. I am enthusiastic about African Americans.

Appendix K

BIDR

Using the scale below as a guide, write a number beside each statement to indicate how true it is.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not true			somewhat			very true

___ 1. My first impressions of people usually turn out to be right.

____ 2. It would be hard for me to break any of my bad habits.

____ 3. I don't care to know what other people really think of me.

____ 4. I have not always been honest with myself.

____ 5. I always know why I like things.

____ 6. When my emotions are aroused, it biases my thinking.

____ 7. Once I've made up my mind, other people can seldom change my opinion.

____ 8. I am not a safe driver when I exceed the speed limit.

____ 9. I am fully in control of my own fate.

____ 10. It's hard for me to shut off a disturbing thought.

____ 11. I never regret my decisions.

____ 12. I sometimes lose out on things because I can't make up my mind soon enough.

____ 13. The reason I vote is because my vote can make a difference.

____ 14. My parents were not always fair when they punished me.

____ 15. I am a completely rational person.

____ 16. I rarely appreciate criticism.

____ 17. I am very confident of my judgments

____ 18. I have sometimes doubted my ability as a lover.

____ 19. It's all right with me if some people happen to dislike me.

____ 20. I don't always know the reasons why I do the things I do.

____ 21. I sometimes tell lies if I have to.

____ 22. I never cover up my mistakes.

____ 23. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.

____ 24. I never swear.

____ 25. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.

____ 26. I always obey laws, even if I'm unlikely to get caught.

____ 27. I have said something bad about a friend behind his/her back.

____ 28. When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.

____ 29. I have received too much change from a salesperson without telling him or her.

____ 30. I always declare everything at customs.

____ 31. When I was young I sometimes stole things.

____ 32. I have never dropped litter on the street.

____ 33. I sometimes drive faster than the speed limit.

____ 34. I never read sexy books or magazines.

____ 35. I have done things that I don't tell other people about.

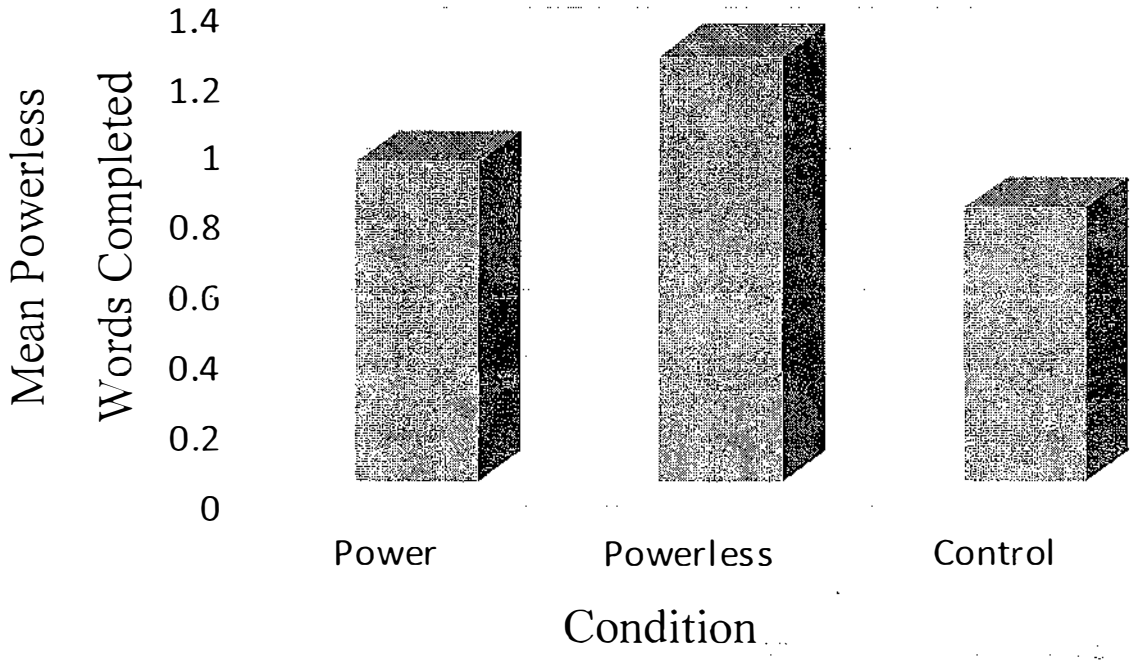
____ 36. I never take things that don't belong to me.

