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Powerful Postures Versus Powerful Roles: Which Is the Proximate Correlate of Thought and Behavior?

Li Huang[1], Adam D. Galinsky[1], Deborah H Gruenfeld[2], and Lucia E. Guillory[2]
[1]Management and Organizations, Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University, and [2]Organizational Behavior, Stanford University

Abstract

Three experiments explored whether hierarchical role and body posture have independent or interactive effects on the main outcomes associated with power: action in behavior and abstraction in thought. Although past research has found that being in a powerful role and adopting an expansive body posture can each enhance a sense of power, two experiments showed that when individuals were placed in high- or low-power roles while adopting an expansive or constricted posture, only posture affected the implicit activation of power, the taking of action, and abstraction. However, even though role had a smaller effect on the downstream consequences of power, it had a stronger effect than posture on self-reported sense of power. A final experiment found that posture also had a larger effect on action than recalling an experience of high or low power. We discuss body postures as one of the most proximate correlates of the manifestations of power.

Keywords

power, body posture, hierarchical role, action, abstraction

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The cover of the December 5, 2005, *The New Yorker* shows a comic depiction of the power relationship between the then-president of the United States, George W. Bush, and the vice president, Richard B. Cheney (Fig. 1). President Bush, wearing an apron and carrying a feather duster, is slouched in his posture. The vice president has both arms expansively extended across the back of a sofa, his legs sprawled across a coffee table, while he enjoys a cigar. Although the president has more power vested in him by the Constitution than the vice president does, the cartoon clearly suggests that posture is more indicative of real influence than one's constitutionally sanctioned role. When it comes to power, hierarchical role and physical posture often reinforce one another, but this cartoon suggests that when they diverge within an individual, posture may be more important in determining whether people act as though they are really in charge.

We conducted three experiments that explored the relative impact of body posture and hierarchical role on the manifestations of power. We independently manipulated hierarchical role and body posture and examined their effects on two of the most important individual-level consequences of power found in the literature—action in behavior and abstraction in thought.

Powerful Roles

We define power as asymmetric control over valued resources in social relationships (French & Raven, 1959; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Power can be derived from many sources and is determined in any given situation by the specific interpersonal relationships and the valued resources (Emerson, 1962). One source of power is an individual's role or rank within an organizational hierarchy; this kind of power is often referred to as legitimate power (Gruenfeld & Tiedens, 2010). French and Raven (1959) theorized and Yukl and Falbe (1991) empirically established that hierarchical role is significantly associated with the power to reward or punish. Indeed, numerous psychological and sociological studies support the notion that a role that controls other individuals' outcomes is a critically important, if not the most important, source of power (Fiske, 1993; Milgram, 1974; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Following previous research, we refer to power embedded in hierarchical role as *role power*.

Corresponding Author:
Adam D. Galinsky, Management and Organizations, Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University, 2001 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, IL 60208
E-mail: agalinsky@kellogg.northwestern.edu

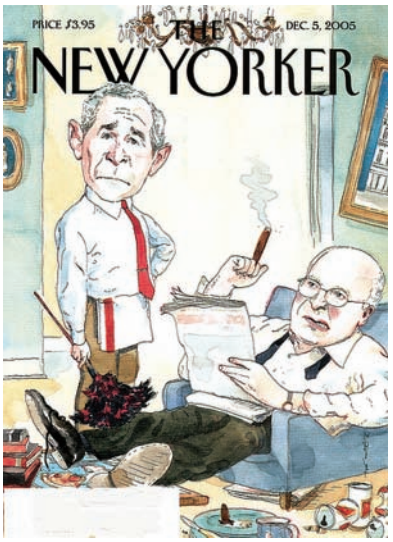

Fig. 1. Cover of *The New Yorker,* December 5, 2005: a comic depiction of then-President George Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney. President Bush appears to have a slouched, constricted posture, and Vice President Cheney the more powerful, expansive posture.

