

HEAVY IS THE HEAD THAT WEARS THE CROWN: AN ACTOR-CENTRIC APPROACH TO DAILY PSYCHOLOGICAL POWER, ABUSIVE LEADER BEHAVIOR, AND PERCEIVED INCIVILITY

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Recognizing that powerholders operate in dynamic relational and interdependent work contexts, we posit that the effects of psychological power on powerholders are more complex than currently depicted in the literature. Although psychological power prompts behaviors and perceptions that harm the powerless, these reactions are not without consequence for the actor. We integrate the social distance theory of power with consent-based theories of power to posit that, although psychological power elicits negative behaviors and perceptions, these same reactions hurt leaders' subsequent well-being. To explore this possibility, we conducted an experimental experience sampling study with a sample of managerial employees whom we surveyed for 10 consecutive workdays. We find that leaders enact more abusive behavior and perceive more incivility from others on days when they are exposed to psychological power compared to days when they are not. Leaders higher in agreeableness are less affected by psychological power. In turn, abusive behavior and perceived incivility harm leaders' subsequent well-being as indicated by their reduced need fulfillment and ability to relax at home. We discuss theoretical implications for research on psychological power, abusive leadership, perceived incivility, and leader well-being, as well as practical implications for employees and their organizations.

"I have never been able to conceive how any rational being could propose happiness to himself from the exercise of power over others."

—Thomas Jefferson

Power is largely thought of as a corrupting force. Indeed, the notion that "power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely" (Acton, 1907: 504) is one that permeates the popular press, business culture, and politics. The popularity of this idea is based not only on anecdotal observations, but also on abundant research showing that power causes individuals to engage in behaviors that are harmful to the powerless (Bargh, Raymond, Pryor, & Strack, 1995; Bugental, 1993; Chen, Lee-Chai, & Bargh,

2001; Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Kipnis, 1972; Milgram, 1963; Zimbardo, 1973) and motivates negative perceptions and attributions of others (Inesi, Lee, & Rios, 2014; Mooijman, van Dijk, Ellemers, & van Dijk, 2015). This evidence is consistent with theoretical perspectives that describe the psychological consequences of power. For example, the social distance theory of power (Magee & Smith, 2013) suggests that power creates psychological distance between the powerful¹ and the powerless, prompting the powerful to engage in negative behaviors and evaluations of others. Although this theoretical perspective has been applied to a variety of situations, it is particularly relevant

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¹ We use "powerholders" and "powerful" interchangeably to refer to people experiencing a heightened sense of psychological power.

to understanding enacted abuse and perceived incivility by organizational leaders.

“Abusive behavior” includes taking undue credit, shifting blame, and threatening, humiliating, or ridiculing followers in front of others (Aryee, Chen, Sun, & Debrah, 2007; Tepper, 2000). “Perceived incivility” refers to experienced low-intensity deviant acts with ambiguous intent to harm, such as being ignored, disrespected, or spoken to in a condescending tone (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Blau & Andersson, 2005). Both abusive behavior and perceived incivility are problematic in the workplace. For example, there is robust empirical evidence that abusive acts harm followers’ psychological well-being, work performance, creativity, and relationship quality at home (Aryee et al., 2007; Carlson, Ferguson, Hunter, & Whitten, 2012; Carlson, Ferguson, Perrewé, & Whitten, 2011; Liu, Liao, & Loi, 2012; Mawritz, Mayer, Hoobler, Wayne, & Marinova, 2012; Mitchell & Ambrose, 2007; Wu & Hu, 2009). Beyond these effects on followers, abusive behavior is also harmful to organizations, as companies lose an estimated \$23.8 billion annually in health care costs and productivity reductions related to abuse (Tepper, Duffy, Henle, & Lambert, 2006; Tepper, Moss, & Duffy, 2011). Similarly, experienced incivility interferes with employees’ own performance and has been linked to annual organizational costs of \$14,000 per employee (Porath & Pearson, 2010; Rosen, Koopman, Gabriel, & Johnson, 2016).

Propagating the notion that “power corrupts,” social distance theory posits that power may explain why leaders enact abusive behavior and why they perceive more incivility from others. According to this theory, power causes leaders to behave in a negative way toward others and to perceive that others are behaving negatively toward them because of the behavioral and psychological tendencies associated with psychological power (Georgesens & Harris, 1998; Inesi, Gruenfeld, & Galinsky, 2012; Kipnis, 1976; Magee & Smith, 2013; Mooijman et al., 2015). Rarely, however, do applications of social distance theory examine what happens to powerholders *after* they enact power-induced negative behaviors or after they develop power-induced negative perceptions about how others have treated them. Thus, although informative, this perspective on power does not portray a complete picture of how psychological power affects powerful leaders because it largely ignores the consequences that these negative behaviors and perceptions will have on leaders. Power is likely to have complex effects on powerholders (Galinsky, Rucker, & Magee, 2015; Smith & Overbeck, 2014), and this necessitates

a reexamination of the broad generalization by social distance theory and similar perspectives that power turns people into unaffected “jerks.”

In contrast to social distance theory, which for the most part overlooks the consequences of power-induced negative behaviors and perceptions on leaders, consent-based theories of power (Hindess, 1996; Keltner, van Kleef, Chen, & Kraus, 2008; Overbeck, 2010) help describe how these behaviors and perceptions may affect the powerful. These perspectives acknowledge that powerful leaders operate within a sociological domain that includes interactions with subordinates, and that subordinates’ possible reactions may affect powerholders’ own attitudes and behaviors (e.g., Oc, Bashshur, & Moore, 2015). Considering social distance theory and consent-based theories’ perspectives in conjunction recognizes that “powerful actors are not entirely free” (Tost, 2015: 45) of the consequences of their power-induced negative behaviors and perceptions. Instead, because of the interdependent nature of work, leaders may also suffer from being in a powerful state.

Considering these possibilities, we present a theoretical model that integrates social distance theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) with consent-based theories of power (Hindess, 1996; Overbeck, 2010) to explore the consequences of psychological power on powerholders’ behaviors and perceptions within the context of leaders’ workdays. In an experimental experience sampling study, we test the impact of psychological power on leaders’ propensity to enact abusive behavior and to perceive incivility from others at work. These outcomes are informed by social distance theory, which suggests that power motivates negative behaviors and perceptions directed toward others. Consistent with perspectives that people vary in their sensitivity to power (Maner, Gailliot, Menzel, & Kunstman, 2012), we also study agreeableness as a moderator of these effects. In terms of consequences, we examine the effects of psychological power, abusive behavior, and perceived incivility on leader well-being as captured by need fulfillment and relaxation. These outcomes are informed by consent-based theories of power, which suggest that there are ramifications to power-induced negative behaviors and perceptions, and by recent research showing that daily leader behaviors have important consequences for leaders’ own daily needs and well-being (Lanaj, Johnson, & Lee, 2016). Figure 1, below, depicts our conceptual model.

Our theoretical model and field experimental design make several key theoretical contributions.

First, because prior studies have primarily studied the immediate effects of psychological power in contexts that lack real interactions with subordinates (Overbeck, 2010), they may have overemphasized the corrupting effects of power on actors. Our integrated theoretical framework presents a more veridical picture of the effects of psychological power for the powerholder by examining its daylong effects in a naturalistic setting where leaders interact with coworkers. Our findings suggest that powerholders are not unaffected “jerks,” but, rather, that psychological power nudges leaders to enact abusive behavior and to perceive incivility, and that these reactions are in turn associated with decreased well-being for powerholders.

Second, by focusing on actor outcomes, we contribute to research on abusive leadership, which has focused almost exclusively on follower outcomes. While this body of work offers a consistent picture of the profoundly negative effects that abusive behavior has on followers, little is known about how its enactment may impact abusive leaders themselves. Our integrative framework helps us to think differently about abusive behavior by showing that actors may be wounded by their own abuse. That is, our study shows that abuse is not without consequence for the abuser, and, instead, that engaging in abuse can ultimately come back to haunt the abuser.

