

RUNNING HEAD: EMPOWERING EFFECT OF MULTICULTURALISM ON MINORITY
GROUP MEMBERS

Salient Multiculturalism Enhances Minority Group Members' Feelings of Power

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Abstract

The present research examined how messages advocating different intergroup ideologies affect outcomes relevant to minority group members' ability to exert power in exchanges with dominant group members. We expected that salient multiculturalism would have positive implications for minority group members' feelings of power by virtue of highlighting essential contributions they make to society, and that no such empowering effect would be evident for them in connection with alternative ideologies such as color-blindness or for dominant group members. Results across four studies involving different participant populations, operationalizations of ideology, ethnic minority groups, and experimental settings were consistent with these hypotheses and further indicated that the effects of salient multiculturalism on feelings of power had downstream implications for expectations of control in an ostensibly upcoming intergroup interaction and general goal-directed cognition.

KEYWORDS: Multiculturalism; Power; Intergroup Interaction; Intergroup Ideology

Salient Multiculturalism Enhances Minority Group Members' Feelings of Power

Efforts to improve intergroup relations and promote intergroup equality frequently involve telling people how they should try to behave toward outgroup members. Such directives generally align with one of several different intergroup ideologies that incorporate prescriptive social norms. For example, messages encountered in educational and work settings, on the internet or television, or on the sides of buses or coffee cups may recommend that individuals “Celebrate Diversity!”, “Stamp Out Racism!”, or “Be Color-Blind!” and thereby promote multiculturalism, anti-racism, or color-blindness respectively.

Empirical studies examining the actual effects of being exposed to such messages have concentrated largely on the extent to which they trigger more positive attitudes and behavior. Yet recent theory and research suggest that outcomes related to warmth and positivity may be more important to dominant group members than minority group members. In particular, whereas dominant group members place a high premium on ensuring smooth and pleasant intergroup exchanges and on being liked (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010), minority group members are relatively more focused on enhancing their power and control (Saguy, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2008).

Ideology and Power

The question thus arises as to how messages advocating different intergroup ideologies affect outcomes that are of key importance to minority group members such as those centering on their personal feelings of power, which may be more important to social change than positive intergroup evaluations (Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012) and are known to have a range of important consequences for behavior and goal pursuit (Galinsky, Rucker, & Magee, 2015). However, despite the substantial body of research on ideology effects, it is difficult to

extrapolate implications for power from research on positivity: These constructs can be orthogonal, with the favorability of the treatment or evaluation an individual receives not being directly related to the power he or she wields (e.g., Tiedens & Fragale, 2003), or even negatively related, if individuals direct more warmth and sympathy toward those they perceive to be relatively disadvantaged. Indeed, feeling warmly regarded may actually undermine minority group members' power in the long run by reducing their attention to intergroup inequality (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009).

Accordingly, then, the main goal of the present research was to explore how salient intergroup ideology affects outcomes relevant to minority group members' personal feelings of power. We included dominant group members in our research so that we could examine whether responses to ideology are a function of group status and thus shed light on the processes underlying any ideology effects on minority group members. Moreover, because power is inherently relative in nature (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003) and intergroup ideologies are typically broadly disseminated, to fully understand the likely implications of the various ideologies for power dynamics in real world settings it was critical to examine effects on both sides: Salient ideology can affect minority group members' ability to exert power not only through its effect on their own thoughts and feelings but also through its effect on dominant group members.

Multicultural Ideology

The essence of power is having something that others need or want (e.g., Keltner et al., 2003). In connection with this, power is often defined in terms of asymmetric control over valued resources (see, e.g., Galinsky et al., 2015). Considering the central tenets of multicultural

ideology in light of this definition points to clear potential implications of this ideology for individuals' feelings of power. Hence, this ideology is the focus of our analysis.

Multiculturalism focuses on the idea that ethnic group differences should be appreciated and celebrated and emphasizes that each group makes unique and important contributions to society. It seems likely that minority group members exposed to multiculturalism might experience a heightened sense that they are needed by others and that they make contributions to their community that others cannot. Although the particular contributions that come to mind might vary across different individuals and groups, and the control in question is indirect, the fundamental, overarching message of this ideology to minority group members is likely to be that they play an essential role in society. Thus the main prediction driving the present research was that rendering multiculturalism salient would empower minority group members by virtue of highlighting unique and valuable contributions that they make.

Might salient multiculturalism have a similar effect on dominant group members' sense of power, such that this ideology essentially serves to empower everyone? Given that all individuals have an ethnic background that they can consider when exposed to this ideology, this was a possibility. However, we viewed it as unlikely: Recent research highlights that dominant group members do not feel included or targeted by multicultural ideology, which tends to be construed by both dominant and minority group members alike as being "about" ethnic minorities (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). Indeed, to the extent that this ideology undermines dominant group members' sense of inclusion, it might instead be disempowering for them (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). For this reason we expected that salient multiculturalism would have clearly differential effects across minority versus dominant group

members, raising minority members' sense of power at the same time as leaving dominant group members' sense of power static or reduced.

Multiculturalism is often contrasted with color-blindness, which emphasizes the need to ignore ethnic group membership and to focus on underlying similarities across all individuals. Anti-racism, a related but different ideology often encountered in real world contexts, mandates avoiding acting in a discriminatory manner. We included these alternative ideologies in some of our studies in order to probe the extent to which any empowering effect of multiculturalism on minority group members was specific to multiculturalism and to thereby provide a more comprehensive analysis. In light of our reasoning regarding the role played by perceived unique contributions to society, we did not expect that anti-racism or color-blindness would be empowering for minority group members to the same extent as multiculturalism. Our expectations here were particularly clear for color-blindness, which in many ways directly contradicts multiculturalism.

Color-blind and anti-racist ideologies both suggest behavior constraints and a need for self-monitoring that could be disempowering for dominant group members in much the same way as feelings of exclusion. Accordingly, we did not anticipate that the various ideologies would necessarily have distinct implications for dominant group members' feelings of power and generally expected any effects for them to run in a negative direction. Thus, the only case in which we predicted an empowering effect was for minority group members' reactions to multiculturalism.

Study 1

Our first study was designed to provide a preliminary correlational test of our main hypothesis that multiculturalism has positive implications for minority group members' sense of

power. Participants with either a dominant or minority ethnic background indicated the extent to which they agreed with multicultural and color-blind ideologies and their sense of power was subsequently assessed. We expected that for those with a minority ethnic background, endorsing multiculturalism would be associated with greater feelings of power, whereas for dominant group members this would not be the case. No such effects were expected to be associated with endorsement of color-blindness. Here and across all of our studies our analysis centered on the implications of ideology for personal feelings of power, assessed at an individual level.

Method

We report all measures, manipulations, and exclusions in these studies (see *Supplemental Measures and Results* for all measures not reported in the main text).