Research has indicated that being in a powerful role has dramatic effects on thought and behavior. Being assigned to the manager role in a simulated or actual organization leads people to take action (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003) and risks (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006), to persist on tasks (Guinote, 2007), and to think more abstractly (Magee, Milliken, & Lurie, 2010; Smith & Trope, 2006) and more optimistically (Fast, Gruenfeld, Sivanathan, & Galinsky, 2009). Not only does being in a high-power role transform people psychologically, but merely recalling an experience of role power is enough to make people act as if they are in a high-power role. After thinking about a time when they were in a high-power role, people are more likely to move an annoying fan blowing right into their face (Galinsky et al., 2003), to make first offers in negotiations (Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld, 2007), to intend to have risky sex without a condom (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006), and to think abstractly by capturing the gist of words (Smith & Trope, 2006). These results suggest that the cognitive and behavioral tendencies associated with power are activated whenever individuals are in a high-power role or even when people simply recall an experience of role power.

Powerful Postures

Recent research suggests that the psychological state of power lies not only within hierarchical roles, but also within the body. Indeed, body openness in adults is positively related to dominance (Hall, Coats, & LeBeau, 2005), and research on children reveals that one of the key differences between dominant and submissive individuals is body expansiveness (Weisfeld & Beresford, 1982). More broadly, research on animal behavior has found a robust relationship between body expansiveness and power-related behavior. Across species, power is expressed and inferred through expansive postures (Ellyson & Dovidio, 1985; Hall et al., 2005). In fact, from fish to reptiles to lower mammals to human's closest evolutionary cousins, nonhuman primates, large body size, or even the mere perception of large body size through expansive postures, is closely associated with and reliably predicts power-consistent behaviors (de Waal, 1982; Flynn, 1967; Morris, Gass, & Ryan, 1995; Tokarz, 1985).

With regard to humans, research has also found that expansive postures cause power-related feelings (Tiedens & Fragale, 2003), cognitions (Riskind & Gotay, 1982), and behavior, as well as changes in hormone levels normally associated with high rank (Carney, Cuddy, & Yap, 2010). In the study by Carney et al. (2010), participants posed by an experimenter into expansive postures reported feeling more powerful, chose riskier gambles, and experienced elevated testosterone and decreased cortisol levels compared with participants in constricted body postures. In related work, constricted postures led to a faster development of learned helplessness, compared with expansive postures (Riskind & Gotay, 1982). These findings suggest that adopting an expansive posture leads to perceptions, behaviors, and even physiological responses that are normally observed in individuals who possess role power.

Roles Versus Postures

Numerous findings show that role power and expansive postures normally go hand in hand (Hall et al., 2005): Being in a high-power role leads to expansive body postures (Leffler, Gillespie, & Conaty, 1982), and people who adopt an expansive posture often act as if they are in charge (Carney et al., 2010) or are perceived by other people to have power (Carney, Hall, & LeBeau, 2005).

However, role power and physical posture can diverge, as shown in the *New Yorker* cartoon. Indeed, the bodily expressions of managers do not always correspond with their hierarchical roles (Goman, 2008). Similarly, candidates' body postures during job interviews do not always correlate with their role or credentials (Rasmussen, 1984).

The fact that physical postures and hierarchical roles do not always correspond led us to question whether role power and posture need to be consistent with one another to influence thought and behavior, or whether they have independent effects. In search of an answer, we investigated the independent effects of role power and embodied power on the consequences of power.

Given the constant association between body expansiveness and power across species, body expansiveness seems to be evolutionarily "paired" with power, and thus may have a particularly strong effect, even in humans, on behavior. Indeed, individuals experience their own body expansiveness as proprioceptive feedback and the appropriate cue for behavior (Carney et al., 2010). Some theories further suggest that the causal link between body expansiveness and power-related behavior may be so close that it is not mediated by and may precede perception. In other words, body posture may be one

of the most proximate correlates of behavior and thus may have a more direct influence than role on power-related behaviors. For example, it would be consistent with the hard interface theory (Zajonc & Markus, 1984) for body expansiveness to be a hard representation of power that guides behavior as effectively as, or more effectively than, roles. Furthermore, it seems plausible that body expansiveness has a direct effect on behavior in the same way that LeDoux (1996) argued certain other bodily sensations (e.g., pain) do. LeDoux claimed that these sensations send afferent messages to the thalamus and on to the amygdala, directly activating behavior even without elaborate deliberation; because of the relatively small number of synapses in this thalamo-amygdaloid pathway, transmission from bodily states to action can be very rapid.