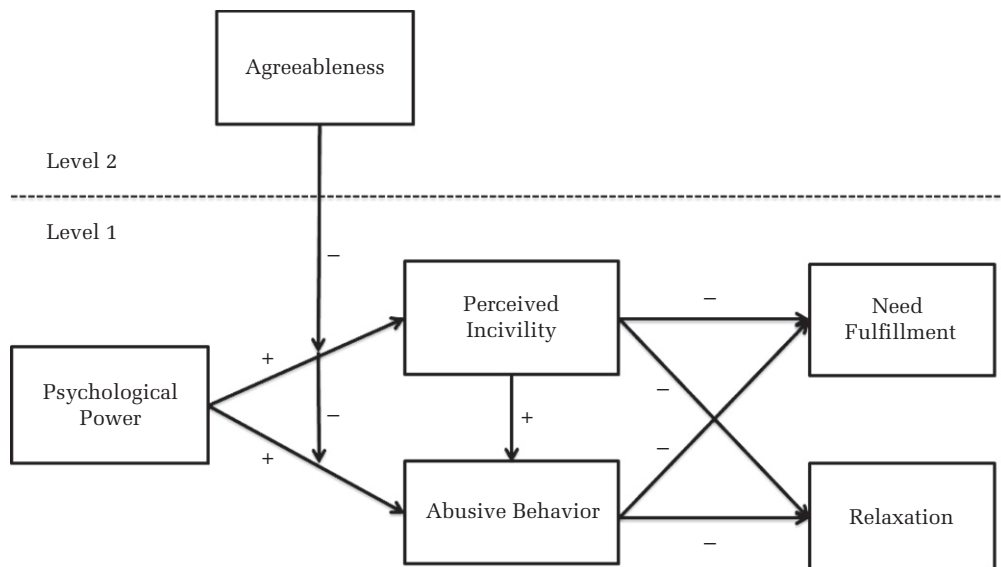
Third, our study highlights the importance of leaders’ sense of psychological power in predicting abusive behavior and perceptions of incivility. Recent

research indicates that abusive behavior fluctuates daily and most of its variance is explained within rather than between leaders (Barnes, Lucianetti, Bhave, & Christian, 2015; Johnson, Venus, Lanaj, Mao, & Chang, 2012), but most studies on antecedents of abusive leader behavior have focused on stable individual differences and contextual features (Aryee et al., 2007; Burton, Hoobler, & Scheuer, 2012; Hoobler & Brass, 2006; Kiewitz, Restubog, Zagenczyk, Scott, Garcia, & Tang, 2012). Similarly, recent evidence suggests that there is substantial daily variance in perceptions of incivility, yet little is known about predictors of daily perceived incivility (Rosen et al., 2016). Our research contributes to these lines of work by showing that situationally activated psychological power is a dynamic predictor of both abusive leader behavior and perceptions of incivility. This approach is informative because it highlights the role that dynamic contextual factors play in prompting leaders to engage in abusive behavior and to perceive incivility. From a practical standpoint, our findings suggest that curbing psychological power or putting agreeable people in powerful situations may mitigate some of the negative consequences observed here.

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

“Power” is often defined as the asymmetric control over valued resources (Emerson, 1962; Fiske, 2010; Keltner et al., 2003; Magee & Galinsky, 2008), or, more

FIGURE 1
Conceptual Model



broadly, as the ability to influence others while also remaining immune from influence (Galinsky, Magee, Gruenfeld, Whitson, & Liljenquist, 2008). As these definitions imply, power is often construed as a structural variable (Ng, 1980), in that powerholders have some actual ability to control resources or to influence others. This control or influence is often based on power bestowed by the organization (i.e., someone is given formal power based on his or her position), or based on a particular skill or resource that an individual controls. Structural power, however, is not the only way power can exist within organizational settings. Power is also a fluid psychological state that can be activated by the situation (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003). Psychological power refers to an individual's perception of his or her ability to influence another person or other people in a particular context (Anderson, John, & Keltner, 2012). While some research suggests that psychological power and structural power have similar effects on leaders (Galinsky et al., 2003; Weick & Guinote, 2008), other research suggests that they may affect them differently (Bugental & Lewis, 1999; Tost, 2015). One reason for this difference is that structural power may afford leaders access to organizational resources that psychological power does not (e.g., Sherman et al., 2012).

Building on work by Keltner and colleagues (2003), we focus on situationally induced psychological power for three main reasons. First, leaders are likely to encounter situations and events that may activate the concept of power on a daily basis (e.g., being reminded by their supervisor that they are in charge, attending a meeting for management only, making a hiring or firing decision), resulting in substantial daily variance in psychological power (Galinsky et al., 2003; Keltner et al., 2003). Second, while psychological power varies day to day and moment to moment, its effects on daily behaviors and perceptions at work have not been examined. And third, research suggests that psychological power may have corrupting effects and may motivate leaders to behave and react in negative ways (DeCelles, DeRue, Margolis, & Ceranic, 2012). Therefore, day-level fluctuations in situationally induced psychological power may allow us to make important contributions toward understanding leaders' negative behaviors and perceptions, and how these, in turn, affect leaders' own well-being.

Power, Abusive Behavior, and Perceived Incivility

According to social distance theory, psychological power creates social distance between the person possessing it and others (Inesi et al., 2012; Lammers,

Galinsky, Gordijn, & Otten, 2012; Magee & Smith, 2013), which disinclines powerful leaders from treating followers with regard and causes powerholders to objectify others. Supporting these notions, recent evidence suggests that experiencing power causes individuals to be less compassionate (van Kleef, Oveis, van der Löwe, LuoKogan, Goetz, & Keltner, 2008) and less concerned with treating others fairly (Begley, Lee, & Hui, 2006; Blader & Chen, 2012), and that such disengagement may result in the expression of abusive behavior (Berkowitz & Harmon-Jones, 2004; Brondolo et al., 1998; Dutton, Saunders, Starzomski, & Bartholomew, 1994). These expectations are also in line with prior research showing that power is associated with more negative behaviors toward others, such as hostility (Prislin, Sawicki, & Williams, 2011), unethical behavior (Hirsh, Galinsky, & Zhong, 2011), dominance (Cheng, Tracey, Foulsham, Kingstone, & Henrich, 2012; Tost, Gino, & Larrick, 2013), norm violation (Galinsky et al., 2008), objectification of others (Galinsky et al., 2006), and corruption (Bendahan, Zehnder, Pralong, & Antonakis, 2015), all of which are conceptually similar to abusive acts in organizational settings. Therefore, consistent with our arguments and prior research, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1. Psychological power will be positively related to abusive leader behavior.

Social distance theory suggests that, in addition to motivating abusive behavior, power also changes the expectations that powerholders have for how others should treat them. Specifically, social distance theory posits that powerholders "expect low-power individuals to make significant efforts to affiliate with them" and that powerholders develop "miscalibrated expectations about the extent to which their low-power counterparts will approach them" (Magee & Smith, 2013: 160). This perspective posits that powerful leaders will expect special treatment and respect from others and that they will monitor their environment closely to ascertain whether this comes about (Major, 1994). Indeed, psychological power has been shown to increase perceptions of unfairness against the self (Sawaoka, Hughes, & Ambady, 2015), suggesting that power increases expectations for good treatment. Thus, whereas powerholders may be less motivated to affiliate with others, they do expect others to try harder to affiliate with them and to treat them well (e.g., Inesi et al., 2014).

This means that, independent of followers' behaviors, leaders in a powerful state are likely to perceive followers as behaving in a disrespectful or discourteous manner because their behaviors do

not match the leaders' inflated expectations. This prediction is in line with recent applications of social distance theory, which have shown that power causes cynical attributions and distrust of others' behaviors and intentions (Inesi et al., 2012; Mooijman et al., 2015), suggesting that powerholders perceive even benign interactions in an overly negative light. For example, Mead and Maner (2012) argued that power causes leaders to interpret positive acts from followers as threats, providing further evidence that power changes the way that leaders interpret interactions with followers and that it biases their perceptions in a negative way. Consistent with predictions of social distance theory, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2. Psychological power will be positively related to perceptions of incivility from others.

So far, we have argued that psychological power will be associated with more abusive behavior as well as with a heightened sense of perceived incivility from others. Because perceived incivility often triggers retaliation, we also expect that it will lead to abusive behavior. Andersson and Pearson (1999) argued that perceived incivility is typically met with an aggressive response, as those who perceive incivility feel the need to retaliate and seek revenge. Those authors argued that, when individuals experience even minor acts of incivility from others, these perceptions are likely to be interpreted as threats to identity. Although acts of incivility are by definition low in intensity, leaders are likely to respond to any perceived identity threat with retaliation (Bunk & Magley, 2013; Kim & Shapiro, 2008). The behavioral responses associated with incivility are similar in nature to the abusive leadership construct, and include deviant behaviors (Lim & Teo, 2009), counterproductive behaviors (Penney & Spector, 2005), and the destruction of resources (Foulk, Woolum, & Erez, 2016). Considered together, in addition to its direct effect on abusive behavior, we expect that psychological power will influence abusive behavior indirectly via perceived incivility. Consistent with these arguments, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 3. Perceived incivility from others will be positively related to abusive leader behavior.