Participants

Participants were 256 Canadian introductory psychology students (62.5% female) who completed this online “Judgment and Decision-Making Survey” in exchange for partial course credit. This study was run over two academic terms in which recruitment continued until the participant pool was exhausted. In this and all studies reported in this paper, we restricted those categorized as dominant group members to those reporting a White/European ethnic background whose first language was English (or French, in studies other than Study 4, given that French is one of Canada’s two official languages). Following this procedure 93 participants were categorized as dominant group members. The remaining 163 participants, who reported having a non-White background or other first language, were categorized as minority group members. The most highly represented groups were South Asian (20.9% of minority group), Filipino (18.4%), Chinese (14.1%), Black (12.9%), and Southeast Asian (7.4%).¹

Dependent Measures

Ideology Endorsement. After answering demographic questions, participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with two statements expressing multicultural ("If we want to help create a harmonious society, we must recognize that each ethnic group has the right to maintain its own unique traditions") and color-blind ideology ("Harmony in Canada is best achieved by downplaying or ignoring ethnic differences"). These items were taken from Park and Judd (2005), with reference to Canada replacing reference to the United States, and were presented in counterbalanced order. Participants responded on a 9-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 9 = *strongly agree*); overall $M_s = 7.59$ ($SD = 1.64$) and 4.04 ($SD = 2.66$) for multiculturalism and color-blindness respectively, $r(254) = -.19$, $p = .002$. Because the distribution for multiculturalism endorsement was negatively skewed we transformed the endorsement variables to reduce skew and then standardized them so as to render the simple effects tests more readily interpretable.

Power. We included two power measures. The first was general in nature and focused on self-rated power traits. Following Smith, Wigboldus, and Dijksterhuis (2008), participants rated themselves on 7 trait pairs related to power (submissive-dominant, passive-active, unassertive-assertive, timid-firm, uncertain-certain, insecure-confident, and dependent-independent; $\alpha = .79$). Each item consisted of a 9-point scale, anchored on each end by a trait. Again following Smith et al. (2008), these traits were mixed in with three fillers unrelated to power (e.g., young-old) and five items relevant to sociability (e.g., unlikeable-likeable, unfriendly-friendly; $\alpha = .74$) included to index general positivity. For the second measure, which specified an intergroup context, participants were asked to imagine a scenario in which they were about to have an exchange of some kind (e.g., working on a group project for school, a meeting at work, organizing a party) with another person. For White participants the question specified that the other person belonged

to an ethnic minority group; for non-White participants the question specified that the other person had a White or European ethnic background. Participants were then asked to rate on a 9-point scale how powerful, strong, effective, and influential they would feel going into the exchange ($\alpha = .91$). Scores on the two power measures ($r(254) = .36, p < .001$) were standardized and combined together to form an index of feelings of power. The study concluded with an open-ended query about participants' thoughts regarding the purpose of the study that was also included in our ostensible interaction studies as a suspicion probe. As in all of our studies, participants were then thanked and fully debriefed.

Results

Individuals' feelings of power were analyzed via hierarchical multiple regression. Ethnicity (Dominant = 0, Minority = 1) was entered on the first step, along with endorsement of multiculturalism and color-blindness. Interactions between ethnicity and each ideology were entered on the second step. Given the correlational design sex was included as an additional predictor to control for any confounding influence.

The analysis yielded a Ethnicity X Multiculturalism Endorsement interaction, $b = 0.28, \beta = .27, t(249) = 2.44, p = .015$, Cohen's $d = 0.309$. For minority group members endorsement of multiculturalism was positively related to feelings of power, $b = 0.16, t(249) = 2.43, p = .016, d = 0.316$, whereas there was a nonsignificant trend in the opposite direction for dominant group members, $b = -0.12, t(249) = 1.28, p = .203, d = 0.162$. At high levels of multicultural endorsement (+1 *SD*) minority group members saw themselves as more powerful than dominant group members, $b = 0.34, t(249) = 1.97, p = .049, d = 0.250$; at low levels of endorsement (-1 *SD*) this effect was nonsignificantly reversed, $b = -0.22, t(249) = 1.47, p = .143, d = 0.186$. There were no other significant or marginal effects apart from an effect whereby women felt less

powerful than men, $b = -0.25$, $\beta = -.15$, $t(251) = 2.34$, $p = .020$, $d = 0.295$. There were no significant effects on positivity.

Discussion

The results of this initial correlational study were consistent with our hypothesis that endorsing multiculturalism would be positively associated with minority group members' but not dominant group members' feelings of power. Further in line with predictions, no such effects were evident with respect to endorsement of color-blind ideology.

We turned to an experimental approach in our remaining studies so that we could examine how rendering different ideologies salient in the moment affects individuals' sense of power and more clearly establish cause and effect. Notably, negative implications of any ideology for dominant group members' feelings of power might be obscured with correlational methodologies such as that adopted in Study 1 if finding an ideology disempowering hinders endorsement of it. Accordingly, we generally expected that stronger differentiation across minority and dominant group members' reactions would be evident when external forces in the situation rendered multiculturalism salient.

Study 2

Study 2 examined the effects of salient multiculturalism on individuals' feelings of power in intergroup exchanges involving an outgroup interaction partner. We pre-selected participants with either a White/European or Black ethnic background, paired each of them with an ostensible partner who belonged to the other ethnic group, exposed them to multicultural, color-blind, or anti-racist ideology or no ideology at all, and then asked them to rate both their own and their partner's power. Because power is inherently relative in nature (Galinsky et al., 2015), we anticipated that in the context of an ostensibly real dyadic social interaction such as this, the

power-enhancing effect of salient multiculturalism on minority group members would be evident in their sense of their own power relative to their sense of their ostensible outgroup partner's power. Notably, given the critical role played by social comparison in shaping social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the relational nature of intergroup ideology messages, shifts in perceived relative standing could be driven by shifts in self-perceptions, other-perceptions, or both. For example, multiculturalism might have an empowering effect on minority group members primarily through reducing their sense of a dominant interaction partner's power.

We also began to document downstream implications of any increases in minority group members' sense of power induced by salient multiculturalism. We focused on two goal-directed cognition outcomes that are theoretically intertwined and arguably of particular relevance in intergroup contexts, namely readiness to ask for more in negotiations and behavioral approach orientation (Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld, 2007). Further, in line with previous research demonstrating that feelings of power enhance individuals' sense of personal control (Fast, Gruenfeld, Sivanathan, & Galinsky, 2009) we also assessed individuals' expectations about how much they would be able to exert control and influence during an anticipated interaction with their outgroup partner.

Method

Participants

Participants were 185 Canadian introductory psychology students (54.1% female) who took part in the study in exchange for partial course credit. This study was run over two academic years. Participants had previously completed a survey in which they reported demographic characteristics. The 90 White and 95 Black participants were randomly assigned to one of the four ideology conditions.^{2,3} Cell sizes ranged from 21 to 26.

Recruiting large numbers of participants is challenging in labor-intensive lab-based studies involving individual sessions. This is especially true in intergroup research with members of specific groups who are a minority in the general population and often even more so in university student samples. Accordingly, our participant recruitment efforts in our interaction studies were particularly energetic and in the case of this study spanned multiple academic years. Notably, however, the design of our interaction studies allowed us to capitalize on "alternative and equally effective strategies" for increasing statistical power noted by McClelland (2000, p. 963; see also Funder et al., 2014). Specifically, we anticipated that the homogeneity of our sample and the fact that participants were run individually in a highly controlled experimental context that would reduce distraction, enhance motivation and attention to the ideology manipulation, and have an experimenter on hand to answer any questions on an ongoing basis, would all enhance the quality of our data and thereby reduce the mean square error (see Funder et al., 2014; McClelland, 2000).

Procedure

Participants arrived individually for a study of "how reasoning and judgment vary across social versus non-social contexts." The White female experimenter (two experimenters each ran approximately half of the sessions) told them that they had a partner in the study who was currently in another room. The cover story was that they would make some judgments on their own, in a non-social context, and then discuss their thoughts and experiences with their partner, in a social context. We led participants to expect a meeting to ensure that the partner felt real to them. Only after their arrival were participants told that the researchers were particularly interested in interactions between people with different ethnic backgrounds.

