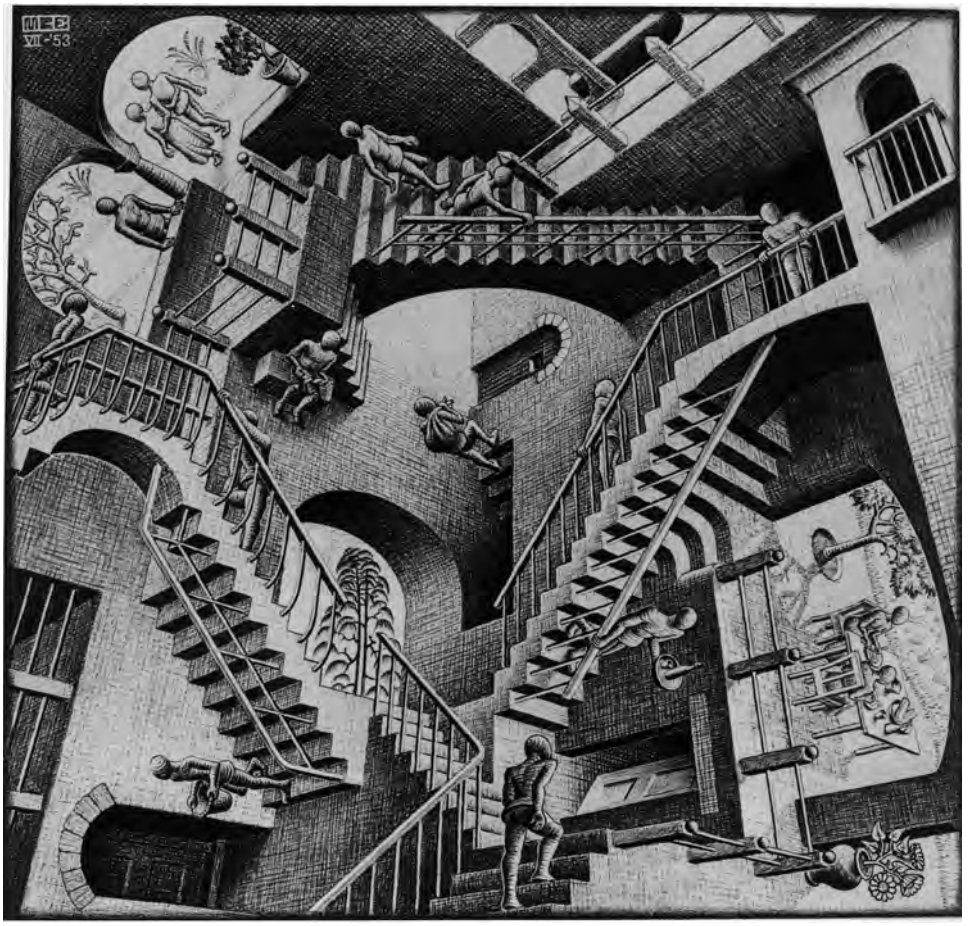
MAARTJE EVA SCHOUTEN

The Ups and Downs of Hierarchy

The causes and consequences of hierarchy struggles and positional loss



THE UPS AND DOWNS OF HIERARCHY

THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF HIERARCHY STRUGGLES AND POSITIONAL LOSS

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The causes and consequences of hierarchy struggles and positional loss

Omhoog en omlaag in de hiërarchie

De oorzaken en gevolgen van hiërarchiestrijd en verlies van positie

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Social hierarchy is inevitable in groups and teams (Harrison & Klein, 2007; Hollenbeck, Beersma, & Schouten, 2012; Magee & Galinsky, 2008); every team is characterized by its social hierarchy. It dictates lines of communication between group members, collaboration patterns, and ultimately the group's performance. (e.g., Bales, Strodtbeck, Mills, & Roseborough, 1951; Greer, Schouten, De Jong, & Dannals, 2014). A social hierarchy describes the rank ordering of group members along a socially valued dimension. These socially valued dimensions are typically grouped under either the amount of power, or control over valuable resources someone has, or the amount of status, or how respected and admired this person is by others (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Ultimately, these differences in power or status between team members give rise to a rank ordering of influence among these individuals. This rank ordering can be steep or flat, indicating a lot or very little difference in stature between the top and the bottom members of the team. In organizational settings, examples of rank orders, or hierarchies, are the differences in the level of pay, office allocation, and titles, but also the extent to which employees listen to their colleague, respect this person, and any differences in intellectual contributions to projects. Thus, social hierarchies may form on the basis of many specific resources.

Scholars vary in the degree to which they believe social hierarchies are beneficial for individual and team outcomes in organizations. (e.g., Anderson & Brown, 2010; Berger, Cohen, & Zelditch, 1972; Bunderson & Reagans, 2011; Emerson, 1962; Greer et al., 2014; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Lee & Tiedens, 2001; Magee & Galinsky, 2008; Ridgeway, 1982). Proponents of the functionalist account of social hierarchy argue that hierarchical differentiation between team members can be beneficial for individual and team outcomes as it enables more efficient coordination between team members and motivates team members to work harder. It also satisfies the individual's needs for predictability and

uncertainty reduction and is consistent with beliefs in meritocracy (Halevy, Chou, & Galinsky, 2011). Thus, this line of research argues that social hierarchies stimulate effective team functioning. On the other hand, social hierarchy can also be a bone of contention resulting in increased conflict between team members (Greer et al., 2014) and it can stifle such important team processes as voice and learning (Bunderson & Reagans, 2011; Tost, Gino, & Larrick, 2013). These processes ultimately will result in negative individual behaviors and hurt team outcomes. Thus, social hierarchy may be a double-edged sword associated with both positive and negative outcomes.