We propose that body expansiveness is one of the most proximate correlates of behavior and therefore activates power-related behavior directly and quickly. We conducted three experiments to explore whether body posture and role have independent effects on thought and behavior. Specifically, we tested the hypothesis that posture has a stronger effect than hierarchical role on two of the most important consequences of power—action tendencies and abstract thinking (Galinsky et al., 2003; Smith & Trope, 2006). The first two experiments manipulated role power through manager-subordinate assignments and manipulated embodied power through expansive and constricted postures. In the final study, we compared recalled power with embodied power by having participants verbally record an experience in which they had high or low power while varying the posture participants held during their recording.

Experiment 1: Implicit and Explicit Activation of Power

Experiment 1 examined whether posture (expansive vs. constricted) and hierarchical role (high vs. low power) implicitly activate the construct of power and affect individuals' explicit sense of power.

Participants and design

Seventy-seven undergraduate students (24 males, 53 females) were randomly assigned to a 2 (posture: expansive vs. constricted) × 2 (role: manager vs. subordinate) between-participants design.

Procedure

Upon arrival, participants filled out a leadership questionnaire that ostensibly assessed their leadership capacity. While participants waited for feedback on their responses, we introduced a "marketing test on ergonomic chairs," which required them to sit in a computer chair in a specific posture for about 3 to 5 min (Tiedens & Fragale, 2003). While sitting in specified postures, participants received and read their leadership-questionnaire feedback, which was used to assign high-power (i.e., manager) and low-power (i.e., subordinate) roles for a two-person puzzle task that would take place later in the experiment (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002; Gruenfeld, Inesi, Magee, & Galinsky, 2008).

Posture manipulation. The postures participants were asked to pose were adopted from Tiedens and Fragale (2003). In the *expansive-posture condition*, participants were asked to place one arm on the armrest of the ergonomic chair and the other arm on the back of a nearby chair; they were also told to cross their legs such that the ankle of one leg rested on the thigh of the other leg and stretched beyond the edge of the chair. In the *constricted-posture condition*, participants placed their hands under their thighs, dropped their shoulders, and placed their legs together.[1]

Role manipulation. The role manipulation was taken from Galinsky et al. (2003). Participants were randomly assigned to the role of manager or subordinate. The *managers* were told that they would direct, evaluate, and reward the subordinates in the two-person puzzle task. The *subordinates* were told that they would follow the managers' direction, build the puzzle, and be evaluated and rewarded by the managers. After reading the roles and releasing themselves from the postures, but before working on the puzzle, participants took part in two other "separate tasks"—word completion and reflection.

Implicit activation of power. We measured the implicit activation of power using a word-completion task, which is frequently used to measure the implicit activation of a construct (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Participants were instructed to complete seven word fragments (i.e., fragments that could be completed as *power*, *direct*, *lead*, *authority*, *control*, *command*, and *rich*) with "the first word that comes to mind." Each completed word received a score of 1, if it was related to power, or a score of 0, if it was not related to power. For instance, completing "l_ad" as *lead* would result in a score of 1, but completing this fragment as *load* would result in a score of 0.

Sense of power. After the implicit measure but before subjects worked on the puzzle task, we measured sense of power using a 10-item survey ($\alpha = .91$). Participants indicated how powerful they felt when reading the feedback and role instructions while testing the ergonomic chair (e.g., "While working on the first two tasks, how powerful did you feel?" 1 = *not at all*; 11 = *very much*). Finally, participants completed the puzzle task and then were debriefed.

Results and discussion

Implicit activation of power. A 2 (posture) × 2 (role) analysis of variance (ANOVA) on the number of power-related words participants generated in the word-completion task revealed a significant main effect of posture, $F(1, 73) = 7.08$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.60$ (see Fig. 2). Participants in the expansive-posture condition generated more power-related words ($M = 3.44$,

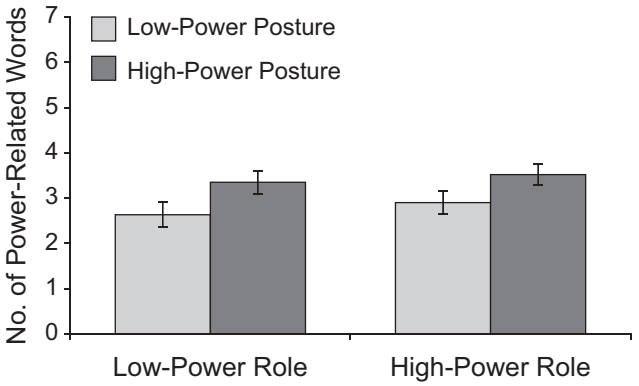

Fig. 2. Mean number of power-related words generated by participants in the word-completion task of Experiment 1 as a function of posture and role condition. Error bars represent ±1 *SEM*.