Hypothesis 4. Perceived incivility will partially mediate the relationship between psychological power and abusive leader behavior.

The Moderating Effect of Agreeableness

Research suggests that not all people respond to psychological power in the same way. "Agreeable" leaders—that is, those who value social closeness, relationships, and harmony—may be less susceptible to the negative behavioral and perceptual tendencies associated with psychological power. Agreeable leaders are altruistic, sympathetic, generous, and eager to help others (Costa & McCrae, 1985; Washington, Sutton, & Feild, 2006). They desire social closeness rather than social distance, and their predisposition is likely to attenuate the behavioral and perceptual responses that result from psychological power. Thus, while all leaders may be subject to experiences of psychological power, we expect that agreeable leaders will react to psychological power differently. For example, individuals with high levels of agreeableness are more likely to maintain social relationships (Jensen-Campbell & Graziano, 2001), are more sensitive to the needs of their subordinates (Kalshoven, den Hartog, & de Hoogh, 2011), and are more likely to be described by their followers as having their best interests in mind (Walumbwa & Schaubroeck, 2009).

Because the inherent essence of agreeableness is at odds with power-induced inclinations, we expect that highly agreeable leaders will be less likely to respond to psychological power by engaging in abusive behavior. Whereas psychological power induces leaders to abuse followers because it numbs their emotional reactions to followers' distress (Georgeson & Harris, 2000; Magee & Smith, 2013; Neuberg & Fiske, 1987; Stevens & Fiske, 2000), agreeable leaders have a natural concern for the well-being of their followers (Digman, 1989; McCrae & John, 1992) and remain cognizant of the emotional responses of their followers. Agreeable leaders are particularly concerned with treating followers fairly (Brown & Treviño, 2006) and may not enact abusive behavior as readily when they are in a powerful state. Thus, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 5. Agreeableness moderates the positive relationship between psychological power and abusive leader behavior, such that this association is weaker for those higher (vs. lower) in agreeableness.

We expect that agreeableness will also moderate the effects of psychological power on perceived incivility. Power causes leaders to expect followers to make efforts to treat them well (Magee &

Smith, 2013), but agreeable leaders believe in dealing with others in a straightforward manner (e.g., McCrae & Costa, 1987), likely reducing their need and desire for ingratiating behaviors on the part of followers. Agreeable leaders are less likely to develop inflated expectations of others' conduct and to expect preferential treatment when in a powerful state. Because agreeableness is at odds with propensities created by psychological power, we expect that agreeable leaders are less likely to perceive incivility when they are in a powerful state. Hence:

Hypothesis 6. Agreeableness moderates the positive relationship between psychological power and perceived incivility, such that this association is weaker for those higher (vs. lower) in agreeableness.

Abusive Behavior, Perceived Incivility, and Leader Well-Being

Our integrated framework speaks to the complex nature of psychological power in organizational settings. Whereas social distance theory posits that power results in behaviors that are harmful to the powerless (Acton, 1907; Bargh et al., 1995; Bugental, 1993; Chen et al., 2001; Galinsky et al., 2006; Keltner et al., 2003; Kipnis, 1972; Milgram, 1963; Zimbardo, 1973), consent-based theories of power argue that power is relational and bidirectional (Cartwright & Zander, 1968; Handgraaf, van Dijk, Vermunt, Wilke, & de Dreu, 2008; Hollander, 2009; Overbeck & Park, 2001; Tost, 2015; Tost, Wade-Benzoni, & Johnson, 2015), raising the possibility that power and power-induced negative behaviors may also harm the powerholder. This is because, as Tost (2015: 39) pointed out, some work interactions may act as reminders that "the supervisor's power and performance ability has constraints."

Consent-based theories of power suggest that power-induced behaviors and perceptions do not occur in a social vacuum because leaders are dependent on others. These perspectives suggest that followers react to power and power-induced behaviors in ways likely to impact powerholders' own subsequent attitudes and behaviors. Expressing this sentiment, Keltner et al. (2008: 18) wrote that the "tension between what is needed in leaders and what kind of behavior power tends to produce is likely to be a central motive of social constraint processes by which group members regulate the

actions of high-power individuals." Powerholders are likely to consider the ramifications of their negative behaviors and experiences because they care about maintaining their current state of power (Fehr, Herz, & Wilkening, 2013; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Since enacted abuse and perceived incivility thwart leaders' ability to maintain power, we expect that such experiences will reduce leaders' own well-being.

Well-being is vitally important for organizational actors, as it impacts not only how employees think and feel, but also how they do their jobs (Cooper & Cartwright, 1994; Danna & Griffin, 1999). It is a multidimensional construct (Cooper & Cartwright, 1994; Danna & Griffin, 1999), and we focus on two dimensions that are crucial for employees at the day level: daily need fulfillment and relaxation. "Daily need fulfillment" is an integral dimension of well-being that assesses actors' satisfaction of their needs for autonomy, relatedness, and competence (Deci & Ryan, 2000; La Guardia, Ryan, Couchman, & Deci, 2000; Ryan, 1995; Ryan & Frederick, 1997), and prior research at the day level shows that leaders' daily behaviors affect their daily need fulfillment (Lanaj et al., 2016). The three needs overlap considerably in naturalistic settings (e.g., Baard, Deci, & Ryan, 2004; Sheldon & Niemiec, 2006; Uysal, Lin, & Knee, 2010), and thwarting any one of these needs results in negative effects on overall need fulfillment (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Lian, Ferris, & Brown, 2012; Reis, Sheldon, Gable, Roscoe, & Ryan, 2000).

Daily needs are fulfilled when individuals are able to engage in actions that help them pursue valued goals and achieve desired end states (Brunstein, 1993; Elliot, Sheldon, & Church, 1997; Reis et al., 2000; Sheldon & Elliot, 1999; Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne, & Ilardi, 1997). In our context, need fulfillment is maximized when leaders are unconstrained by those around them to pursue their goals. Consent-based theories of power, however, suggest that power-induced negative behaviors such as abuse may harm leaders' subsequent well-being because they tend to trigger negative reactions from followers, which threaten leaders' future power and influence in a group. For example, recent research suggests that, as a response to daily abuse, employees may constrain leaders by becoming less focused on their jobs (Barnes et al., 2015). This should thwart leaders' feelings of competence and relatedness because followers' performance is a reflection of leaders' competence and influence (e.g., Lanaj et al., 2016), and may also thwart leaders' feelings of

autonomy by highlighting their dependency on followers to complete daily responsibilities.

Similar to abuse, perceived incivility may reduce leaders' daily need fulfillment because it signals to leaders that followers showed disrespect that day, harming leaders' need for relatedness. Additionally, daily perceived incivility may constrain leaders' ability to pursue task-relevant goals. For example, recent research suggests that perceived incivility at the day level drains cognitive resources because employees spend effort processing the interaction (Rosen et al., 2016). The effort associated with managing daily incivility detracts from leaders' ability to make progress on task-relevant activities (e.g., Rafaeli, Erez, Ravid, Derfler-Rozin, Treister, & Scheyer, 2012; Rosen et al., 2016) that fulfill their needs for autonomy and competence. Furthermore, perceived incivility signals to the leader that they failed to exert sufficient influence over followers that day at work, further harming their needs for autonomy and competence.

Taken together, our theorizing suggests that both abusive leader behavior and perceived incivility will be negatively related to daily leader need fulfillment. When considered as part of our integrated framework, this implies that, when leaders are in a powerful state, they are more likely to both engage in abusive behavior and to perceive more incivility from followers, and that these experiences ultimately thwart leaders' ability to satisfy their daily needs. Abusive behavior and perceived incivility, therefore, should mediate the relationship between psychological power and leader need fulfillment. Accordingly, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 7. Abusive leader behavior is negatively related to leader daily need fulfillment.

Hypothesis 8. Perceived incivility is negatively related to leader daily need fulfillment.

Hypothesis 9. Abusive leader behavior mediates the relationship between psychological power and leader daily need fulfillment.