Some scholars believe that social hierarchies are self-reinforcing and stable in nature as they form early on in the team formation stage and perpetuate over time (e.g., Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980; Bunderson, Van der Vegt, & Sparrowe, 2014; Kilduff & Galinsky, 2013; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). This gives rise to stable communication patterns that are either functional or dysfunctional for team outcomes. However, a rapidly accumulating body of research exists to demonstrate that hierarchies are not necessarily stable and that members' positions do change (e.g., Aime, Humphrey, DeRue, & Paul, 2014; Bendersky & Shah, 2013; Marr & Thau, 2014; Pettit, Sivanathan, Gladstone, & Marr, 2013). These scholars argue, instead, that social hierarchies change under the pressure of changing task demands and re-evaluations of an actor's performance that necessitate an adjustment of their position in the team's rank ordering.

In this dissertation, I will use a combination of different research methodologies to contribute to this rapidly growing body of research on the dynamics of social hierarchy. The first part of this dissertation will focus on moving up in the social hierarchy of a team by investigating the types of hierarchy struggles people engage in, where these different types stem from, and how they affect the striver's behaviors. Specifically, I will present the results of a qualitative study examining the reasons why team members will compete with each other over greater influence within the team. This study is combined with several quantitative studies offering a coherent way to measure the different types of hierarchy struggles discovered through these interviews. In a further examination of the nature of hierarchy struggles I offer a conceptual examination of this construct and why, when, and how team members will engage in these struggle behaviors. The second part of this

dissertation will focus on falling down the hierarchical ladder. I will offer a number of experiments examining the consequences of losing power or status for a team member's affect, motivation, and behaviors.

Together, the studies in this dissertation contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of social hierarchies in important ways. First, by shedding light on why team members compete over hierarchical positions and how this might affect their subsequent interpersonal behavior, this dissertation provides important insights for research and theory development on the conflict-based perspective of social hierarchy (Greer et al., 2014; Tarakci, Greer, & Groenen, 2015). Second, by offering fully developed and validated hierarchy struggle scales, it enables scholars to further develop and test theories on the conflict-based perspective of social hierarchy. Third, by examining the differences between losing power and status, this dissertation contributes to a better understanding of both the unique nature of power and status as well as the downstream consequences of dynamics in social hierarchies.

What is social hierarchy?

In this dissertation I conceptualize social hierarchy as an implicit or explicit rank ordering of individuals or teams with respect to a valued social dimension (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). The rank ordering affects how much influence each team member has over other members of the team. Although there could potentially be a plethora of valued social dimensions along which team members may be ranked, Magee and Galinsky (2008) proposed that all sources can be described as giving someone either power or status. In a power hierarchy, team members differ from each other in their control over valued resources, such as time, money, or knowledge. In a status hierarchy, team members differ from each other in the amount of respect and admiration they receive from the other team members. Respect and admiration can be derived from individual characteristics such as task-related knowledge or competence (i.e. specific status characteristics), or more generalized personal characteristics such as gender or age (i.e. diffuse status characteristics; Berger et al., 1972; Berger, Ridgeway, Fisek, & Norman, 1998; Berger et al., 1980). However, as I will discuss

in Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation, other scholars have proposed alternative bases on which hierarchies may form, such as leadership, prestige, and dominance (Anderson & Brown, 2010; Cheng, Tracy, Foulsham, Kingstone, & Henrich, 2013). Thus, members of a team are rank ordered in terms of their power or status or another basis, which affects the amount of influence they will have over other members of the same team.

Social hierarchies can take on different shapes (e.g., a pyramid with one person at the top, one member per layer, see Chapter 5 for a further discussion on this subject). For the purposes of this dissertation, I will focus on a social hierarchy in which one team member occupies, or has the desire to occupy, the top position in a team, with the other team members below him or her. This is representative of many organizational situations in which there is a team or unit leader and other employees. It is also representative of the zero-sum conceptualization of a social hierarchy (e.g., Bendersky & Hays, 2012) to which I adhere in my conceptualization of hierarchy struggles. This zero-sum conceptualization implies that only one person at a time can occupy the same position in the hierarchy, which will lead to a competition between different team members who wish to occupy this position.