Participants first filled out a brief personal information sheet that included demographic questions and questions about their personal qualities. After 5 minutes the experimenter returned with their partner's completed sheet for them to read and collected their own sheet to (ostensibly) deliver it to their partner. The partner's sheet indicated that he or she was the same sex as the participant and either White or Black Canadian, as necessary to create an intergroup context; his or her answers to the other questions were typical of the kinds of answers that students usually provide.

Ideology Manipulation. The ideology manipulation, which was based on Wolsko, Park, Wittenbrink, and Judd's (2000) procedures, was then administered. It was preceded by a preamble noting that "we have found that it helps participants to reflect on issues relevant to intergroup interaction before proceeding to the next part of the exchange, in order to make their views more accessible and better prepare them to answer the questions that we ask after the interaction is over."

Participants read a half-page passage about ethnic issues in Canada. The multicultural ideology emphasized that "different cultural groups bring different perspectives to life" and "each ethnic group within Canada can contribute in its own unique way." The color-blind ideology emphasized that "we must remember that we are all first and foremost human beings," and "at our core, we really are all the same." The anti-racist ideology emphasized that "stamping out racism is essential if we are to achieve harmony among the many ethnic groups represented in Canada." Participants in the control condition received no message. Participants in the ideology conditions were asked to summarize in their own words what they took to be the main point of the passage.

Dependent Measures

Unless otherwise indicated all closed-ended measures used a 7-point response scale on which higher numbers reflected stronger endorsement.

Power Perceptions. Participants rated the extent to which they currently perceived themselves and their ostensible partner to be *powerful, strong, effective, and influential* ($\alpha = .81$ and $.75$). The order in which ratings of self and other were made was counterbalanced across participants.

Goal-Directed Cognition. Readiness to ask for more in negotiations was assessed with two items ($r = .46, p < .001$) from Magee et al. (2007): Participants indicated how likely they would be to ask for increased compensation in exchange for giving up their seat on a plane and how likely they would be to negotiate the price of a new car.

Relative behavioral approach orientation was assessed with a modified version of Carver and White's (1994) scale measuring dispositional behavioral approach (e.g. "If I saw a chance to get something I wanted, I would move on it right away"; $\alpha = .76$) and inhibition (e.g. "I am worried about making mistakes"; $\alpha = .71$) system (BAS and BIS) sensitivities. We slightly reworded the items to capture participants' current feelings and computed a relative behavioral approach score by subtracting participants' BIS score from their BAS score (see Lammers, Galinsky, Gordijn, & Otten, 2008). We shortened the measure to 12 items by excluding the fun-seeking items and items that were difficult to re-word to capture a transient state. Based on the theoretical connection between readiness to ask for more and relative behavioral approach orientation (Magee et al., 2007) we created a goal-directed cognition index by standardizing and combining participants' scores on these measures, $r = .26, p < .001$.

Participants further completed a four-item scale assessing their *expectations of control* in the ostensibly upcoming interaction ($\alpha = .88$). For example, they rated the extent to which they

expected that they versus the other participant would exert the most influence on the upcoming discussion and the extent to which the upcoming discussion would mostly depend on what they versus the other participant said and did.

Results

Power Perceptions

Participants' ratings of their own and their ostensible partner's power were analyzed in a 2 (Participant Ethnicity: White vs. Black) x 4 (Salient Ideology: No-Ideology Control vs. Anti-Racism vs. Color-Blindness vs. Multiculturalism) x 2 (Locus of Judgment: Self vs. Other) repeated-measures ANOVA; the first two factors were between-participants, whereas the third was within-participants. This analysis yielded a Participant Ethnicity x Salient Ideology x Locus of Judgment interaction, $F(3, 177) = 2.97, p = .033, \eta_p^2 = .048$ (Figure 1). Simple effects analyses probing the comparison between participants' ratings of their own versus their ostensible partner's power revealed that Black individuals felt significantly more powerful than they perceived their White partner to be in the multiculturalism condition, $F(1, 177) = 16.05, p = .00009, \eta_p^2 = .083$, but not in any other condition (all other $ps \geq .068$). In contrast, White individuals felt significantly more powerful than they perceived their Black partner to be in the no-message control condition, $F(1, 177) = 5.37, p = .022, \eta_p^2 = .029$, but not in any other condition. Thus, most clearly in the multiculturalism condition, Black participants had a sense of having the "upper hand" over their partner that was not enjoyed by White participants. The only significant or marginal comparisons across ethnic groups were for Black individuals' ratings of own power to be higher than White individuals' ratings in the multiculturalism and anti-racism conditions ($ps = .052$ and $.016$ respectively), and for Black individuals' ratings of their partner's

power to be lower than White individuals' ratings in the multiculturalism condition ($p = .067$); remaining F s < 1 .

The analysis also yielded interactions between locus of judgment and participant ethnicity, $F(1, 177) = 8.39, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .045$, and locus of judgment and condition, $F(1, 177) = 2.96, p = .034, \eta_p^2 = .048$, as well as a main effect for locus of judgment, $F(1, 177) = 3.96, p = .047, \eta_p^2 = .022$, all of which were qualified by the overall three-way interaction.

Control Expectations and Goal-Directed Cognition

Next we examined downstream implications of individuals' feelings of power. We followed the procedures specified by Hayes and Preacher (2013) for cases involving multicategorical independent variables: We broke the omnibus interaction down into a series of specific contrasts that could be tested by creating three dummy-coded contrast vectors that compared each of the ideology conditions with the no-ideology control condition (e.g., for the multicultural contrast, multicultural = 1, and all other conditions = 0) and further computed interactions between participant ethnicity (White = 0 and Black = 1) and each of the contrasts.

We first tested for total effects by entering control expectations and goal-directed cognition in multiple regression analyses in which all of the aforementioned contrasts (along with participant ethnicity) were predictors. No significant effects involving ideology were evident apart from a Participant Ethnicity X Multiculturalism contrast on control expectations, $b = 0.72, \beta = 0.28, t(177) = 1.97, p = .050, \eta_p^2 = .021$ (Figure 2). Whereas in the control condition Black individuals anticipated being less in control than did White individuals, $b = -0.62, t(177) = 2.35, p = .020, \eta_p^2 = .030$, this effect was eradicated in the multiculturalism condition, $b = 0.10, t(177) = 0.39, p = .699, \eta_p^2 = .001$. The multiculturalism contrast was significant for Black

participants, $b = 0.49$, $t(177) = 1.97$, $p = .051$, $\eta_p^2 = .021$, but not White participants, $b = -0.22$, $t(177) = 0.850$, $p = .397$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$.

A relative power index computed by subtracting participants' ratings of their partner's power from their ratings of their own power was positively associated with control expectations, $r(183) = .34$, $p < .001$. Accordingly, we tested the indirect effect of the Participant Ethnicity X Multiculturalism interaction on control expectations through feelings of relative power using the PROCESS macro v2.13 for SPSS (model 8, with 10,000 bootstrap samples). Following Hayes and Preacher (2013), all three of the ideology contrasts, participant ethnicity, and the interactions of participant ethnicity with the anti-racist and color-blind contrasts were included as covariates.

The indirect effect of the interaction was significant, 95% CI [0.0892, 0.7324], as was the conditional indirect effect of participant ethnicity on expectations of control through feelings of relative power in the multiculturalism condition, 95% CI [0.1386, 0.5791]; there was no such effect in the control condition, 95% CI [-0.2994, 0.1797]. These results suggest that the difference between White and Black participants' feelings of relative power that was instantiated by salient multiculturalism helped eliminate the baseline tendency for White participants to expect to exert more control in the ostensibly upcoming interaction than did Black participants. Parallel analyses testing the Participant Ethnicity X Anti-Racism and Participant Ethnicity X Color-Blindness interactions indicated nonsignificant indirect interaction effects, 95% CIs [-0.0306, 0.5781] and [-0.1364, 0.4012] respectively.