Hypothesis 10. Perceived incivility mediates the relationship between psychological power and leader daily need fulfillment.

The other component of well-being investigated in this study is "relaxation," which refers to a state in which employees are free from tension and anxiety. Prior research indicates that relaxation is a fundamental component of well-being (Sonnentag & Fritz, 2007; Sonnentag, Mojza, Binnewies, & Scholl, 2008; Stone, Kennedy-Moore, & Neale,

1995; van der Klink, Blonk, Schene, & van Dijk, 2001) because it energizes employees and protects them from stressful experiences (Fritz & Sonnentag, 2006; Sonnentag & Fritz, 2007). It is an important measure of leader well-being because the leader role is particularly stressful, in that leaders spend most of their time putting out figurative fires by handling various deadlines and managing often-difficult interpersonal relations at work (Ganster, 2005; Hambrick, Finkelstein, & Mooney, 2005; Sparks, Faragher, & Cooper, 2001). Abusive acts and perceived incivility, however, are likely to interfere with leaders' ability to relax when at home because such negative events prompt ruminative processes, such as worrying.

Leaders are likely to have a difficult time relaxing at home on days when they engage in abusive behavior or perceive incivility from others because these events tend to trigger repetitive thoughts about such negative events. One type of repetitive thought is worrying, which is defined as "a chain of thoughts and images, negatively affect-laden and relatively uncontrollable" and as "an attempt to engage in mental problem-solving on an issue whose outcome is uncertain but contains the possibility of one or more negative outcomes" (Borkovec, Robinson, Pruzinsky, & DePree, 1983: 10). In this way, worry is antithetical to relaxation, as a relaxed state is defined as low activation with high positive affect (Stone et al., 1995). Indeed, perceived incivility has been directly linked with worry and negative repetitive thoughts (Porath, MacInnis, & Folkes, 2010), and harmful and abusive behavior has been shown to cause distress typically associated with worry (Collins & Bailey, 1990; Kruppa, Hickey, & Hubbard, 1995; Steiner, Garcia, & Matthews, 1997). Perceived incivility from others is also likely to draw powerholders' attention because it indicates that their power at work and their ability to attain work goals—both of which depend on others' acceptance of the powerholder's legitimacy—may be in jeopardy.

Thus, our logic implies that abusive behavior and perceived incivility will prevent relaxation at home because these behaviors threaten leaders' status at work and because of the ruminative processes typically associated with these experiences. Taken together, we expect that, when leaders are in a state of power, they are likely both to engage in abusive behavior and to perceive incivility from others, and that these will prevent the leader from relaxing at home. Hence, abusive leader behavior and perceived incivility will mediate the relationship between

psychological power and relaxation. Accordingly, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 11. Abusive leader behavior is negatively related to leader relaxation at home.

Hypothesis 12. Perceived incivility is negatively related to leader relaxation at home.

Hypothesis 13. Abusive leader behavior mediates the relationship between psychological power and leader relaxation at home.

Hypothesis 14. Perceived incivility mediates the relationship between psychological power and leader relaxation at home.

METHOD

Participants

We invited 116 professional and managerial employees to participate in this research. The participants were enrolled in executive MBA courses at a large southeastern university in the United States, participated voluntarily, and received personalized developmental feedback reports and course extra credit for taking part in this study. We received useable data from 108 participants. Participants' average age was 33.78 ($SD = 6.78$), and their average work experience was 10.82 years ($SD = 7.28$). The majority of the sample (68.3%) was male; 70.3% of the sample identified themselves as White, 12.3% identified themselves as Hispanic, and 10.1% identified themselves as Asian/Pacific Islander. Participants held occupational positions such as executive vice president, business development manager, and director of operations across a variety of industries such as medicine, engineering, education, and banking. On average, participants worked 9.38 hours each day ($SD = 2.24$).

Procedure

We collected data over a three-workweek period via an initial one-time background survey followed by a series of daily surveys. The background survey was completed in the first week, and included the informed consent release for participation in the study and person-level measures for demographics and agreeableness. The daily surveys were completed in the second and third weeks, and were emailed to participants three times each day—morning, afternoon, and evening—for 10 consecutive workdays (Monday–Friday). We sent the morning survey

between 6 a.m. and 7 a.m. each morning, and it included the power manipulation (described below). We sent the afternoon survey at 4 p.m. each day, and it measured abusive leader behavior, perceived incivility, positive and negative affect, and work performance. We sent the evening survey at 8 p.m. each evening, and it measured daily need fulfillment and relaxation. The average start time for the morning survey was 8:28 a.m., the average start time for the afternoon survey was 5:23 p.m., and the average start time for the evening survey was 8:24 p.m. The average time lapse between the morning survey and the afternoon survey was 9.05 hours, and the average time lapse between the afternoon survey and the evening survey was 4.26 hours. From the 108 individuals who participated in the study, we received a total of 832 day-level data points (out of a total possible of 1,080) for a response rate of 77%.

Psychological Power Manipulation

On each of the 10 days of the study, we randomly assigned participants to the control or experimental condition using a constrained random matrix, which ensured that during the study, participants were in the power condition for five out of the 10 days of the study, and in the control condition for the other five days. Furthermore, on each day of the study, half of the participants in our sample were in the power condition and the other half in the control condition. The order of manipulation and control conditions was random within and across the participants. We described the manipulation and control tasks to the participants as mental tasks designed to sharpen their focus.

We manipulated power in the morning survey by utilizing validated methods previously shown to induce psychological power (Galinsky et al., 2003; Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld, 2007; Smith & Trope, 2006). Consistent with recommendations from prior research, we used both conscious (writing induction) and unconscious (word and sentence completion) manipulations of power in this study. Whereas both types of manipulations have similar effects (Welsh & Ordóñez, 2014), they activate power in two complementary ways. Subconscious primes activate the concept of power, whereas conscious primes activate the mindset of power (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000). According to Galinsky et al. (2003), power blurs the line between a mindset and a concept; thus, we employed both methods to ensure that both psychological states of power were manipulated.

The priming task consisted of either a word fragment task or a sentence completion task. In the word fragment tasks (Magee et al., 2007), participants were shown 10 word fragments with several characters missing (i.e., “p o w _ r”) and asked to complete each fragment with the first word that came to mind. In the power condition, seven of the word fragments were words associated with power (e.g., “boss,” “authority,” “executive”), and in the control condition, all words were designed to be neutral in nature (e.g., “guitar,” “island,” “drawer”). In the sentence completion tasks (Smith & Trope, 2006), participants were shown 10 combinations of five words and were asked to create a grammatically correct sentence for each combination using four of the words (e.g., “somewhat prepared I was told” = “I was somewhat prepared”). Seven out of the 10 combinations in the power condition were designed to create sentences that were associated with power (e.g., “The executive decided yesterday,” “She dominates the class,” “His authority is unquestioned”). In the control condition, all 10 combinations were designed to create sentences that were neutral in nature (e.g., “The party was fun,” “The oranges are sweet,” “The sky is blue”).

The second part of the manipulation prompted participants to write a short paragraph about a recent experience (Galinsky et al., 2003). In the power condition, participants were asked to write two to five sentences describing a situation in which they had power. In the control condition, participants were asked to write about an experience that was neutral in terms of power. Our instructions varied across days, such that participants reflected and reported on different activities on each of the 10 study days. However, the writing inductions were consistent with the prime manipulations, such that the prime and the writing induction were either both control or both power for a given participant on a given day.

We did not include an explicit manipulation check in this study, as for manipulations like these to work well it is important that participants are not aware of their purpose (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Lombardi, Higgins, & Bargh, 1987). Furthermore, by asking participants to reflect on their own perceived power, repeated manipulation checks could themselves serve as a manipulation of power (Anderson & Galinsky, 2006). Although participants may have still become aware of the manipulation over the course of the study, excluding a manipulation check minimizes this effect. Thus, we felt that

the risk of including an explicit manipulation check outweighed the benefits.²

Measures

Daily abusive leader behavior. We measured daily abusive behavior in the afternoon survey with a five-item scale recently published in other daily studies (e.g., see Barnes et al., 2015; Johnson et al., 2012). Participants indicated how often (from 1 = *never* to 6 = *five or more times*) they had engaged in various abusive behaviors that day at work. Example items included “Yelled or swore at a work group member,” “Behaved in a nasty or rude manner to a work group member,” and “Made fun of a work group member.” The average coefficient α was .66.