Two opposing perspectives exist on the relative effectiveness of social hierarchies for team outcomes and individual behaviors. The functionalist account of social hierarchy argues that social hierarchy facilitates team functioning because it provides team members with an effective means to coordinate and cooperate and a clear understanding of who defers to whom for what. Especially when stable, a social hierarchy creates a psychologically rewarding environment for individual team members, fulfilling needs such as those for achievement, power, and predictability. It also serves as a motivating mechanism spurring team members to work harder so that in the next round they will move up in the hierarchy (Halevy et al., 2011; Halevy, Chou, Galinsky, & Murnighan, 2011). Moreover, people appear to have an innate preference for hierarchical relationships as they are easier to cognitively process than egalitarian relationships (Tiedens & Fragale, 2003; Zitek & Tiedens, 2012). Hierarchical relationships often lead to complementary behaviors between people, which reduces tensions in relationships and allows people to be optimistic about task completion (Tiedens, Unzueta, & Young, 2007). Thus, the functionalist account of social hierarchy suggests that social hierarchies positively affect important organizational

processes and outcomes. This is supported by empirical evidence that finds that teams with greater hierarchical differentiation perform better (Anicich, Swaab, & Galinsky, 2015; Halevy, Chou, Galinsky, & Murnighan, 2011; Ronay, Greenaway, Anicich, & Galinsky, 2012; Swaab, Schaerer, Anicich, Ronay, & Galinsky, 2014).

On the other hand, social hierarchy may also increase the likelihood that conflicts and competitions occur between team members (Greer et al., 2014; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010; Tarakci et al., 2015). Social hierarchies are inherently associated with inequality between team members on at least one valued social dimension. They can stifle voice and increase feelings of not being heard (Tost et al., 2013), because less attention is paid to those contributions that come from people lower in the hierarchy (Fiske, 1980). This can create feelings of injustice and unfairness, when it is not a priori evident why one member is in a higher position than another. Moreover, the inequality associated with social hierarchies can also stimulate social comparison processes in teams (Edelman & Larkin, 2015; Ridge, Aime, & White, 2015). Social comparison processes have the potential to stimulate negative behavioral and affective outcomes such as deception, gossip, and envy (Edelman & Larkin, 2015; Wert & Salovey, 2004), especially when the comparison is negative for the focal person. Finally, a social hierarchy stimulates a competitive mindset as it enhances zero-sum perceptions where the resources or influence allocated to one member cannot be given to another (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Together, feelings of injustice and unfairness, unfavorable social comparisons, and enhanced competitive mindsets can cause a social hierarchy to serve as a bone of contention. When positions in the social hierarchy become something worth competing over, it will increase the chances of hierarchy hurting team outcomes and decrease the chances of stability of the prevailing hierarchy. This is supported by a recent meta-analysis examining the effects of intrateam hierarchical differentiation on team processes and outcomes (Greer et al., 2014). This meta-analysis found that hierarchical differentiation significantly increases conflict within the team and negatively impacts coordination. These negative effects of hierarchical differentiation on team outcomes were especially pronounced when teams were highly skill differentiated, when team membership changed frequently, and when team members perceived that upward mobility in the team hierarchy was possible. In particular this latter factor, the potential to advance in the

hierarchy, resonates with the burgeoning line of research on the dynamics of social hierarchies further explored in this dissertation.

Social hierarchies may change both in response to factors within the team and environmental factors. Examples of these changes include, at the interpersonal level, Aristotle surpassing Plato as the most important philosopher of his time; emerging as a team leader at the intrateam level; the rise and fall of the MSU football team in the 2015 season rankings at the interteam level, which saw MSU ranked as number 2 at the beginning of the season, number 13 midway through, and as a semi-finalist for the national championship; and even the rise in status of specific immigrant groups, such as Italian or Asian immigrants, in the United States over time. In organizational teams, hierarchies may change in response to mergers and acquisitions, shifts in task requirements (Aime et al., 2014), and variation in team member performance (Bendersky & Shah, 2013; Marr & Thau, 2014). The more team members are in a situation where they can renegotiate the hierarchical rank ordering (e.g., because of frequent membership changes), the more susceptible the team is to such conflicts and competitions over the social hierarchy (Greer et al., 2014). In this dissertation, I refer to these processes as hierarchy struggles.

Dissertation overview

Given the overwhelming attention that has been devoted to stable hierarchies, it is not surprising that a comparative lack on research exists on the topic of hierarchy struggles (for exceptions, see Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Chun & Choi, 2014; Eisenhardt & Bourgeois III, 1988; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010). Initial research suggests that both competitions over status and over power have negative implications for team outcomes (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Chun & Choi, 2014; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010), but comparatively little is known about whether these two types of hierarchy struggles are exhaustive reasons for people to engage in hierarchy struggles or whether other reasons may exist for team members. Thus, it is not a priori clear whether the current research on hierarchy struggles covers the different reasons why people engage in those struggles. Moreover, since these papers focus exclusively at the team-level of analysis, it is not clear what the microdynamics (Humphrey & Aime, 2014) of

hierarchy struggles are, i.e. how hierarchy struggles may differentially affect an individual team member's behaviors.

Therefore, in Chapter 2 of this dissertation I will build a typology of hierarchy struggles based on qualitative interviews with members of two different political parties in the Netherlands. From these interviews I find that three– not two – types of hierarchy struggles are prevalent in the people's minds: power struggles, status struggles, and leadership struggles. Consistent with prior research, power struggles are conflicts and competitions between team members about the relative amount of control over resources each team member has. Status struggles are conflicts and competitions between team members about the relative amount of respect and admiration each team member receives. In contrast to prior research, my data show that this is not where the story ends: team members also engage in conflicts and competitions with each other for more influence in order to be able to better advance collective goals.