SD = 0.98) than participants in the constricted-posture condition (M = 2.78, SD = 1.22). Neither the main effect of role, $F(1, 73) = 0.78$, $p = .38$, $d = 0.17$, nor the interaction of role and posture ($p = .84$) reached significance.

Sense of power. A two-way ANOVA on sense of power revealed a significant main effect of role, $F(1, 73) = 10.49$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.69$ (see Fig. 3). Managers ($M = 6.57$, $SD = 1.43$) reported a greater sense of power than did subordinates (M = 5.43, SD = 1.84). There was also a significant, although smaller, effect of posture, $F(1, 73) = 5.46$, $p = .02$, $d = 0.48$. Participants in the expansive-posture condition (M = 6.41, SD = 1.83) reported a greater sense of power than did participants in the constricted-posture condition (M = 5.61, SD = 1.49). The interaction effect did not reach significance ($p > .82$).

Experiment 2: Action and Abstraction

Experiment 1 established that role and posture independently affected participants' sense of power but that only posture affected the implicit activation of power. Experiment 2 was designed to test the effects that posture and role might have on thought and behavior. We explored two broad types of effects that power has been reported to have: abstraction in thought (Magee et al., 2010; Smith & Trope, 2006) and action in behavior (Galinsky et al., 2003; Magee et al., 2007).

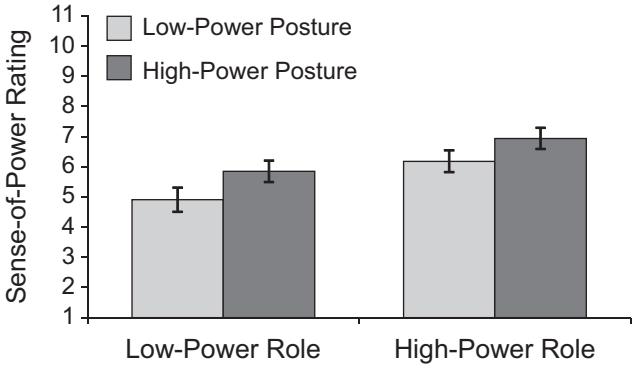

Fig. 3. Mean sense-of-power ratings in Experiment 1 as a function of posture and role condition. Error bars represent ±1 *SEM*.

Participants and design

Seventy-seven undergraduate students (34 males, 43 females) were randomly assigned to a 2 (posture: expansive vs. constricted) × 2 (role: manager vs. subordinate) between-participants design.

Procedure

Participants were given the same posture and role manipulations as in Experiment 1. After reading their roles and releasing themselves from the postures, but before working on the puzzle task, participants took part in two other "separate tasks"—decision making and gestalt completion.

Action. We used the same task used by Galinsky et al. (2003) to measure action. Participants made a decision in a simulated blackjack game in which they possessed a hand totaling 16 and the dealer's face-up card was a 10. They were asked whether they wanted to take a card or not. Taking a card was coded as taking action.

Abstraction. We used an abstraction task that is similar to the one used by Smith and Trope (2006), a variation of the Gestalt Completion Task (Bowers, Regehr, Balthazard, & Parker, 1990). Participants saw a series of fragmented pictures and were asked to identify them. All pictures contained an actual object. Responses were coded in three ways. First, they were scored for whether the actual hidden picture had been identified (1 = yes, 0 = no). Second, they were scored for whether any picture at all had been identified (1 = yes, 0 = no). Third, following the same coding scheme as Smith and Trope (2006), two blind judges coded incorrect responses for their level of abstraction (superordinate, basic, or subordinate). Agreement between the two judges was high (93%), and a third judge resolved any disagreements.

Sense of power. Next, participants filled out the sense-of-power survey from Experiment 1 ($\alpha = .87$). Finally, participants completed the puzzle task and then were debriefed.