Feelings of relative power were positively associated with participants' goal-directed cognition, $r(183) = .36$, $p < .001$. Accordingly, in line with contemporary recommendations that researchers should not require a significant total effect before proceeding with tests of indirect effects (Hayes, 2009; Rucker, Preacher, Tormala, & Petty, 2011), we also tested the indirect

effects of salient ideology on goal-directed cognition, following the same procedure as described for control expectations.

The indirect effect of the Participant Ethnicity X Multiculturalism interaction was significant, 95% CI [0.0674, 0.6593], as was the conditional indirect effect of participant ethnicity on goal-directed cognition through relative feelings of power in the multiculturalism condition, 95% CI [0.1185, 0.4914]; in the control condition, 95% CI [-0.2696, 0.1535]. This indicates that the difference between White and Black participants' feelings of relative power that was instantiated by salient multiculturalism had downstream implications for goal-directed cognition outcomes known to be associated with feelings of power. The indirect interaction effects for Participant Ethnicity X Anti-Racism and Participant Ethnicity X Color-Blindness were not significant, 95% CIs [-0.0099, 0.5311] and [-0.1124, 0.3605].

Discussion

In line with predictions, the results of this study indicated that rendering multiculturalism salient enhanced minority group members' feelings of relative power in an ostensibly real dyadic intergroup interaction situation. Specifically, Black individuals rated themselves as more powerful than their ostensible White interaction partner when they had been primed with multiculturalism, but not in any other circumstance. In contrast, White individuals rated themselves as more powerful than their ostensible Black interaction partner under baseline conditions, but not when they had been primed with multiculturalism or any other intergroup ideology. Thus the positive effect of multiculturalism on minority group members was clearly distinct from any other ideology effect, particularly that of color-blindness. Notably, although the pattern of means was somewhat suggestive of similar power enhancement for minority group members in connection with anti-racism, the tendency for this ideology to increase Black

individuals' sense of both their ostensible partner's as well as their own power essentially nullified its impact on their sense of relative power.

The results of this study further revealed that salient multiculturalism has downstream implications for individuals' control expectations and goal-directed cognition via its effects on their feelings of power. The findings here were stronger for control expectations, which most directly matched the power measure in terms of centering on individuals' relationship with their outgroup interaction partner.

Across Studies 1 and 2, power enhancement for minority group members was most clearly evident in connection with multiculturalism. Accordingly, in our final two studies we focused on multiculturalism only. As each of these subsequent studies incorporated novel instantiations of multiculturalism, we continued to include dominant group members in our designs so as to identify the cases in which the effects of multiculturalism continued (versus did not continue) to be distinctive across these groups.

Study 3

Study 3 was designed to build on the results of Study 2 in two key, related, ways. First, we felt that it was important to test the effects of an instantiation of multiculturalism that was akin to many of the ideology representations that individuals frequently encounter in their everyday lives. Accordingly, we examined the effects of salient multiculturalism using an ideology manipulation requiring less elaborate conscious reflection: Instead of administering the ideology summarizing task, we varied whether a poster advocating multiculturalism was displayed on the wall.

Second, because we thought that such a subtle manipulation might have its clearest effects on an implicit level, we created a “power IAT” designed to assess the extent to which

individuals associated power with self. We expected that multiculturalism rendered salient by a poster on the wall would enhance minority group members' sense of power in a manner most clearly evident with respect to their implicit self-power associations. In line with previous research suggesting that implicit self-esteem can mediate effects on explicit and behavioral outcomes (Jiang, Zhang, Ke, Hawk, & Qiu, 2015; Melwani & Barsade, 2011), we anticipated that implicit self-power associations would have significant downstream implications, and in particular examined whether such associations provided a pathway for an indirect effect of the poster on individuals' explicit psychological sense of power.

Method

Participants

Participants were 77 Canadian introductory psychology students (55% female) who took part in the study in exchange for partial course credit.⁴ Participants had previously completed a survey in which they reported demographic characteristics. Forty participants were White (dominant group members) and the remainder had an Arab/West Asian (37.8% of minority group), Korean (35.1%), or Latin American (27.0%) ethnic background. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two ideology conditions. Cell sizes ranged from 18 to 21.

Procedure

Participants arrived individually for a study of "social perception in first meeting situations." Salient multiculturalism was manipulated in terms of whether a 2 x 3 foot poster appeared on the wall across from the table at which participants were seated. The poster read: "Multiculturalism: Multiple ways of knowing, being, and thinking" and showed a picture of interlocking hands of different colors (e.g., red, pink, brown, white, blue, purple). In the no

ideology control condition no poster was displayed. There was no reference to the poster in any of the conditions.

The procedure was otherwise very similar to the procedure in Study 2. The White female experimenter told participants that they had a partner in the study who was currently in another room. Participants first filled out the brief personal information sheet and then received their ostensible partner's sheet, which indicated that he or she was the same sex as the participant. For dominant group members the ostensible partner indicated having an Arab/West Asian background, whereas for ethnic minority participants the ostensible partner indicated having a White/European background.

Dependent Measures

Participants completed the same trait-rating power measure as in Study 1 and also made parallel ratings of their ostensible partner's traits (both $\alpha_s = .86$), with the order of these (and all other self- and other-ratings) counterbalanced across participants.

So as to maintain the guise of a controlled interaction, participants were then given an "Open Format" sheet and instructed that "the idea is for you to elaborate on the answers that you gave to the questions on the personal information sheet and/or ask the other participant about his/her answers, as you would in a face-to-face discussion."

After writing their response, participants completed a version of the Implicit Association Test (described as an information processing task) that was modified to assess implicit self-power associations. This "power IAT" followed the same basic method of Greenwald et al. (2003) but required participants to categorize self words (*I, me, my, mine, myself*), other words (*they, them, their, theirs, others*), powerful words (*effective, assertive, dominant, important, confident*), and weak words (*meek, passive, insecure, timid, submissive*) as quickly as possible

(see, e.g., Laws & Rivera, 2012). *D* scores were calculated according to Greenwald et al.'s (2003) improved scoring algorithm. The average *D* score was significantly greater than 0, indicating a general self-power association, $M = 0.22$, $t(76) = 3.23$, $p = .002$: Participants responded more quickly when the response keys used to indicate "self" and "powerful" were the same and those used to indicate "other" and "weak" were the same, as compared with when "self" was paired with "weak" and "other" with "powerful."

Finally, participants completed the same ratings of their own and ostensible partner's power as in Study 2 (respective α s .81 and .83). Scores on the two explicit power measures were standardized and combined together for self and other separately, $r_s(75) = 0.62$ and .58 respectively.

Results

Explicit Power Perceptions

Participants' explicit ratings of their own and their ostensible partner's power were analyzed in a 2 (Participant Ethnicity: Dominant vs. Minority) x 2 (Ideology Condition: Poster vs. No Poster) x 2 (Locus of Judgment: Self vs. Other) repeated-measures ANCOVA, with the order in which self and other judgments were made included as a covariate; the first two factors were between-participants, whereas the third factor was within-participants. There were no significant or marginal effects apart from those involving the order covariate. A parallel analysis of positivity ratings also yielded no significant effects involving ideology.