I then build on these interviews to develop scales that will enable the accurate measurement of each of the three different types of hierarchy struggles. Effective measurement of constructs is crucial for theory validation, falsification, and development. Extant scales of hierarchy struggles tend to conflate different aspects of the struggles as they measure both status and influence, while intending to measure status struggles only (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Moreover, these scales cover only a subset of the reasons why people engage in struggles over the hierarchy, i.e. power and status, as a fully-fledged typology of hierarchy struggles did not exist. In this Chapter I test the three-factor structure of the proposed items and distinguish them from extant types of team conflict providing divergent validity. Thus, Chapter 2 provides a first comprehensive examination of the different types of hierarchy struggles that exist in teams.

In Chapter 3, I leverage the tripartite nature of hierarchy struggles to develop a conceptual model to explain why, when, and how team members engage in one or the other hierarchy struggle. I argue that these struggles are characterized by different behaviors a hierarchy struggler engages in to strive for greater influence in the team. Examining interpersonal behaviors through the lens of social motivation leads me to conclude that the different types of hierarchy struggles stem from different combinations of proself and

prosocial motivation. I argue that power struggles are primarily driven by high proself motivation, while leadership struggles are primarily driven by high prosocial motivation, and status struggles are driven by a combination of proself and prosocial motivation. Furthermore, I argue that the self-interested nature of power and status struggles make these struggles more proactive, while the exclusively prosocial nature of leadership struggles make these struggles more reactive. Moreover, I propose how other team members may respond to the hierarchy struggler on the basis of their own social motivation. Thus, Chapter 3 advances our knowledge of the microprocesses underlying hierarchy struggles in teams.

While Chapters 2 and 3 both focus on advancing one's position in the social hierarchy, Chapter 4 examines the other side of the dynamics of social hierarchies: What happens when one falls down the hierarchical ladder? This chapter focuses exclusively on the two proself motivated bases on which social hierarchies form, power and status, as these are most established and most self-relevant for the actor in the social hierarchy. In this chapter I build and test theory differentiating the effects of power and status loss. I argue that the loss of power is rather external to the individual, while the loss of status means a negative evaluation of the individual and effectively simulates a process of social exclusion. In two experiments, I indeed find support for this idea that status loss mimics a process of social exclusion, while power loss has much less of an impact on the loser. Status loss leads to more negative affect, has greater impact on an individual's motivation, and is associated with greater flight behavior than power loss, all steps that are consistent with those a socially excluded individual encounters.

Together, this dissertation contributes to our understanding of the dynamics of social hierarchy. I examine both the causes and consequences of rising and falling in a social hierarchy. When climbing the social hierarchy, I demonstrate that three hierarchy struggle types exist and that these stem from differences in social motivations and have important implications for interpersonal behaviors. When falling down the social hierarchy, I demonstrate that power loss and status loss have distinct consequences for the loser mimicking a process of social exclusion. This contributes to our understanding of the different nature of power and status. In Chapter 5 of this dissertation, I will identify possible avenues for future research that build on this dissertation.

Declaration of contributions

Multiple authors contributed to the chapters included in this dissertation. Chapter 1 was written by M. E. Schouten (MES) and reviewed by D. van Knippenberg (DvK) and L. L. Greer (LLG). In Chapter 2, the qualitative study was designed by MES and LLG and conducted and analyzed by MES, MES and LLG developed the scales and data collection and analyses for Studies 1 and 2 was conducted MES. The chapter was written by MES and reviewed by LLG and DvK. Chapter 3 was developed and written by MES and reviewed by DvK and LLG. For Chapter 4, MES, L. van Bunderen (LvB), and M. Shemla (MS) contributed to the study idea and to the design of the specific studies. Data collection and analysis for both studies was conducted by MES, MES also wrote Chapter 4, which was subsequently reviewed by LvB and MS. Chapter 5 was written by MES and reviewed by DvK and LLG.

Chapter 2:

HIERARCHY STRUGGLES: A MULTISTUDY EXAMINATION OF ITS TYPES

Abstract

Social hierarchies in teams and organizations may at times be sources of contention – individuals lower on the ladder may struggle to improve their rank and those at the top may struggle to maintain their rank. These struggles can be functional if they result in a more effective and accepted social hierarchy, but they can also be severely debilitating, especially when competitions between team members distracts them from task accomplishment and team and organizational goals. Initial research has offered insight into the effects of different forms of hierarchical struggles on team outcomes. However, a clear understanding of the types of hierarchy struggles in teams is lacking. To this end, we conducted a qualitative study of Dutch politicians to explore what drives them to compete for more influence within their teams. Our results suggest that three distinct forms of hierarchical struggles exist – power, status, and leadership struggles. We then present two empirical construct validation studies, which provide support for the validity of this tri-partite view of hierarchical struggles in teams. Together these studies contribute to research on social hierarchy, conflict and competition, and leadership.