Daily perceived incivility. We measured perceived incivility in the afternoon survey with an adapted version of the five-item scale developed by Cortina, Magley, Williams, and Langhout (2001). Consistent with Lim, Ilies, Koopman, Christoforou, and Arvey (2016) and Rosen et al. (2016), we instructed participants to focus their answers on their experiences at work that day. Participants rated their agreement along a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Example items included “A coworker put me down or was condescending to me,” “A coworker addressed me in unprofessional terms,” and “A coworker excluded me from professional comradery.” The average coefficient α was .90.

² We used the existing data to do a post hoc manipulation check. Following procedures described by Galinsky et al. (2003), we randomly selected 100 of the responses that participants wrote in the writing induction portion of the power manipulation, with 50 of these 100 coming from the power condition and 50 coming from the control condition. We asked three coders who were blind to both the purpose of the study and to the experimental condition to read each response and answer to the question “How much power does this person describe having?” on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = *none at all* to 5 = *a great deal*. We conducted an aggregation test, the results of which suggested there was a high degree of agreement among the raters (ICC(2) = .82; LeBreton & Senter, 2008); therefore, we aggregated the responses from the three coders into a single variable. Results of an analysis of variance provided evidence that participants indicated having significantly more power in the power condition than in the control condition ($M_{\text{power}} = 3.38$, $SD_{\text{power}} = .79$; $M_{\text{control}} = 1.96$, $SD_{\text{control}} = .48$; $F(1,98) = 117.84$, $p < .01$), suggesting that the power manipulation was successful.

Daily need fulfillment. We measured need fulfillment in the evening survey using the nine-item scale developed by La Guardia and colleagues (2000). Participants indicated their agreement with each of the items (1 = *very slightly or not at all* to 5 = *very much*), and examples included “Today, I felt like a competent person,” “Today, I felt respected and cared about by my coworkers,” and “Today, I had a say in what happened and could voice my opinion.” Consistent with prior research, we collapsed all items into one overall scale (La Guardia et al., 2000; Lanaj et al., 2016; Weinstein & Ryan, 2010). The average coefficient α was .83.

Daily relaxation. We used four items developed by Sonnentag and Fritz (2007) to measure relaxation in the evening survey. Participants expressed their agreement with each item about activities they did that evening at home (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*), and sample items included “I kicked back and relaxed,” “I did relaxing things,” and “I took time for leisure.” The average coefficient α was .97.

Agreeableness. We used eight items from the Big Five mini-markers scale (Saucier, 1994) to measure trait agreeableness (response scale, 1 = *very slightly or not at all* to 5 = *very much*), and examples included “cooperative,” “warm,” and “kind.” The coefficient α was .78.

Controls

State affect. We measured positive and negative affect in the afternoon survey with five items each from the short form of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Mackinnon, Jorm, Christensen, Korten, Jacomb, & Rodgers, 1999; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Participants indicated the extent to which each item captured how they felt at that moment using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *very slightly or not at all* to 5 = *very much*). Example items for positive affect included “inspired,” “alert,” and “excited,” and example items for negative affect included “afraid,” “upset,” and “nervous.” The average coefficient α were .94 and .85 for positive and negative affect, respectively.

Daily work performance. We adapted four items from the scale developed by Williams and Anderson (1991) to measure daily work performance. Similar to Koopman, Lanaj, and Scott (2016), who used these items in a daily study similar to this one, we adapted these items by asking participants to rate their performance at work that day. Participants rated their agreement along a

5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*) with each of the four items about their performance at work that day. Example items included “I have performed the tasks expected of me,” “I have engaged in activities that directly affect my performance,” and “I have adequately completed my assigned duties.” The average coefficient α was .93.

We controlled for positive and negative affect throughout our model because prior research suggests that affective states predict abusive behavior in organizations (Tepper, 2007), and because affective states have also been shown to have a close relationship with incivility (Porath & Erez, 2009) and well-being (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002). Thus, in order to explore the unique effects of power on the focal variables in our model, it was important to remove the influence of affect from these variables. We also controlled for the effect of daily work performance because performance can influence negative behaviors (Schilpzand, de Pater, & Erez, 2016) and because leader performance is likely to influence a leader’s ability to relax (Fritz & Sonnentag, 2009) as well as a leader’s need fulfillment (Deci & Ryan, 2008).

We conducted a multilevel confirmatory factor analysis to verify the distinctiveness of the variables in our study. At the within level, we modeled abusive behavior, perceived incivility, need fulfillment, relaxation, positive affect, negative affect, and daily work performance. At the between level, we included agreeableness. The fit statistics for this model were acceptable ($\chi^2 = 1779.97$, root mean square error of approximation = .05, comparative fit index = .91, standardized root mean square residual = .05). We compared this model to several alternative models using the Satorra–Bentler chi-square difference test incorporating the maximum-likelihood restricted scaled correction factors (Satorra & Bentler, 2001). We compared our full model to three models: (1) a model in which our mediators (abusive behavior and perceived incivility) loaded on a single factor and the rest of the items loaded on their respective constructs; (2) a model in which our well-being outcomes (need fulfillment and relaxation) loaded on a single factor and the rest of the items loaded on their respective constructs; and (3) a model in which a single factor was estimated for our mediators and a single factor was estimated for our outcomes, and the rest of the items loaded on their respective constructs. Results indicated that our proposed model fit the data significantly better than these alternative models ($\chi^2 = 4556.06$ (6),

$p < .01$; $\chi^2 = 1049.44(6)$, $p < .01$, and $\chi^2 = 2466.33(11)$, $p < .01$, respectively).

RESULTS

Table 1 shows within- and between-person correlations as well as descriptive statistics for all study variables. To ensure that multilevel modeling was appropriate for our analyses, we examined the within-person variance in our endogenous variables. We estimated a null model for each variable using Mplus 7.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 2014) to partition each variable’s variance into within-person and between-person components. Analyses indicated that all four of our focal variables had substantial within-person variance necessitating the use of multilevel modeling (abusive leadership = 76%; perceived incivility = 55%, need fulfillment = 42%; relaxation = 69%). We used Mplus 7.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 2014) to test our hypotheses by running multilevel path analyses. Figure 1 shows the path model that we tested; we exclude control variables for simplicity, and the full analyses are shown in the tables.

Following recommendations by Hofmann, Griffin, and Gavin (2000), we group-mean centered all level 1 predictors. Group-mean centering removes between-person confounds, allowing for a more veridical assessment of within-person effects. We grand-mean centered our level 2 moderator, agreeableness. Results of the within-person path model that simultaneously tests all relationships of interest are presented in Table 2, below. Table 3 (following) builds on the within-person model by adding between-

person effects for agreeableness. We modeled hypothesized associations with free slopes, and control variables with fixed effects.

Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 predicted that power would be positively related to abusive leader behavior (Hypothesis 1) and perceived incivility (Hypothesis 2), and that perceived incivility would be positively related to abusive leadership behavior (Hypothesis 3). We found support for these hypotheses. As Table 2 shows, power was positively related to both abusive behavior ($B = .04$, $p = .041$) and perceived incivility ($B = .10$, $p = .001$), and perceived incivility was positively related to abusive behavior ($B = .03$, $p = .049$).