Implicit Self-Power Associations

The fact that the powerful and weak words in the power IAT varied in their positivity raises the concern that this implicit measure might tap some form of implicit self-esteem instead of, or in addition to, implicit self-power associations. In an effort to mitigate this potential

contamination we included the positivity of participants' judgments of themselves and their ostensible partner as additional covariates in our analysis of implicit self-power associations. Although these were explicit measures, meta-analytic findings confirm reliable associations between implicit and explicit attitudes, including self-esteem (e.g., Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005).

Results of the 2 (Participant Ethnicity: Dominant vs. Minority) x 2 (Ideology Condition: Poster vs. No Poster) ANCOVA yielded a Participant Ethnicity X Ideology Condition interaction, $F(1, 70) = 4.95, p = .029, \eta_p^2 = .066$ (Figure 3). Whereas the multiculturalism poster enhanced ethnic minority participants' implicit self-power associations, $F(1, 70) = 5.29, p = .024, \eta_p^2 = .070$, it had no such effect on dominant group members, $F(1, 70) = 0.64, p = .426, \eta_p^2 = .009$. Further, although in the control condition minority and dominant group members' implicit self-power associations were not significantly different, $F(1, 70) = 0.96, p = .330, \eta_p^2 = .014$, in the poster condition minority group members had significantly stronger implicit self-power associations than did dominant group members, $F(1, 70) = 4.76, p = .033, \eta_p^2 = .064$. There were also effects of the covariates whereby more negative evaluations of the ostensible partner predicted stronger self-power associations, $F(1, 70) = 9.86, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .123$, as did making self-ratings first, $F(1, 70) = 49.87, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .416$.⁵

As further analyses revealed that implicit self-power associations were positively related to a difference score computed by subtracting ratings of other's power from ratings of own power, $r(75) = 0.37, p = .001$, we tested the indirect effect of the Participant Ethnicity X Ideology Condition interaction on individuals' explicit perceptions of power (i.e., the self-other difference score) through implicit self-power associations. The indirect effect of the interaction was significant, 95% CI [0.0435, 0.7029], as was the conditional indirect effect of the

multiculturalism poster on explicit perceptions of relative power for minority group members, 95% CI [0.0356, 0.5427]; for dominant group members, 95% CI [-0.2813, 0.0707]. Thus, there was evidence of an indirect effect of ideology on explicit perceptions of power via implicit self-power associations.

Discussion

Using a new method for priming ideology – via a poster on the wall – this study demonstrated that salient multiculturalism can affect implicit self-power associations in an intergroup interaction context. Specifically, when a multiculturalism poster was displayed on the wall, minority group members showed higher implicit self-power associations than when no poster was displayed; no such effect was evident for dominant group members. Moreover, minority group members showed higher implicit self-power associations than did dominant group members when the poster was displayed but not in the control condition, in which there was no poster.

Unlike in our other studies, where we used a manipulation that involved deliberate, conscious reflection, the only effect that was evident on explicit power perceptions was indirect, occurring via the influence of the poster on minority group members' implicit self-power associations. Why might this be the case? Conceivably, a form of matching occurs whereby explicit perceptions are most clearly driven by messages that require conscious reflection, such as the ideology prompt used in Study 2, whereas implicit associations are more clearly driven by those that do not, such as the prompt used in the current study. Regardless, on a conceptual level the findings for implicit self-power associations were parallel to the results obtained in our previous studies, indicating that salient multiculturalism enhances minority group members' sense of power.

Study 4

The primary goal of Study 4 was to directly examine the process that we propose underlies the power-enhancing effect of salient multiculturalism on minority group members. To test whether exposing minority group members to multiculturalism increases the extent to which they perceive that they make essential contributions to society and thereby enhances their sense of power, we conducted an online study in which salient ideology was manipulated as in Study 2 and general power perceptions were assessed, also including a series of questions probing individuals' beliefs about their contributions to society.

An additional goal was to examine the extent to which the effects of multiculturalism on individuals' sense of power generalize to a more inclusive version of this ideology that explicitly targeted both dominant and minority group members. In particular, a key possibility was that more directly including dominant group members in a multicultural message would both reduce the positive effect of the message on minority group members and mitigate any potential negative effect (such as that observed in Study 2) on dominant group members. In making this ideology explicitly about everyone, minority group members might perceive their own potential contributions as less unique or distinctive (i.e., "if everyone is special, no one is") at the same time as dominant group members feel less excluded (Plaut et al., 2011) and potentially, then, less disempowered.

To test this possibility, along with a no-message control condition and the same "standard" multiculturalism condition as in Study 2, we also included an inclusive version of the multicultural message that was identical in all respects except that it explicitly mentioned dominant group members. To demonstrate the generalizability of our key effects, we moved

outside of the Canadian university student population and recruited participants from the general U.S. population.

Method

Participants

Participants were 266 U.S. residents (60.9% female) who completed this online study of “social judgment processes” on Amazon Mechanical Turk for \$0.25.⁶ One hundred and eighty-nine of the participants were classified as dominant group members on the basis of having reported a White/European ethnic background and English as their first language; the remainder reported having a non-White ethnic background or non-English first language (e.g., Spanish, Albanian). The most highly represented groups were Black (40.3% of minority group), Latin American (19.5%), and Chinese (9.1%). Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three ideology conditions. Cell sizes ranged from 23 to 67.

Procedure

Participants were either in a no-instructions control condition, a multicultural-standard condition, or a multicultural-inclusive condition. The first two conditions were the same as in Study 2 (apart from changing references to Canada to references to the United States). The multicultural-inclusive condition was the same as the multicultural-standard condition except that the sentence “Each ethnic group within the United States can contribute in its own unique way” was modified to read “Each ethnic group within the United States (e.g., African Americans, Asian Americans, European (White) Americans, Filipino Americans, South Asian Americans, and all others) can contribute in its own unique way.”

Dependent Measures

The two power measures were the same as in Study 1, and once again they were standardized and combined to form an index of feelings of power, $r(264) = .58, p < .001$. This study included a new 4-item measure (e.g., “I contribute to society in a meaningful way;” “I feel that I am needed by others in my community;” $\alpha = .95$) that assessed the extent to which individuals felt that they made a *meaningful contribution* to society and their community, which was designed to capture feelings of contribution at broader and more local levels.

Participants also completed an attention check that asked them to select from a variety of options the statement that best described what they did in the survey.

Results

Power Perceptions

A 2 (Participant Ethnicity: Dominant vs. Minority) x 3 (Salient Ideology: No-Ideology Control vs. Inclusive Multiculturalism vs. Standard Multiculturalism) ANOVA conducted on power perceptions yielded a Participant Ethnicity X Salient Ideology interaction, $F(2, 260) = 4.56, p = .011, \eta_p^2 = .034$ (Figure 4). Simple effects analyses revealed that relative to receiving no ideology prime, the standard multiculturalism message enhanced minority group members' feelings of power, $F(1, 260) = 5.34, p = .022, \eta_p^2 = .020$, and instead had the opposite effect on dominant group members, $F(1, 260) = 3.73, p = .054, \eta_p^2 = .014$.