Social hierarchies, or the rank ordering of individuals in groups and teams along a socially valued dimension (Magee & Galinsky, 2008), may be the source of competition and conflict in teams and organizations. Although the majority of research on social hierarchies has made either the implicit or explicit assumption that hierarchies are stable over the span of a team's life (Anderson & Brown, 2010; Bunderson, Van der Vegt, & Sparrowe, 2014; Halevy, Chou, & Galinksy, 2011; Kilduff & Galinsky, 2013; Magee & Galinsky, 2008), a growing body of research suggests that hierarchies may be a source of dynamic struggles over rank. In other words, hierarchies often can and do change. These changes can be functional, such as when changes better align the hierarchy in a team with differences in objective member competencies (Aime, Humphrey, DeRue, & Paul, 2014; Bendersky & Shah, 2013), or when the strategies members use to change the hierarchy allow the team to perform better, such as increased effort or prosociality (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Flynn, 2003; Willer, 2009).

However, these changes can also be of a more competitive nature. The examples of these behaviors are numerous. For instance, colleagues trying to one-up each other on their accomplishments to re-establish the pecking order. Or making it known to others that one has valuable but unique information to ensure other's dependence. Or organizing hallway meetings to ensure decisions will play to one's favor. All of these are examples of how one employee tries to gain in position over another employee in the influence hierarchy. We coin the term *hierarchy struggles* to describe the competitions between members of a team over the rank ordering of influence within this team. Hierarchy struggles have the potential to be especially debilitating for interpersonal relations and team outcomes, because team members oftentimes perceive social hierarchies as zero-sum in nature (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Berger, Ridgeway, Fisek, & Norman, 1998). This implies a win-lose situation in which only one person can be at the top of the influence hierarchy. People behave more competitively when they see a situation as distributive and they forgo integrative solutions (De Dreu, Weingart, & Kwon, 2000). A lack of integration or even a lack of willingness to consider others' points of view has a range of negative consequences for teams. For instance, it reduces information exchange, vital for learning and creativity (Beersma et al., 2003; Černe, Nerstad, Dysvik, & Škerlavaj, 2014); it reduces organizational citizenship behaviors (de Wit, Greer, & Jehn, 2012); and it increases counterproductive work behaviors (Enns & Rotundo,

2012). Thus, hierarchy struggles may cause substantial problems in teams. It is therefore important to understand whether all hierarchy struggles are similar in nature. This begins with the question of what drives members of a team to engage in a hierarchy struggle.

Some studies on hierarchy struggles exist. These studies have been focused on two types: power struggles (Greer & Van Kleef, 2010) and status conflicts (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Chun & Choi, 2014). This research follows from the two bases on which social hierarchies are proposed to form: power, or the relative control over valuable resources, and status, or the relative respect and esteem received from other team members (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). These studies suggest that hierarchy struggles may stem from a desire for greater power or greater status. Interestingly enough, Chun and Choi (2014) find that a need for power predicts the existence of a status conflict. This questions the underlying conceptualizations of the different hierarchy struggle types and suggests that to date no overarching framework exists to reliably understand and predict the different types of hierarchy struggles. Understanding what people fight over when they are competing with each other for influence in their team or organization is important as it will likely change the ways people fight and how these conflicts may be resolved.

Additionally, research to date has only considered hierarchy struggles that are primarily self-interested. The influence accrued from a successful struggle over power or over status is desirable for the individual as people with both power and status are evaluated more positively (Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). However, many people are also driven by an inherent concern for the interests, needs, desire and the well-being of others (De Dreu, 2006). Taking other's or collective interests into consideration gives rise to the potential for other types of hierarchy struggles that are not primarily driven by self-interest. This perspective is consistent with research considering leadership – the degree to which a team member uses influence to attain shared goals (Yukl, 2002) – as a third basis on which social hierarchies may form (Anderson & Brown, 2010). Thus, the goal of the current paper is to examine what drives team members to engage in a hierarchy struggle and to build a typology of what people fight over in hierarchy struggles.

We do so by qualitatively examining whether team members distinguish between different reasons to engage in a hierarchy struggle. Do team members compete for different

aspects of the social hierarchy? Subsequently, we develop more accurate measures for the different hierarchy struggles we encountered. This contributes to our understanding of hierarchy struggles in three ways. First, it provides a first empirical test that directly compares what team members compete for when they struggle for influence with each other and it categorizes these into three different types. We replicate the distinction between power and status struggles, but we also add a third type, namely leadership struggles. Secondly, the distinction of three different forms of hierarchy struggles opens up the question of accurate measurement. Based on the hierarchy struggles we identified, we assess the state of the measures for power struggles and status conflicts and develop three new scales that better capture power, status, and leadership struggles than previous research has done. Finally, we empirically distinguish the three hierarchy struggles from other types of conflict, i.e. task, relationship, and process conflict (Jehn, 1997; Jehn & Mannix, 2001).

Together the studies in this paper contribute to several literatures. First, we contribute to the social hierarchy literature by demonstrating that competitions for the hierarchy are not unidimensional, but that team members may engage in different types of hierarchy struggles. Second, we contribute to the literature on conflict and competition in teams by elaborating on the discussion of hierarchy struggles that has recently emerged. Finally, we contribute to the leadership literature by putting the possibility of conflicts and competitions about leadership to the table. A topic virtually absent from the literature on leader emergence.