Results and discussion

Action. A 2 (posture) × 2 (role) × 2 (action: yes vs. no) log-linear analysis revealed an effect of posture on action, $\chi^2(1, N = 77) = 5.28$, $p = .02$, $\varphi = .25$. In the blackjack scenario, participants in the expansive-posture condition acted (i.e., took a card) more often (81%) than did participants in the constricted-posture condition (58%). Neither role, $\chi^2(1, N = 77) = 1.38$, $p = .24$, $\varphi = .13$, nor the interaction between role and posture, $\chi^2(1, N = 77) = 2.48$, $p = .12$, had a significant effect on action.[2]

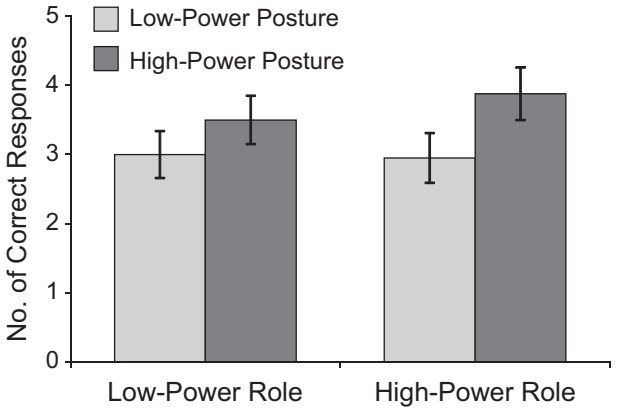

Fig. 4. Mean number of gestalts correctly completed in Experiment 2 as a function of posture and role condition. Error bars represent ±1 *SEM*.

Abstraction. A two-way ANOVA revealed a main effect of posture on the number of correctly identified objects in the abstraction task, $F(1, 73) = 3.96$, $p = .05$, $d = 0.45$ (see Fig. 4). Participants in the expansive-posture condition ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.70$) correctly identified more pictures than did participants in the constricted-posture condition ($M = 2.98$, $SD = 1.42$). Neither the main effect of role, $F(1, 73) = 0.21$, $p = .65$, $d = 0.09$, nor the interaction of posture and role ($p > .55$) was significant. A similar ANOVA on the overall tendency to report seeing pictures did not yield any significant effect ($ps > .43$).

We also tested the abstraction of incorrect guesses, looking at the number of responses referring to superordinate, subordinate, and basic categories. Posture had a main effect on the number of superordinate categories, $F(1, 73) = 11.51$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.74$. Participants in the expansive-posture condition ($M = 0.68$, $SD = 0.71$) generated more superordinate categories than did participants in the constricted-posture condition ($M = 0.23$, $SD = 0.48$). Posture also had a main effect on the number of subordinate categories, $F(1, 73) = 7.30$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.64$, with participants in the expansive-posture condition ($M = 0.84$, $SD = 0.93$) generating fewer subordinate completions than participants in the constricted-posture condition ($M = 1.65$, $SD = 1.53$). For superordinate and subordinate categories, there were no main effects of role, $F(1, 73) = 0.28$, $p = .60$, $d = 0.09$, and $F(1, 73) = 0.17$, $p = .69$, $d = 0.10$, and no interaction effects ($ps > .15$). As in the study by Smith and Trope (2006), the number of basic categories did not differ between any conditions ($ps > .11$).

Sense of power. A two-way ANOVA on sense of power found a significant main effect of role, $F(1, 72) = 11.36$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.76$. Managers ($M = 6.28$, $SD = 1.77$) reported a higher sense of power than did subordinates ($M = 5.14$, $SD = 1.18$). Sense of power was higher among participants in the expansive-posture condition ($M = 5.90$, $SD = 1.62$) than among participants in the constricted-posture condition ($M = 5.46$, $SD = 1.54$), as in Experiment 1, but the difference was not significant, $F(1, 72) = 1.97$, $p = .16$, $d = 0.28$. There was no interaction effect ($p = .62$).

Discussion. Posture consistently produced stronger effects than role on the two most widely reported outcomes of power—action in behavior and abstraction in thought. Expansive postures led participants to take a card in blackjack and to successfully identify gestalt images. In addition, posture affected the abstraction of incorrectly identified gestalts. Role, in contrast, did not have a significant effect on action and abstraction. However, as in Experiment 1, role had a stronger effect on self-reported sense of power than did posture. The absence of interaction effects between role and posture also replicated the results of Experiment 1.