In contrast, the inclusive multiculturalism message had no effect on minority or dominant group members' feelings of power relative to receiving no prime, $F(1, 260) = 1.36, p = .245, \eta_p^2 = .005$, and $F(1, 260) = 0.09, p = .764, \eta_p^2 = .000$, respectively. The comparisons between the inclusive and standard multiculturalism conditions were not significant for minority or dominant group members, $F(1, 260) = 1.35, p = .246, \eta_p^2 = .005$, and $F(1, 260) = 2.45, p = .119, \eta_p^2 = .005$, respectively. However, in the Standard Multiculturalism condition minority group members

rated themselves as more powerful than did dominant group members, $F(1, 260) = 11.48, p = .0008, \eta_p^2 = .042$, whereas this effect was not evident in the control condition, $F(1, 260) = 0.83, p = .363, \eta_p^2 = .003$, or in the Inclusive Multiculturalism condition, $F(1, 260) = 0.84, p = .360, \eta_p^2 = .002$. The fact that rendering the multiculturalism message more inclusive eliminated its positive and negative effects (relative to no message) on minority and dominant group members is consistent with the idea that at the same time as explicitly making this ideology applicable to everyone leads minority group members to perceive their own potential contributions as less distinctive, it also leads dominant group members to feel less excluded, with concomitant implications for their feelings of power. There were no effects on positivity.

Meaningful Contribution

The measure of perceived *meaningful contribution* was included to illuminate the process underlying the power-enhancing effect of salient multiculturalism on minority group members. Accordingly, our analyses here focused on minority group members' perceptions. These perceptions were analyzed in a one-way, three-level (Salient Ideology: No-Ideology Control vs. Standard Multiculturalism vs. Inclusive Multiculturalism) ANOVA. Results yielded an omnibus effect of ideology, $F(2, 74) = 3.05, p = .053, \eta_p^2 = .076$. The standard multiculturalism message enhanced minority group members' sense of making a meaningful contribution relative to no message at all, respective $M_s = 6.64 (SD = 1.77)$ and $5.31 (SD = 2.11)$, $F(1, 74) = 5.99, p = .017, \eta_p^2 = .075$. Neither of the comparisons with the inclusive multiculturalism condition ($M = 5.88, SD = 1.93$) were significant, $F(1, 74) = 1.08, p = .302, \eta_p^2 = .014$, for the control condition, and $F(1, 74) = 2.07, p = .154, \eta_p^2 = .027$, for the standard multiculturalism condition.

Given that we suspect that feelings of exclusion are most important to dominant group members' reactions (Plaut et al., 2011), we did not have clear hypotheses regarding how the

messages would affect dominant group members' sense of making a meaningful contribution. A corollary analysis here parallel to that conducted for minority group members yielded no omnibus effect, $F(2, 186) = 0.258, p = .773, \eta_p^2 = .003, Ms = 5.47 (SD = 2.01), 5.29 (SD = 1.93)$ and $5.54 (SD = 1.97)$, across the control, standard multiculturalism, and inclusive multiculturalism conditions respectively.

Mediation Analysis

Next we examined whether shifts in minority group members' sense of making a meaningful contribution accounted for the effects of the standard multiculturalism message on their feelings of power. As in Study 2, we followed the procedures specified by Hayes and Preacher (2013) for cases involving multicategorical independent variables: We created two dummy-coded contrast vectors that compared each of the ideology conditions with the no-ideology control condition. Following Hayes and Preacher (2013), the inclusive multiculturalism contrast was entered as a covariate in this analysis. Results indicated that the indirect path from standard multiculturalism to feelings of power through perceived contribution was significant, 95% CI [0.0582, 0.6184]. No indirect path was evident for the inclusive multicultural message when it was analyzed in a parallel fashion, 95% [CI -0.0940, 0.4221].

Discussion

The results for the standard multiculturalism message in this study replicated those obtained in the previous studies with a non-student U.S. sample: Once again, this ideology was associated with enhanced feelings of power for minority group members and did not have the same positive implications for dominant group members. Indeed, as in Study 2, the standard multiculturalism message seemed to be disempowering for dominant group members. Further, results of the mediation analysis suggested that the positive effect of the standard message on

minority group members was a function of these individuals' enhanced sense of making a unique and essential contribution to society.

The fact that the inclusive multicultural message, which explicitly mentioned dominant as well as minority group members, did not enhance minority group members' feelings of power or sense of making an important contribution (relative to no message at all) suggests that explicitly eliminating any assumption that the message was distinctly applicable to minority group members diluted its impact on them. To our knowledge ours is the first experiment to examine the effects of inclusively framed multiculturalism on minority group members. Thus it will be important for future research to probe the boundary conditions of the pattern obtained here.

Finally, the results of this study indicated that the inclusive version of the multiculturalism message did not undermine dominant group members' sense of power in the same way as the standard version, suggesting that a perceived lack of inclusion may help explain why the standard message was disempowering for them.

General Discussion

The results of these four studies, which involved different experimental settings, participant populations, ethnic minority groups, operationalizations of ideology, and power measures were in line with our hypothesis that rendering multiculturalism salient would enhance minority group members' feelings of power by virtue of highlighting essential contributions they make to society, and that no such empowering effect would be evident for them in connection with alternative ideologies such as color-blindness or for dominant group members. These effects of salient multiculturalism on feelings of power had downstream implications for expectations of control in an ostensibly upcoming intergroup interaction and general goal-

directed cognition outcomes, namely readiness to ask for more in negotiation and behavioral approach orientation. Moreover, the finding that a more inclusive multicultural message that explicitly mentioned dominant as well as minority group members did not have the same positive implications for minority group members as a more standard message would seem to suggest that feeling uniquely targeted by a multiculturalism message is important to its power-enhancing effects.

As predicted, no power enhancement for minority group members comparable to that associated with multiculturalism occurred in connection with color-blindness or anti-racism. Yet distinct effects of multiculturalism were only evident for minority group members: For dominant group members similar patterns suggestive of disempowerment were generally evident across all of the ideologies in Study 2. Although the results of Study 4 pointed to a sense of exclusion as potentially accounting for the negative implications of standard multiculturalism on dominant group members, we suspect that alternative mechanisms not explored here – such as the implied need for behavioral constraint and prevention of negative outcomes – may play a role in explaining any negative implications that color-blindness and anti-racism have for dominant group members' feelings of power.

Comparing Minority and Dominant Group Members' Sense of Power

To some extent, whether or not it seems desirable to enhance minority group members' sense of power may depend on whether they appear to start at a power disadvantage. Although the data from the control conditions did indicate a directional pattern whereby minority group members reported lower power and control expectations than dominant group members, this pattern was generally not statistically significant. Notably, by virtue of shifting standards (Biernat & Manis, 1994), real differences across groups may be obscured when comparisons

involve subjective likert scale ratings. For example, when dominant and minority group members rate their personal power on a scale, they might each evaluate themselves relative to different standards associated with the social status of their own group, with the standard being lower for minority than dominant group members. If such processes served to enhance minority group members' ratings of power or reduce dominant group members' ratings of power in the present case, baseline differences between minority and dominant group members may have been masked.

What is the “Active Ingredient” of Multicultural Ideology?

The multifaceted nature of multicultural ideology raises questions about which aspects of this ideology are primarily responsible for the effects we observed. It seems unlikely that simply being exposed to other ethnic groups plays an important role, as all of the passages in Study 2 (i.e., anti-racism and color-blindness as well as multiculturalism) referred to the existence of a variety of ethnic groups yet had distinct effects. It also seems unlikely that the results simply reflect the effects of being exposed to positively- versus negatively-toned messages, as although anti-racism and color-blindness are unique in focusing on what people should *not* be doing, at the same time all of the passages identified positive steps individuals should take (i.e., appreciate that at our core we really are all the same, condemn and seek to eliminate racial discrimination, value diversity). Moreover, across all of the studies dominant and minority group members clearly had distinct reactions to multiculturalism, which would not be expected if the effects were simply due to the affective tone of the messages. Accordingly, we feel that the implication that ethnic minorities in particular make a valuable, essential contribution to society is key.