Hierarchical dynamics

Most research on social hierarchies has heralded their positive impact on individuals and team outcomes and suggests that team members want to be part of a hierarchy (e.g., Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003; Halevy et al., 2011; Halevy, Chou, Galinsky, & Murnighan, 2011; Tiedens, Unzueta, & Young, 2007; Van Vugt, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2008). People prefer stable hierarchies, because they make situations predictable, clarify to whom to defer to for what and reduce conflict (Halevy et al., 2011; Ronay, Greenaway, Anicich, & Galinsky, 2012). Moreover, higher positions in the hierarchy are appealing because they are often associated with material and immaterial benefits, such as more pay, greater

recognition, and better health (Anderson, Hildreth, & Howland, 2015; Belliveau, O'Reilly, & Wade, 1996). Thus, social hierarchies motivate people to work hard in order to achieve higher level positions, and fulfill basic human needs such as the need for power and achievement. However, recent developments suggest that hierarchies may neither be as conducive to performance as previously thought (Greer, Schouten, De Jong, & Dannals, 2014) nor as stable. Recently scholars have become interested in why, when, and how these changes occur and how these affect individual and team outcomes. Hierarchies can change due to changes in the external environment such as mergers and acquisitions, the task environment, or turnover (Aime et al., 2014; DeRue, Hollenbeck, Johnson, Ilgen, & Jundt, 2008; Walsh, 1988). However, hierarchies also change because team members put in substantive effort to climb the ladder (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Barrick, Stewart, & Piotrowski, 2002; Bendersky & Shah, 2012; Cheng et al., 2013).

These changes can occur in a more cooperative manner, when other members recognize the value of the change for the team. But these changes can also be competitive. Compared to other changes in teams, changes in the hierarchy are particularly likely to be competitive, because hierarchies are often seen as zero-sum and they have long-lasting consequences for the interpersonal relationships in the team (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Previous research has demonstrated two ways to achieve the top of a hierarchy. Team members can achieve a higher degree of influence through cooperative means when they demonstrate their value to the team and show their expertise (Cheng, Tracy, Foulsham, Kingstone, & Henrich, 2013; Willer, 2009). However, team members can also achieve a higher degree of influence through competitive means when they dominate other members and induce fear in them (Cheng et al., 2013). The more members perceive the team's hierarchy to be changeable through their influence, the more likely they are to use competitive means to rise to the top (Hays & Bendersky, 2015). These competitions for more influence and higher positions in the hierarchy can lead to conflicts and struggles in which members disagree over who should occupy which position in the hierarchy.

Focusing on two of the bases on which social hierarchies form (Magee & Galinsky, 2008), scholars have studied status conflicts, or struggles over the amount of respect and admiration each team member receives, and power struggles, or struggles over the control

over resources. Both power struggles and status conflicts have a negative impact on team processes and outcomes (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Chun & Choi, 2014; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010; Hinds, Neeley, & Cramton, 2014; Neeley, 2012). For instance, status conflicts are associated with less information sharing between team members, (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Chun & Choi, 2014) and power struggles are associated with poorer conflict resolution and more coalition formation (Greer & Van Kleef, 2010; Hinds et al., 2014). Research suggests that these hierarchy struggles may occur because team members are too similar to each other in ability or status-level (Groysberg, Polzer, & Elfenbein, 2011; Swaab, Schaerer, Anicich, Ronay, & Galinsky, 2014), but also when the differences in hierarchy between members are too great (Eisenhardt & Bourgeois III, 1988), the power-level is too high (Greer, Caruso, & Jehn, 2011; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010; Ronay et al., 2012), or procedures and treatment are unfair and unjust (Kabanoff, 1991; Rao & Dutta, 2012). In sum, scholars have begun to peel away the first layers to understand the antecedents for and consequences of hierarchy struggles.

However, this research lacks an overarching framework to understand the types of hierarchy struggles team members engage in. For instance, it is not clear what drives team members to engage in hierarchy struggles. The research on power struggles and status conflicts suggests that a need for power or for status (Anderson et al., 2015; McClelland, 1985) drives each of these. However, empirical research demonstrates that a need for *power* predicts *status* conflicts (Chun & Choi, 2014). Moreover, power and status are both characteristics of a social hierarchy that have a component of self-interest, in both cases the power- or status-holders are the primary receivers of the benefits associated with occupying this position. However, people do not just act out of self-interest, but may also be driven by prosocial motivations (De Dreu, 2006; Grant, 2007). Thus, hierarchy struggles may be based in more prosocial motivations as well as more self-interested motivations. Additionally, Anderson and Brown (2010) distinguish between power, status, and a third basis of social hierarchy, leadership, which they define as "the degree to which [team members] use influence to attain shared goals (p. 57)." Leadership roles may be negotiated between different team members, and, as with any negotiation, these negotiations can lead to conflicts when members cannot reach a solution (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). Thus, there are potentially other drivers for hierarchy struggles than just a need for power or status that dictate the type

of hierarchy struggle a team member engages in, although current research has not yet allowed for this possibility. A coherent framework of hierarchy struggles can guide future work in this area by offering a basis on which to compare and contrast the different forms a hierarchy struggle may take. An understanding of the different types of hierarchy struggles, which exist in teams and organizations, can help elucidate why and when hierarchy struggles may yield divergent or similar individual behaviors, team processes, and outcomes. Below we will present the results of a qualitative study in which we examined the different forms of hierarchical struggles present within a Dutch political party, as well as the motivations which led people to engage in these struggles and the behaviors members showed while engaged in different types of hierarchical struggles.