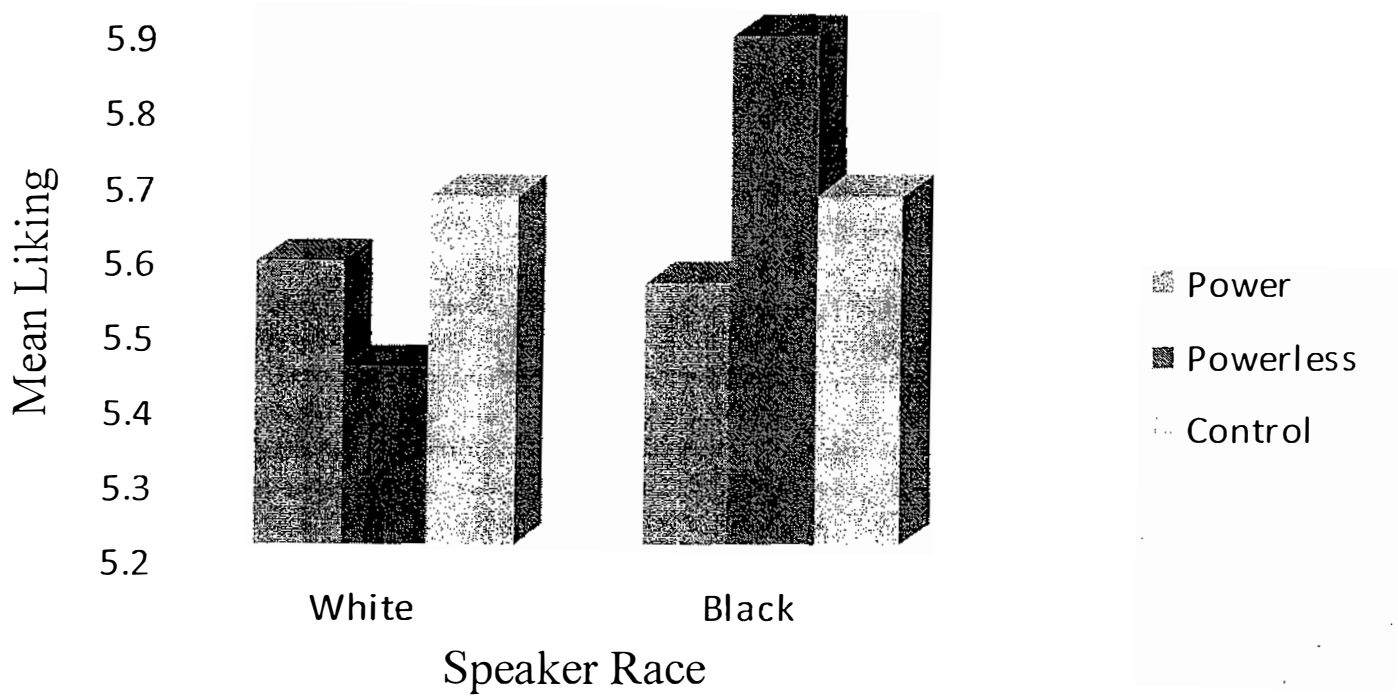
____ 37. I have taken sick-leave from work or school even though I wasn't really sick.

____ 38. I have never damaged a library book or store merchandise without reporting it.

____ 39. I have some pretty awful habits.

____ 40. I don't gossip about other people's business.


Mean Powerless Words Completed
1.4
1.2
1
0.8
0.6
0.4
0.2
0
Power
Powerless
Control
Condition


5.9
5.8
5.7
5.6
5.5
5.4
5.3
5.2
Mean Liking
White
Black
Speaker Race
Power
Powerless
Control