Because the effect of posture on sense-of-power ratings was in the expected direction but not statistically significant in Experiment 2, we conducted a meta-analysis on sense-of-power ratings, calculating the average effect size of posture and role in the first two experiments (Rosenthal, 1991). Conducting this meta-analysis was justified because the homogeneity tests did not reach significance, $\chi^2(1, N = 153) = 0.35$, $p = .55$, and $\chi^2(1, N = 153) = 0.04$, $p = .85$. Comparing expansive and constricted postures revealed a significant effect, $Z = 2.29$, $p = .02$. $d = 0.38$, indicating that body expansiveness had a significant effect on sense of power. The average effect size was substantially larger for role, $Z = 4.35$, $p < .01$, $d = 0.73$, than for posture.

Experiment 3: Posture Versus Recall

As mentioned in the introduction, power is housed not only in roles and postures but also in the mind, through memories and past experiences (Galinsky et al., 2003). Simply recalling an experience of being in a high-power role leads individuals to think and behave as if they currently occupy that role (e.g., Galinsky et al., 2003; Guinote, 2007; Smith & Trope, 2006). Galinsky et al. (2003) analyzed the responses that participants in their studies gave when asked to recall an experience with high or low power and found that over 70% described being in a high- or low-power role (e.g., manager-subordinate, teacher-student, coach-player, etc), which suggests that power-related recall might have the same effect as role when pitted against body posture. Experiment 3 was designed to replicate the differential effect of posture on action but with role power manipulated through recalling a past experience of role power.

Participants and design

Fifty-seven undergraduate students (27 males, 30 females) were randomly assigned to a 2 (posture: expansive vs. constricted) × 2 (recalled power: high vs. low) between-participants design.

Procedure

On arrival, participants were asked to take part in a "memory task" and a "marketing test on ergonomic chairs" simultaneously. In the chair test, we used the same procedure from Experiments 1 and 2 to induce expansive or constricted postures.

While sitting in the chair in the specified posture, participants in the *high-power-recall condition* were instructed to verbally record, through a microphone, a particular incident in which they had power over another individual or individuals, a situation in which they controlled the ability of another person or persons to get something they wanted, or were in a position to evaluate those individuals. Participants in the *low-power-recall condition* recalled a particular incident in which someone else had power over them (Galinsky et al., 2003).

Next, participants decided whether or not to take action in three scenarios: They chose (a) whether to speak first in a debate (Magee et al., 2007), (b) whether to leave the site of a plane crash to find help, and (c) whether to join a movement to free a prisoner who was wrongly imprisoned. Our dependent measure was the total number of times each participant decided to act (0–3).

Results and discussion

A 2 (posture) × 2 (recall) ANOVA on the number of times participants took action revealed a significant effect of posture, $F(1, 53) = 5.41$, $p = .03$, $d = 0.63$ (see Fig. 5). Participants in the expansive-posture condition ($M = 1.82$, $SD = 0.67$) took action more often than did participants in the constricted-posture condition ($M = 1.41$, $SD = 0.63$). Neither the main effect of recall, $F(1, 53) = 0.39$, $p = .53$, $d = 0.21$, nor the interaction of posture and recall ($p = .55$) reached significance.

Experiment 3 conceptually replicated the action results from Experiment 2. Posture had a significant effect on action, whereas recalling an experience of role power while experiencing embodied power did not have a significant effect.

General Discussion

Across three experiments, posture mattered more than role in determining thought and behavior. Compared with being in or recalling being in a high-power role, embodied power consistently had stronger effects on two of the key outcomes of power—action in behavior and abstraction in thought. These experiments are the first both to explore the effect of posture on abstraction and to investigate whether role or posture affects the implicit activation of power.