Hypothesis 4 predicted that perceived incivility would mediate the relationship between power and abusive behavior. To test Hypothesis 4, we followed the procedure recommended by Preacher, Zyphur, and Zhang (2010) for testing mediation relationships in multilevel models. This procedure takes into account the asymmetric sampling distribution of indirect effects. Using parameter estimates and standard deviations obtained from our model that simultaneously estimated all paths of interest, we used a Monte Carlo simulation with 20,000 replications to construct 95% confidence intervals for the indirect effects. This procedure is commonly used to estimate indirect effects in multilevel models (e.g., Foulk et al., 2016; Lanaj, Johnson, & Barnes, 2014; Shi, Johnson, Liu, & Wang, 2012). We estimated the covariances between the random slopes in our model (Bauer, Preacher, & Gil, 2006; Kenny, Korchmaros, & Bolger, 2003). The slope

TABLE 1
Within- and Between-Person Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Psychological Power	0.50	0.14	—	.13	.06	.02	-.06	-.10	-.01	.29**
2. Perceived Incivility	1.46	0.51	.08*	—	.31**	-.48**	-.08	-.19	.15	-.30**
3. Abusive Behavior	1.08	0.14	.08*	.06	—	-.19	.09	-.05	.06	-.16
4. Need Fulfillment	3.77	0.56	.03	-.09*	-.10*	—	.24*	.49**	-.29**	.50**
5. Relaxation	3.22	0.82	.08	.08	-.08	.20**	—	.02	-.17	.06
6. Positive Affect	2.97	0.86	.03	-.06	-.01	.18**	-.06	—	-.01	.44**
7. Negative Affect	1.25	0.35	-.08*	.16**	.08*	-.14**	.00	-.28**	—	-.13
8. Task Performance	3.97	0.48	-.01	-.02	.03	.22**	.02	.20**	-.13**	—
9. Agreeableness	3.90	0.54	-.11	-.11	-.21*	.20*	.02	.17	.01	.14

Notes: Variables 1 through 8 are within-individual (level 1) variables. Variable 9 is a between-individual (level 2) variable. Except for agreeableness, within-individual correlations are shown below the diagonal, and are based on within-individual scores ($N = 832$). Bivariate correlations for agreeableness are based on between-individual scores. Between-individual correlations are shown above the diagonal and are based on between-individual scores ($N = 108$). Means and standard deviations are based on between-individual scores.

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

TABLE 2
Multilevel Path Model Results

	Perceived Incivility			Abusive Behavior			Need Fulfillment			Relaxation		
	B	SE	t	B	SE	t	B	SE	t	B	SE	t
Intercept (b ₀₀)	1.42	0.05	29.64**	1.01	0.02	42.88**	4.11	0.14	29.72**	3.28	0.18	18.62**
Positive Affect (b ₁₀)	-0.02	0.03	0.56	0.01	0.01	0.82	0.07	0.04	1.71	-0.10	0.08	1.21
Negative Affect (b ₂₀)	0.22	0.08	2.91**	.06	0.02	3.20**	-0.08	0.07	1.11	-0.03	0.10	0.34
Task Performance (b ₃₀)	0.00	0.05	0.05	0.01	0.01	0.69	0.15	0.05	2.91**	0.07	0.09	0.84
Psychological Power (b ₄₀)	0.10	0.03	3.26**	0.04	0.02	2.05*	0.04	0.04	1.00	0.12	0.09	1.35
Perceived Incivility (b ₅₀)				0.03	0.02	1.97*	-0.10	0.05	2.17*	0.08	0.08	1.03
Abusive Behavior (b ₆₀)							-0.19	0.07	2.68**	-0.22	0.09	2.59*

Notes: N (level 1) = 832; N (level 2) = 108. Unstandardized coefficients are reported. Level 1 predictors were group-mean centered.

* *p* < .05

** *p* < .01

covariances were non-significant, thus we omitted them from the tests of our hypotheses (Tofghi, West, & MacKinnon, 2013). The indirect effect of power on abusive leadership via perceived incivility was .003, and the 95% confidence interval did not contain zero (95% CI [.0004, .01]), supporting Hypothesis 4.

Hypotheses 5 and 6 predicted that agreeableness would moderate the relationship between psychological power and both abusive leader behavior (Hypothesis 5) and perceived incivility (Hypothesis 6). As Table 3 shows, the moderating effect of agreeableness on the relationship between psychological power and abusive behavior was negative and significant (B = -.05, *p* = .048), supporting

Hypothesis 5. Following the recommendation by Cohen, Cohen, West, and Aiken (2003), we plotted the interaction at conditional values of agreeableness (1 *SD* above and below the mean). This relationship is presented in Figure 2. We followed procedures recommended by Preacher, Curran, and Bauer (2006) to estimate simple slopes, which confirmed that the relationship between psychological power and abusive behavior is weaker for individuals higher (+ 1 *SD*) in agreeableness (B = .01, *p* = .449) versus individuals lower (-1 *SD*) in agreeableness (B = .06, *p* = .023). We did not find support for Hypothesis 6—agreeableness did not moderate the effect of psychological power on perceived incivility (B = .05, *p* = .390).

TABLE 3
Multilevel Path Model Results for the Moderating Effects of Agreeableness

	Perceived Incivility			Abusive Behavior			Need Fulfillment			Relaxation		
	B	SE	t	B	SE	t	B	SE	t	B	SE	t
Intercept (b ₀₀)	1.42	0.05	30.04**	1.03	0.03	33.29**	4.11	0.14	29.92**	3.28	0.18	18.64**
<i>Level 2 Predictor</i>												
Agreeableness (b ₀₁)	-0.13	0.11	1.21	-0.02	0.02	1.40						
<i>Level 1 Predictors</i>												
Positive Affect (b ₁₀)	-0.02	0.03	0.55	0.01	0.01	0.76	0.07	0.04	1.71	-0.10	0.08	1.21
Negative Affect (b ₂₀)	0.22	0.08	2.90**	0.06	0.02	3.21**	-.08	0.07	1.11	-0.03	0.10	0.34
Task Performance (b ₃₀)	0.00	0.05	0.07	0.01	0.01	0.72	0.15	0.05	2.91**	0.07	0.09	0.84
Psychological Power (b ₄₀)	0.10	0.03	3.29**	0.04	0.02	2.06*	0.04	0.04	1.00	0.12	0.09	1.35
Perceived Incivility (b ₅₀)				0.02	0.02	0.97	-0.10	0.05	2.17*	0.08	0.08	1.03
Abusive Behavior (b ₆₀)							-0.19	0.07	2.70**	-0.22	0.09	2.60**
<i>Cross-Level Moderators</i>												
Power × Agreeableness (b ₄₁)	0.05	0.06	0.86	-0.05	0.02	1.98*						

Notes: N (level 1) = 832; N (level 2) = 108. Unstandardized coefficients are reported. Level 1 predictors were group-mean centered. Level 2 predictors were grand-mean centered.

* *p* < .05

** *p* < .01

Hypotheses 7 and 8 predicted that abusive leader behavior (Hypothesis 7) and perceived incivility (Hypothesis 8) would both be negatively related to leader need fulfillment. Results of these analyses are presented in Table 2 and show that both abusive behavior ($B = -.19, p = .007$) and perceived incivility ($B = -.10, p = .030$) had negative associations with daily need fulfillment, supporting both Hypotheses 7 and 8. Hypotheses 9 and 10 predicted that abusive leader behavior (Hypothesis 9) and perceived incivility (Hypothesis 10) would mediate the relationship between psychological power and need fulfillment. We tested these indirect effects using the method recommended by Preacher et al. (2010) and found that the indirect effect of power on need fulfillment via abusive behavior was $-.01$ (95% CI $[-.02, -.0001]$), and that the indirect effect of psychological power on need fulfillment mediated by perceived incivility was $-.01$ (95% CI $[-.02, -.0001]$). Neither confidence interval contained zero, thus both Hypotheses 9 and 10 were supported.

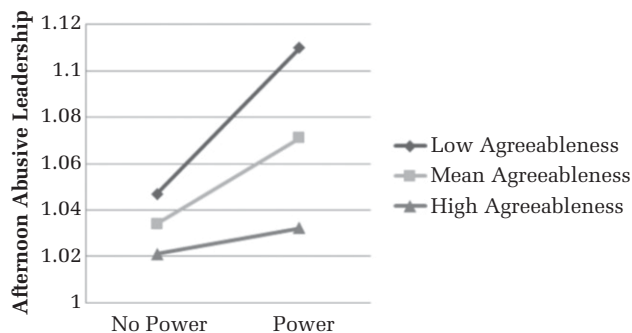
Hypotheses 11 and 12 predicted that abusive leader behavior (Hypothesis 11) and perceived incivility (Hypothesis 12) would be negatively related to leader relaxation. Results of these analyses are presented in Table 2 and show that abusive leader behavior was significantly related to leader relaxation ($B = -.22, p = .010$) but perceived incivility was not ($B = .08, p = .305$), supporting Hypothesis 11 but not Hypothesis 12. Hypotheses 13 and 14 predicted that abusive leader behavior (Hypothesis 13) and perceived incivility (Hypothesis 14) would mediate the relationship between psychological power and relaxation. The indirect effect of psychological power on relaxation via abusive leader behavior was $-.01$ (95% CI $[-.02, -.0001]$), and the

indirect effect of psychological power on relaxation via perceived incivility was $.01$ (95% CI $[-.01, .02]$). The confidence interval for the mediating effect of abusive leader behavior did not contain zero, but the confidence interval for the mediating effect of perceived incivility did contain zero; thus, Hypothesis 13 was supported but Hypothesis 14 was not supported.³