Qualitative examination of types of hierarchy struggles

We used an interpretive research method to understand what types of hierarchy struggles exist for members within a real organizational team (Behfar, Peterson, Mannix, & Trochim, 2008; Rynes & Gephart, 2004; Jackson & Trochim, 2002). The first author interviewed members of two existing political teams and asked them to draw tree diagrams of their cognitive understanding of hierarchy struggles. Tree diagrams offer a nonthreatening way to understand participant's "mind map", or cognitive relationships (Werner & Schoepfle, 1987), of hierarchy struggles. Tree diagrams have been used in prior research to study sensitive organizational issues such as intrateam conflict (Jehn, 1997; Jehn & Jonsen, 2010).

Participants and Research Setting

The interviews were conducted with 19 elected politicians in the Netherlands at two levels of government. Seven of the participants operated in the provincial government in one of the larger of twelve provinces in the Netherlands. The other eleven participants operated in the municipal government of a major city in the Netherlands. The city was not situated in the province where we conducted the provincial level interviews. At these levels of government elected functions are part-time positions. However, most respondents indicated that their political function was a large part of their daily activities, which meant that

potential struggles had a meaningful impact on their lives. Some participants had even given up their regular day job to be able to fully concentrate on their political activities. Further testifying to the importance the respondents placed on their political activities is the fact that they often aspired to occupy a full-time political function such as mayor, alderman, or an elected member of parliament at the national level. Thus, being an elected politician constituted a large part of the participants' identities.

All participants were members of the same political party. This party is a mainstream political party in the Netherlands. Throughout recent history the party has, on many occasions, been part of the coalition of political parties that make up the governing body at different levels of the government, including the national, provincial, and municipal levels. It is thus one of the major forces of power in the Dutch political spectrum and occupying a higher position in the party's hierarchy can thus result in meaningful degrees of influence that extends beyond the party members alone.

Political parties in the Netherlands are an excellent setting to study hierarchy struggles, because in the Dutch political system parties operate like self-managing teams (Manz & Sims, 1987). The political parties in the Netherlands can be characterized by low formalized authority differentiation as no one member has a priori formal decision making responsibility (Hollenbeck, Beersma, & Schouten, 2012). The absence of a formal hierarchy allows ample room for the establishment of an informal one. The political agenda and positions on current issues are often decided on through democratic voting procedures during party meetings. At the start of a political term a foreman or -woman is elected by the other members of the party. Voting procedures to reach decisions are at the low end of the authority differentiation dimension (Hollenbeck et al., 2012). However, these voting procedures also allow room for members to influence each other and to build coalitions or voting blocks. Furthermore, political parties can be characterized by a moderate degree of skill differentiation, or the extent to which each member has unique and specialized knowledge or all knowledge is shared among members (Hollenbeck et al., 2012). Each party member has its own domain for which he or she is the spokesperson, yet a substantial amount of knowledge is shared amongst the party members. The moderate amount of knowledge overlap also allows for members to encroach upon each other's turf and in this way engage

in continuous battles over influences with their fellow party members. Finally, the political parties can be characterized by a high degree of temporal stability, or the extent to which team membership is stable over time (Hollenbeck et al., 2012; Lee, Koopman, Hollenbeck, Wang, & Lanaj, 2015), as election cycles are 4 years and the majority of party members remains in place during those four years.

Additionally, two features of the Dutch political system make parties more team-like. First, in the United States representatives are elected from a specific district, where only one of the candidates can win the popular vote. In contrast, the Netherlands does not have such districts and the area which each individual elected politician represents is much more loosely defined. In the case of the Netherlands, multiple representatives can be elected from the same geographical area. In the case of these two samples, the geographical areas represented by the elected politicians were the full province or city for the parliament they were elected into rather than a district within the province. The popularity of a single party is then determined by the overall percentage of votes, represented as the share of a finite number of seats the party takes up in the relevant parliament, rather than whether a majority of the population voted for one politician in a smaller district. This creates a situation whereby members of the same party are much more dependent upon each other for success and re-election than the winner-takes-all system that exists in the United States.