The fact that the explicit reference to White individuals in the inclusive multiculturalism passage in Study 4 eliminated the power advantage that the standard multiculturalism passage

granted to ethnic minorities over dominant group members is consistent with this idea. Notably, however, the multiculturalism poster in Study 3 included a White hand in and amongst the other colors, yet still enhanced ethnic minority group members' implicit self-power associations. We believe this is because the inclusive multiculturalism passage in Study 4 explicitly stated equivalence or equal standing across all ethnic groups whereas the poster in Study 3 did not. Indeed, the poster was abstract in including non-human colors such as blue and purple, and buried the White hand in a sea of others. Although speculative, this account suggests that the default effect of multiculturalism across an array of instantiations will be to enhance ethnic minority group members' feelings of power unless equivalent applicability of this ideology to dominant group members is made quite explicit.

Conclusion

The present results indicate that salient multiculturalism enhances minority group members' sense of power at the same time as it leaves dominant group members' sense of power static or reduced, such that overall it pushes in a direction that runs counter to group status differences in broader society. Although perceiving oneself to have power is not the same as having power in an objective sense, there is substantial evidence that individuals' subjective sense of power in and of itself plays a critical role in guiding their behavior (e.g., Skinner, 1996) and that priming individuals to feel powerful has effects similar to placing them in an objectively powerful position (e.g., Galinsky et al., 2015; Magee et al., 2007). Thus, the present results suggest that prompting individuals to reflect on multicultural ideological principles might put minority group members in a position to have a stronger voice and exert greater social influence in intergroup interaction situations.

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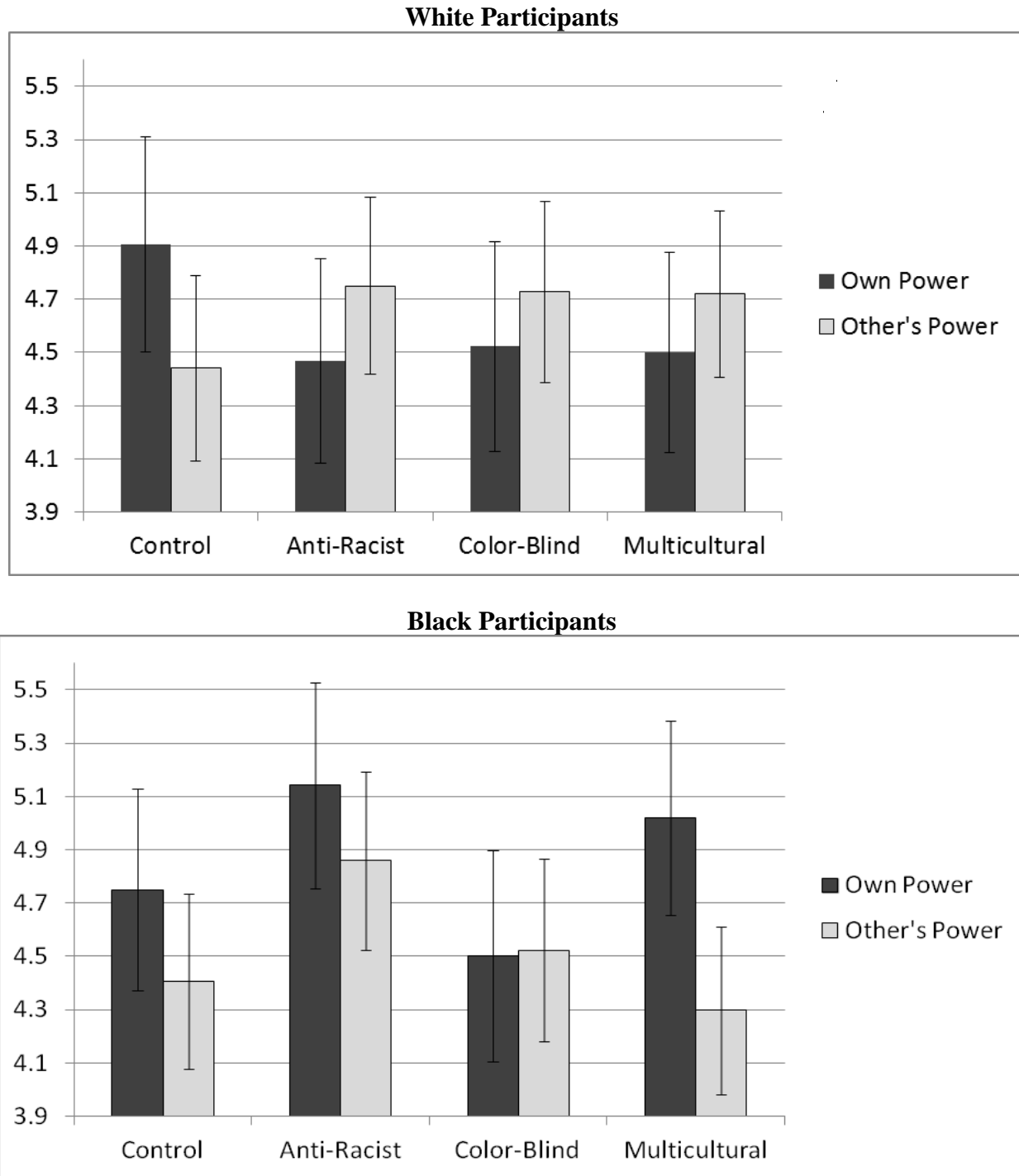
Footnotes

1. These numbers do not include five participants whose data were incomplete.
2. Across all of the studies reported in this paper, data regarding first language were generally unavailable prior to participation. Requiring those classified as dominant group members to have English or French as a first language involved dropping five White participants from Study 2 and one from Study 3.
3. These numbers do not include seven participants whose data were incomplete, one participant who indicated suspicion regarding the presence of the ostensible partner, one participant whose session was interrupted by a fire alarm, or one participant who indicated being White in the mass testing but First Nations in the session.
4. These numbers do not include two participants who indicated suspicion regarding the presence of the ostensible partner, one person who did not sit in the designated position in front of the poster, two participants whose data were incomplete, or one participant whose response time to more than 10% of the IAT trials was shorter than 300 ms (see Greenwald et al., 2003).
5. When the positivity covariates were not included, the results were weaker, interaction $F(1, 72) = 2.99, p = .088, \eta_p^2 = .040$. This suggests that positivity might have been a source of contamination that obscured effects on implicit self-power associations. Indeed, there was a marginal tendency for minority participants' other-ratings to be more positive in the multicultural ($M = 7.57, SE = 0.23$) as compared to the control condition ($M = 7.01, SE = 0.24$), $F(1, 72) = 2.84, p = .097, \eta_p^2 = .038$.
6. These numbers do not include 55 participants who reported ambiguous or nonspecific (e.g., "human," "American") ethnic backgrounds (4), failed the attention/validity check by selecting a clearly inaccurate response (21), had missing data (25), or took 33 minutes or more to complete

the survey (5; this time limit was proportional to that established for other studies in our lab, taking into account the number of questions, and suggests that participants were distracted from the experimental task).