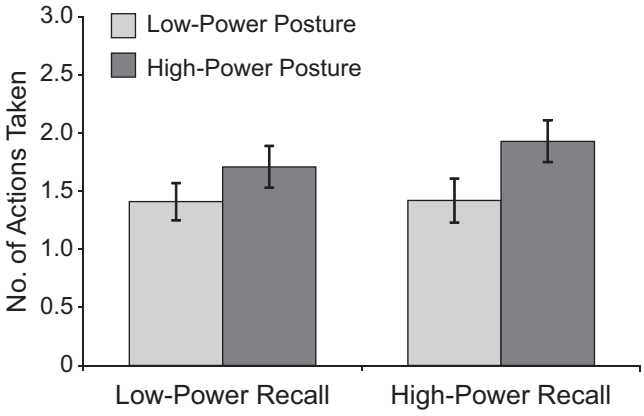

Fig. 5. Mean number of times participants took action in Experiment 3 as a function of posture and recall condition. Error bars represent ±1 *SEM*.

Recent research suggests that posture expansiveness can create neuroendocrine shifts, activate a sense of power, and produce behavioral changes (Carney et al., 2010). Our experiments significantly extend these findings by showing that posture actually has a stronger effect than role power on the behavioral and psychological manifestations of power. The current findings further bolster the notion that power is embodied, or grounded in bodily states. To think and act like a powerful person, people do not need to possess role power or recall being in a powerful role.

We acknowledge that whenever two main effects in an experiment are compared and one is found to be larger than the other, the significant difference could be due to one variable simply having been manipulated more strongly than the other. This does not seem likely in the present case, as our role manipulation had stronger effects than posture on participants' sense of power, even though our posture manipulation had stronger effects on the downstream consequences of power.

Given previous findings that role power has reliable effects on action and abstraction tendencies, it is somewhat surprising that we did not find direct effects of these variables. However, body expansiveness has long been "consulted" throughout evolution when humans or other animals decide whether to appease or act against their rivals. The close link between posture expansiveness and power may be so deeply wired into people that it "mutes" the effect of role when postures are sufficiently salient.

Previous research in other areas also seems to favor the primacy of the body. Riskind (1984), for instance, tested the effect of body posture (upright vs. slumped) and feedback (success vs. failure) on internal locus of control. In his second experiment, he found that only posture predicted locus of control. Similarly, prior research on emotions has shown that when manipulated independently, arm extension (avoidance) versus flexion (approach) has a stronger effect ($d = 1.32$) than cognitive constructs on perceived arousal ($d = 0.90$; Centerbar, Schnall, Clore, & Garvin, 2008, Experiment 2). Our results dovetail with these findings and suggest that the body has an intimate link to many important psychological processes. The body appears to be the most proximate correlate of power-related behavior.

Our experiments are the first to compare the effects of different sources of power on action and abstraction. Despite our consistent findings that posture has larger effects than role on action and abstraction, future research should test contexts in which role may trump posture. For example, we assigned participants to be a manager or subordinate but did not have them enact those roles (see Anderson & Berdahl, 2002). Perhaps enacting one's role power is necessary for a main effect of role to emerge when posture is in play. Additionally, given that posture and role are often consistent with each other (Hall

et al., 2005), future research should explore whether adopting expansive postures in low-power roles leads people to experience interpersonal backlash for not knowing their place (e.g., Anderson, Srivastava, Beer, Spataro, & Chatman, 2006) and whether interactions between a manager with a constricted posture and a subordinate with an expansive posture are uncomfortable (Tiedens & Fragale, 2003).

Conclusion

The current findings suggest that if you want to predict how people, like Bush and Cheney in our opening example, will act in any given moment, it may make sense to look to their posture instead of their title.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared that they had no conflicts of interest with respect to their authorship or the publication of this article.

Notes

1. At the end of the experiment, participants answered an open-ended question that checked for suspicion. Analysis of their answers revealed that only 12 out of 77 participants expressed any suspicion that the posture they adopted in the ergonomic task was related to power. Removing these cases, however, did not change the results (*p*s < .03).

2. Across the three experiments, gender did not moderate the effect of posture or role on sense of power or power-related outcomes except in one instance. In Experiment 2, analyses on the action dependent variable showed a significant interaction of gender and posture, $\chi^2(1, N = 77) = 5.65$, $p = .02$. Females were more likely to take action when adopting an expansive posture (90.5%) than when adopting a constricted posture (45.5%), $\chi^2(1, N = 43) = 9.92$, $p < .01$, $\varphi = .48$. Males' action did not vary as a function of posture (68.8% vs. 72.2 %), $\chi^2(1, N = 34) = 0.05$, $p > .82$, $\varphi = .04$.

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