DISCUSSION

Although there is clear and compelling evidence that interacting with powerful individuals can be harmful to the powerless (Bowling & Michel, 2011; Burris, Detert, & Chiaburu, 2008; Haggard, Robert, & Rose, 2011; Hobman, Restubog, Bordia, & Tang, 2009; Lin, Wang, & Chen, 2013; Tepper, Moss, Lockhart, & Carr, 2007), little is known about how power-induced negative behaviors and perceptions affect powerholders themselves. Integrating social distance theory (Magee & Smith, 2013) with consent-based theories of power (Hindess, 1996; Overbeck, 2010) allows us to shed new light on how psychological power impacts leaders' behavior, perceptions, and subsequent well-being. We found that psychological power increased both leaders' abusive behavior and leaders' perceived incivility from others, and that leader perceived incivility partially mediated the relationship between psychological power and abusive behavior. Both abusive behavior and perceived incivility harmed leaders' well-being, as indicated by reduced daily need fulfillment and reduced relaxation at home. Furthermore, abusive leader behavior and perceived incivility mediated the relationship between psychological power and leader well-being. Consistent with our

FIGURE 2
Moderating Effect of Agreeableness on the Relationship between Psychological Power and Abusive Behavior



³ Although we did not hypothesize moderated mediation, we investigated whether agreeableness moderated the indirect effects of psychological power on relaxation and need fulfillment mediated by abusive behavior. To test for moderated mediation (Edwards & Lambert, 2007), we followed procedures by Preacher et al. (2010) and calculated the magnitude of the indirect effects at conditional levels of agreeableness (i.e., at $\pm 1 SD$; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). Results indicated that abusive behavior mediated the relationship between psychological power and need fulfillment at low levels of agreeableness (95% CI $[-.02, -.002]$), but not at high levels of agreeableness (95% CI $[-.01, .01]$). Similarly, results suggested that abusive behavior mediated the relationship between psychological power and relaxation at low levels of agreeableness (95% CI $[-.03, -.003]$), but not at high levels of agreeableness (95% CI $[-.02, .01]$). Thus, agreeableness moderated the indirect effects of psychological power on both well-being outcomes.

theoretical arguments that the effects of psychological power would not influence all leaders in the same way, we found that the impact of psychological power on abusive leader behavior was weaker for leaders higher in agreeableness. In all, we show that those in a state of elevated psychological power are neither universally monsters (as demonstrated by our agreeableness moderator), nor unaffected jerks (as presented by our findings that power-induced abusive behavior hurt actors' well-being). Rather, leaders are susceptible to psychological power, which causes them to have negative interactions with others, subsequently hurting their own well-being. These insights and findings offer a number of theoretical and practical implications.

Theoretical Implications

Our work makes several theoretical contributions to the domains of power and leadership. First, we show that psychological power has more complex effects on powerholders than currently recognized in the power literature. For example, research applying social distance theory has generally ignored the interdependent work context in which the powerful operate. As Overbeck (2010: 36) noted, social psychological studies of power have tended to study power in "situations that prompt a powerful mindset but lack active relations with subordinates." This limited scope is problematic because, "although social power can be negative, and power holders can be corrupt, a science that explained only those dimensions of experience would necessarily be incomplete" (Overbeck, 2010: 30). Our integration of social distance theory with consent-based theories of power leverages the notion that the powerful operate in interdependent contexts and provides rich insights on the effects that psychological power has on actors across important life domains. Our approach also responds to recent calls for integrative theoretical work that investigates the complex effects of power (Galinsky et al., 2015), and offers promise for future work interested in examining how psychological power affects powerholders.

Second, we contribute to the literatures on abusive leader behavior and perceived incivility by showing that daily variation in psychological power is a contextual predictor of both constructs. Recent evidence suggests that there is substantial daily within-person variance in both enacted abuse and perceived incivility (Barnes et al., 2015; Rosen et al., 2016), yet studies examining predictors have tended to assume that these behaviors are relatively stable. However, as we show here, leaders may act abusively and perceive

incivility not necessarily because of who they are, but because of their current state of psychological power.

Third, we contribute to the literature on leader well-being. Although leadership is a social process involving both leaders and followers, little attention has been devoted to how leader behaviors affect the leader. Since interpersonal events are bidirectional, it is important to understand how positive and negative leader behaviors and perceptions may affect the leaders themselves. Recent work has established that positive leader behaviors such as transformational acts are beneficial for leaders because they improve their moods and fulfill their daily needs (Lanaj et al., 2016). Contributing to this line of work, we examine negative leader behaviors and perceptions at work and how they impact leaders' well-being at home.

Finally, we extend frameworks on power by identifying agreeableness as an individual difference that buffers the extent to which leaders react to psychological power. Specifically, we find that the effects of psychological power on abusive leader behavior and subsequently on leader well-being are weaker for people who are higher in agreeableness. Although agreeable people enact less abusive behavior as a function of being in a powerful state, they still perceive more incivility from others, and respond by enacting more abusive behavior. Thus, although agreeableness does offer some protection to leaders, it does not serve as a holistic inoculator for the negative effects of power. Nevertheless, this finding is important because it suggests that prosocial individual traits may be beneficial to both powerful leaders and to their followers.

Practical Implications

Our work offers several practical implications for leaders, managers, and organizations. As shown here, leaders' sense of psychological power can be activated by even minor encounters with stimuli associated with power (Galinsky et al., 2003), and as a result, it varies from day to day or situation to situation. Since power causes leaders to engage in abusive behavior, followers of leaders who regularly experience psychological power are likely to perform worse (Aryee, Sun, Chen, & Debrah, 2008; Jian, Kwan, Qiu, Liu, & Yim, 2012; Xu, Huang, Lam, & Miao, 2012). Thus, high levels of psychological power may ultimately harm a leader's ability to obtain (or maintain) structural power if these leaders also sustain high levels of abusive behavior. It may be prudent, therefore, for organizations to have structures through which leaders have regular meetings

with someone higher up in the organization to whom they are accountable and who can give them honest feedback about their behavior. Similarly, as we show here, leaders may enact abusive behavior and perceive incivility not because they are terrible individuals, but because of situational primes. Awareness that power may motivate negative reactions toward others is the first step to self-regulation; thus, leaders should be aware of the potential corrupting effects that power may have on them. Our work also suggests that, all else being equal, it may be appropriate to assign powerful roles to agreeable leaders, as agreeableness weakens the relationship between leader power and abusive behavior.

As seen here, power indirectly interferes with leaders' ability to relax at home. In addition to implementing accountability structures that prohibit abusive behavior toward followers, organizations may also develop relaxation opportunities for leaders such as midday breaks, opportunities to disengage from work, and mindfulness practices. In addition to improving leader well-being, these practices may promote better self-regulation among leaders, who may then be more mindful when interacting with their subordinates. For example, recent research shows that mindfulness buffers against negative emotions that link perceptions of injustice to retaliation (Long & Christian, 2015). Leaders in powerful states who also participate in mindfulness practices, therefore, may be less reactive toward their followers and may enact less abusive behavior.

Strengths, Limitations, and Directions for Future Research

This study has several strengths worth noting. We are among the first to manipulate power at the day level in a field experiment, which enriches the conclusions drawn from our work. The field experiment design also allows us to make attributions about the causal order of the associations observed among our variables of interest. Additionally, our participants are managerial and professional workers from a variety of organizations, lending generalizability to the results across organizations. Furthermore, we surveyed participants three times each day for 10 consecutive workdays, which allowed us to separate our measures in time and to get multiple observations for our variables.

Despite these strengths, as is the case with most studies, our study also has several limitations. First, while our independent variable of

psychological power was manipulated, the measures of our mediators and dependent variables are all self-reported, raising concerns of common method and source bias (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). The self-reported nature of our measures was necessary because leaders are the best people to evaluate their own perceived incivility and well-being. Arguably, they may also be the best people to rate abusive acts enacted toward others since followers may not be privy to all leader–follower interactions (Courtright, Gardner, Smith, McCormick, & Colbert, 2015). Furthermore, from a statistical point of view, we group-mean centered our level 1 variables, which removes between-person variance; thus, social desirability and other person-level confounds cannot explain the effects observed here, further mitigating common source concerns. Nevertheless, we invite future research to replicate our findings by collecting data from multiple sources.