Figure 1

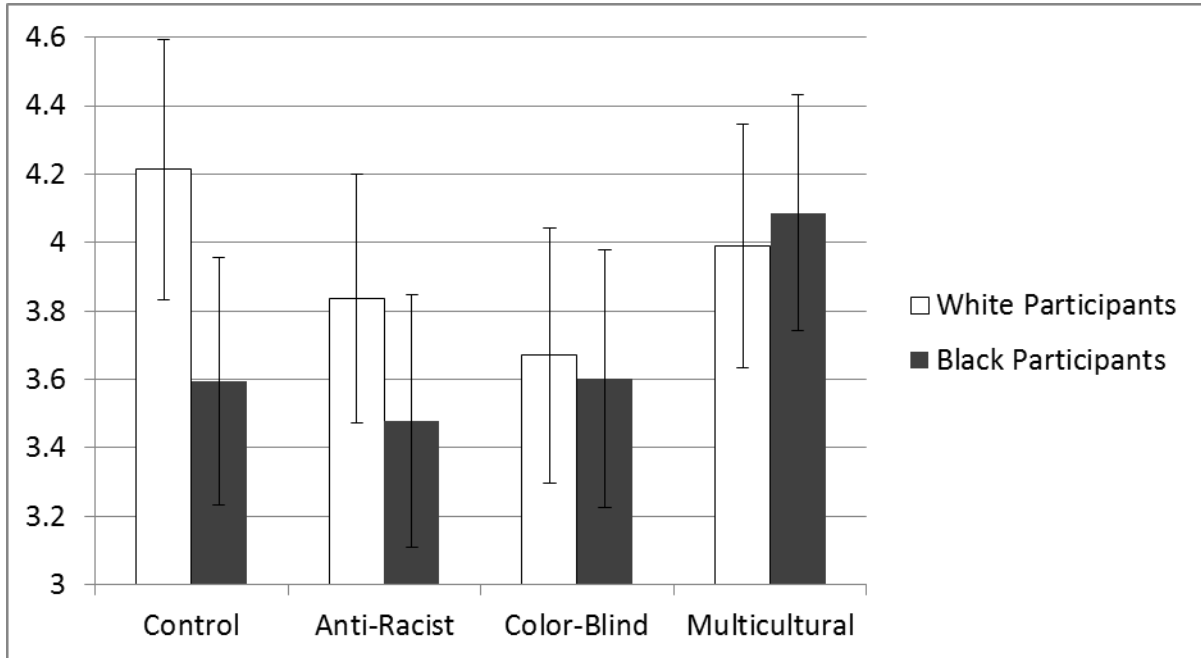
Feelings of Power as a Function of Participant Ethnicity and Ideology Condition (Study 2)



Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 2

Expectations of Control in the Ostensibly Upcoming Interaction as a Function of Participant Ethnicity and Ideology Condition (Study 2)

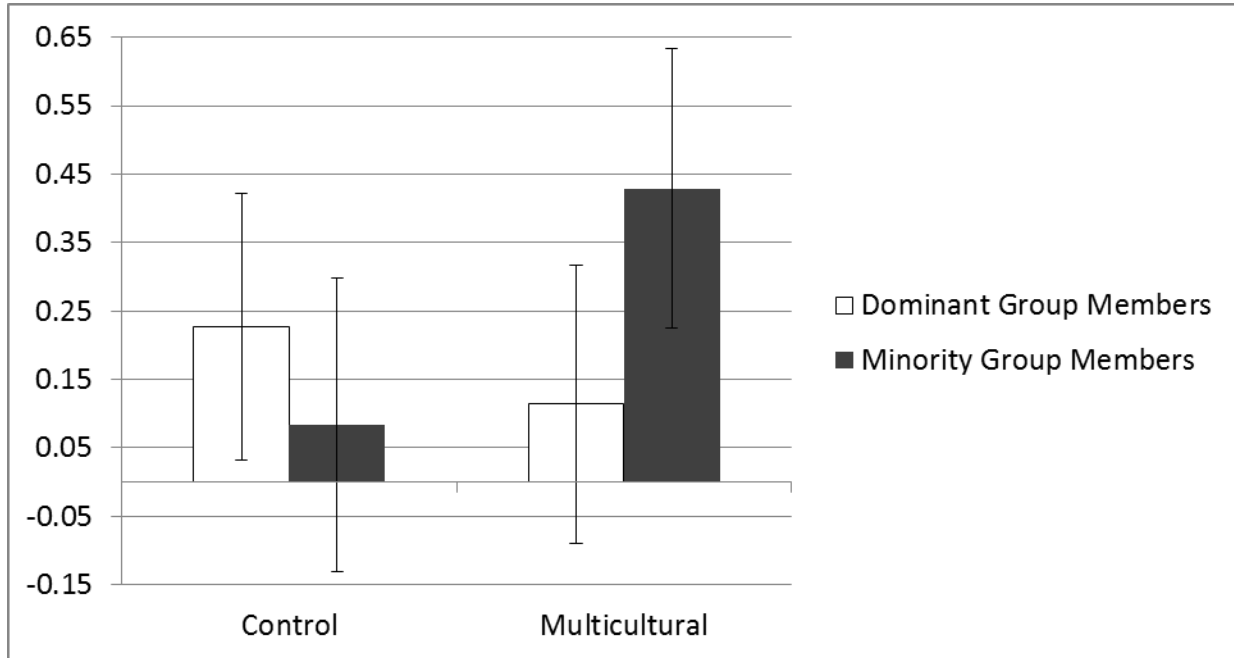


Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 3

Implicit Self-Power Associations as a Function of Participant Ethnicity and Poster Condition

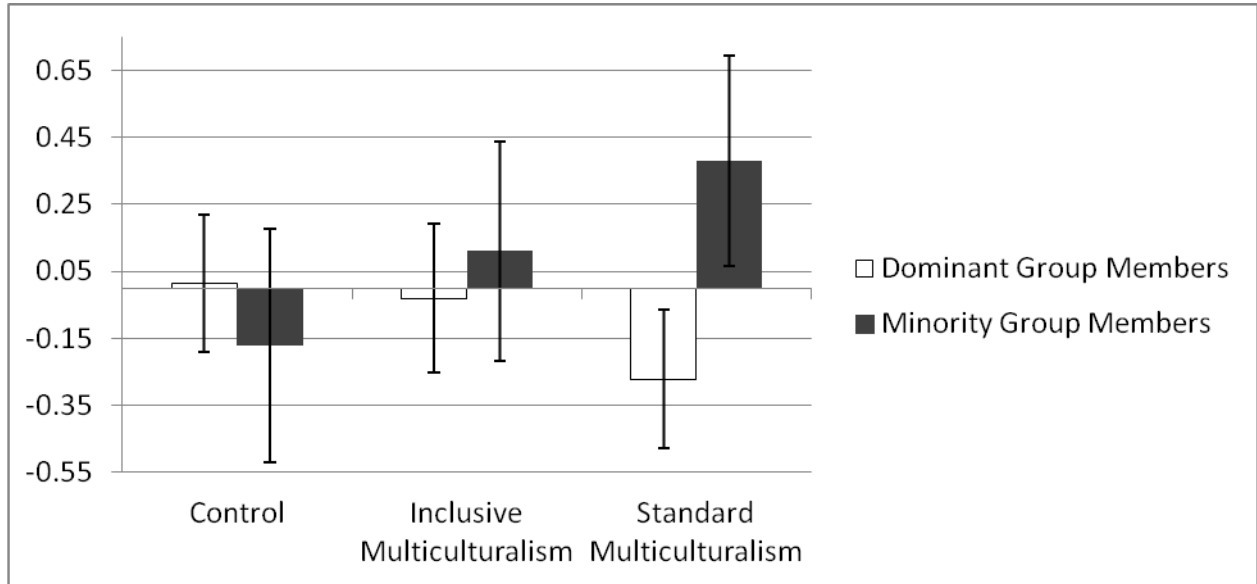
(Study 3)



Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 4

Feelings of Power as a Function of Participant Ethnicity and Ideology Condition (Study 4)



Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.