Additionally, we only examined behavioral outcomes at work, but power may also influence negative behaviors at home, such as abruptness or incivility toward family members. Alternatively, abusive behavior enacted at work may induce a sense of guilt, which leaders may try to assuage by enacting positive behaviors toward their family members, such as completing more chores, helping more, and being more present. We focused only on the negative consequences of power in this study because of the predictions informed by our theoretical framework; however, it is possible that psychological power may also influence positive behaviors, such as an enhanced sense of confidence. We invite future research to examine both the positive and negative consequences of power at work as well as at home.

As part of our manipulation of psychological power, we used the writing induction approach developed by Galinsky and colleagues (2003). We did so for two main reasons: (1) because this manipulation has been widely validated in prior research (Brinol, Petty, Valle, Rucker, & Becerra, 2007; DeCelles et al., 2012; DeWall, Baumeister, Mead, & Vohs, 2011; Galinsky et al., 2003; Inesi, Botti, Dubois, Rucker, & Galinsky, 2011; Lammers & Stapel, 2009; Lammers, Stoker, & Stapel, 2009; Rucker, Dubois, & Galinsky, 2011; Rucker & Galinsky, 2008), and (2) because it has been recognized as one of the dominant approaches to manipulating psychological power in organizational studies (Anderson & Brion, 2014; Sturm & Antonakis, 2015). Despite its wide use, though, some concerns have been recently raised regarding this manipulation (Sturm & Antonakis, 2015; Tost, 2015). For example,

according to Tost (2015), the writing manipulation may trigger a competitive orientation in powerholders by reminding them of situations in which their goals were in conflict with someone else's. Alternatively, Tost (2015) argued that competitiveness might be a natural node in the cognitive network for power that is accessed by this manipulation. As a result, the writing manipulation may drive competitiveness and make communal behaviors associated with power difficult to observe. Although our focus in this paper is not on communal behavior, this manipulation may cause us to observe a stronger negative relationship between psychological power and well-being if it indeed triggers more abusive behavior than other manipulations. Testing the distinction between power and competitiveness goes beyond the scope of our current work, but we invite future research to disentangle these effects by utilizing different manipulations of power.

Although our theoretical model suggests that perceived incivility triggers abusive behavior (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Bunk & Magley, 2013), it could be that abusive behavior prompts perceived incivility from others. To examine this empirically, in supplemental tests, we re-ran our multilevel path model but reversed the hypothesized path between perceived incivility and abusive behavior, such that abusive behavior predicted perceived incivility. Since these models are non-nested, we used the procedure recommended by Hooper, Coughlan, and Mullen (2008) as well as Wang and Chan (2011), which suggests comparing information criteria statistics. All three information criteria results suggested that the model with the relationship between abusive leadership and perceived incivility in the hypothesized direction (Akaike's information criterion = 3954.64, Bayesian information criterion = 4148.41, sample size-adjusted Bayesian information criterion = 4018.21) fit the data better than the model with this relationship in the reverse direction (Akaike's information criterion = 3977.32, Bayesian information criterion = 4171.10, sample size-adjusted Bayesian information criterion = 4040.89). Although these tests assuage reverse-causality concerns to some degree, they are not conclusive and future research should investigate the directionality between perceived incivility and abusive behavior in contexts where they are separated in time.

Our findings that psychological power reduces daily well-being via daily abusive behavior and perceived incivility are at odds with between-person

research suggesting that structural power is associated with increased well-being (Sherman et al., 2012). One reason for these differential findings may be that structural power and psychological power have different effects. Although some suggest that the effects of structural power and psychological power are similar (Galinsky et al., 2003; Keltner et al., 2008; Weick & Guinote, 2008), others posit that these cannot be treated as interchangeable constructs (Tost, 2015). Indeed, work by Sherman et al. (2012) has suggested that structural power may enhance leader well-being because these leaders have access to resources that further enhance their sense of control (such as respect, reputation, money, and influence), which may not be the case for psychological power. On the other hand, several recent studies have shown that power can result in negative attitudes for the powerholder, such as feelings of distrust (Mooijman et al., 2015), heightened sensitivity to social threats (Mead & Maner, 2012), cynical attributions (Inesi et al., 2012), and unhappiness in some cultures (Datu & Reyes, 2015, 2017), all of which may reduce powerholders' well-being. Thus, although there is some research that reports positive associations between power and well-being, other work (ours included) suggests that there are negative associations. Future research should examine both positive and negative effects of power on well-being to understand why and when power promotes such effects.

Another limitation is that abusive leadership is a low base rate phenomenon and the range of values in our sample was restricted. Research examining daily abusive behavior reports similarly low frequency rates (Barnes et al., 2015; Johnson et al., 2012), but the low base rate implies that the effects of abusive behavior on the well-being indicators are conservative estimates. These effects may be stronger in a between-person context or in studies with longer time horizons. Furthermore, our focus in this study was on how power-induced behaviors and perceptions affected leaders' own well-being. For this reason, we did not measure follower reactions to leader psychological power, perceived incivility, or abusive behavior, a limitation that may inform future research. It is possible, for example, that follower reactions such as decreased performance, reduced respect, and interaction avoidance may reduce leaders' own sense of power or lead to power loss. Focusing on power loss, work by Brion and Anderson (2013) showed that power leads to the illusions of alliances in groups, which then leads to power loss. Power-induced biased perceptions, therefore, may have downstream effects

on leader interactions and on their ability to maintain power. Thus, in addition to studying how negative reactions from followers curb leaders' own sense of power, future research should also investigate how different types of power-induced inflated expectations affect powerholders in (a) a short span of time, such as the day, during which there are few opportunities to correct perceptions, and (b) longer spans of time, such as months, during which there are more opportunities for corrective action.

Although we found significant indirect effects in our model, the effect sizes may appear small, which raises concerns about the practical meaningfulness of our findings. While the effect sizes may appear small, we believe that they are practically meaningful, for several reasons. First, Prentice and Miller (1992) argued that, in experimental designs, raw effect sizes are difficult to interpret, and suggested that effect sizes should be interpreted relative to the strength of the manipulation and the relative difficulty of detecting an effect of that manipulation—thus, effects are particularly meaningful when detected with a small manipulation in difficult contexts. In our study, we observed the effect of a short and simple manipulation on dependent variables measured on average over 13 hours later. Second, consistent with prior studies using multilevel structural equation models, we are reporting unstandardized results, which also makes it difficult to interpret raw effect sizes. Third, our effect sizes are comparable to other non-experimental experience sampling studies (e.g., Liu, Song, Li, & Liao, 2017; Uy, Lin, & Ilies, 2015). Building on these points, to assist in the interpretation of the magnitude of our effects, for each endogenous variable in our model we used the procedure recommended by Snijders and Bosker (1999) to calculate the *pseudo-R*² ($\sim R^2$) to estimate the variance explained by the model. The model accounted for 2% of the variance in perceived incivility, 42% of the variance in abusive behavior, 2% of the variance in relaxation, and 15% of the variance in need fulfillment. Taken together, these results suggest that, while the indirect effects may appear small, the model explains substantial variance in each of the variables included therein.

Finally, we only examined agreeableness as a moderator, but other positive traits may provide similar moderating effects. For example, prosocial motivation and self-monitoring may further buffer the negative effects of power. Alternatively, traits such as narcissism and self-concern may further exacerbate the effects observed here. At the within-person level, interventions that focus on bolstering leaders' ability

to self-regulate, to empathize with their followers, and to focus on the prosocial impact of their actions may all mitigate and even offset the effects of power that we observed here. We hope that these ideas informed by this current work will be explored by future research.

CONCLUSION

In this study, we break new ground in research on psychological power by taking an actor-focused perspective to study the complex effects that psychological power has on actors. We find that, when leaders experience psychological power, they are likely to engage in more abusive behavior and to perceive more incivility, and that perceived incivility partially mediates the effect of psychological power on abusive behavior. Furthermore, we show that these effects are not equal for all leaders, but, rather, the effect of power on abusive behavior is weaker for leaders who are higher in agreeableness. Enactment of abusive behavior and perceptions of incivility harm leaders' own well-being, as evidenced by reduced need fulfillment and ability to relax at home. We hope that this work will motivate more research on the reactions to and consequences of daily psychological power and its implications for leaders both at work and at home.

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