Second, the Netherlands has more than two parties represented at all levels of government (i.e. local, provincial, and national). Historically, there have been three main parties positioned around the center of the political spectrum and a number of smaller parties that are in more extreme positions of the two orthogonal, ideological axes (progressive-conservative and social-liberal). This results in political parties that have a more coherent political agenda and political ideology as compared to the two party system in the United States. In the words of a management scholar, Dutch political parties have a clear common goal. Together these two aspects of the political system in the Netherlands have resulted in political parties that operate much like traditional teams, whereby a small team of interdependent individuals share responsibility for common goals (Ilgen, Hollenbeck, Johnson, & Jundt, 2005). The absence of a winner-takes-all system creates a high degree of

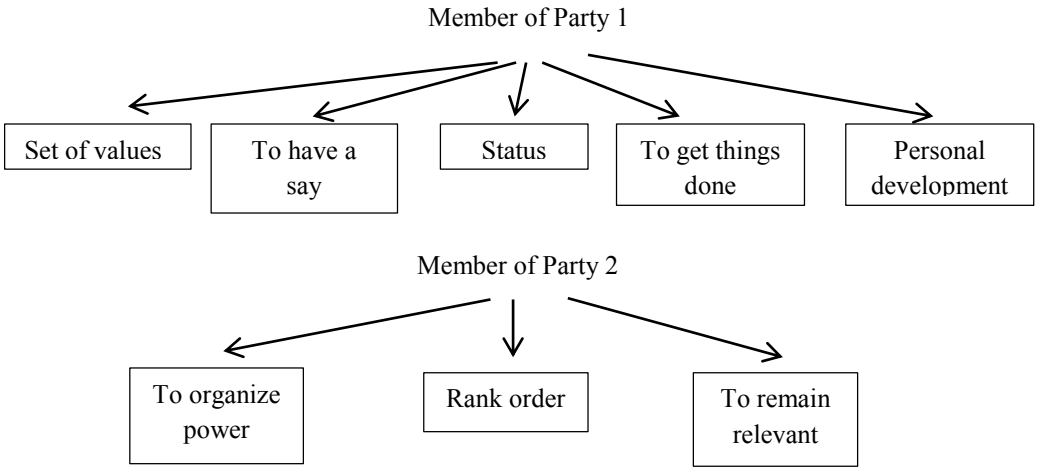
interdependence and the clear and common political ideology and agenda establish a common goal among the elected representatives.

Interview Strategy

Each respondent was interviewed once and interviews lasted on average 65 minutes, but ranged between 35 and 90 minutes. The main goal of the interviews was to ask the respondents to draw tree diagrams to map their cognitive schema of the hierarchy struggles in their party (Jehn, 1997). The tree diagrams in Figure 1 are examples of the tree diagrams drawn by the participants in response to the elicitation question provided. The elicitation question used was "What are the reasons why people disagree with each other about the hierarchy?" Before participants were asked this question, we provided them with an example tree diagram on a topic unrelated to the topic of the interview or their work ("What kinds of art forms exist?"). We explained to them how each category can branch off into different categories resulting in an increasingly fine-grained cognitive map of the topic. Participants were able to come up with their own terms and categories and they were instructed to continue branching out until they had satisfied, to their mind, all the possible categories related to hierarchy struggle. We asked the participants follow-up questions about hierarchy struggles to check the reliability of the categories identified in the tree diagram. After restating the majority of the categories named in the tree diagram, this oftentimes elicited the answer: "But we have already discussed this" and a hand-motion towards the tree diagram.

Tree diagrams are appropriate to study sensitive organizational topics, especially as part of a triangulation method, as they can greatly reduce the potential of misinterpretation by the researcher (Jehn & Jonsen, 2010). Furthermore, because the questions were asked in the third person these posed a less threatening situation for the respondents than when the questions were asked directly about the respondent, making it more likely that they would provide honest answers without social desirability biases (Jehn & Jonsen, 2010).

Figure 1. Sample Categorical Tree Diagram



Analysis Strategy

We used a qualitative analysis strategy adapted from Jehn and Jonsen (2010), Behfar et al. (2008) and Jackson and Trochim (2002). The keywords and phrases expressed in the tree diagrams about the bases for hierarchy struggles were recorded and we approached academic experts in the area of power, status, and influence research to sort these statements into an appropriate number of piles. We then used Multidimensional Scaling techniques to derive the final number of categories. As the interviews had been conducted in Dutch, the keywords and phrases were translated to English using a translation/back-translation method to get at the most appropriate translations for each of the statements. Both translators were fluent in Dutch and English and agreed on most of the translations, differences were resolved after discussion.

The academic experts were approached via e-mail with the question to take part in an online sorting task. The experts were faculty members and doctoral students in management, applied and social psychology, and sociology. The 16 respondents sorted the 57 unique keywords and phrases generated in the tree diagrams into different virtual piles. We informed them about the context of the statements and we instructed the participants to sort the statements into piles containing similar ideas (Behfar et al., 2008). We then asked the respondents to give names to each of the piles. The only restriction we placed upon them

was that they could not create a “miscellaneous” pile. If they thought keywords and phrases did not belong with any of the others, they were instructed to leave them in their own pile.

A multidimensional scaling analysis on the sorting outcomes was done to create a map of conceptually similar keywords and phrases. A 57 X 57 binary square matrix was created for each sorter. When statements were sorted together the value was 1, when they were not sorted together the value was 0. These matrices were then aggregated by adding up all the 16 individual matrices. A two-dimensional solution was then generated because it provided the best balance between fit (Normalized Raw Stress = .07; Dispersion Accounted For = .93) and the most useful foundation for cluster analysis. After the sorting and the dimension reduction had taken place, two PhD students blind to the research question performed the cluster analysis. They studied the MDS graph and selected the boundaries around the groups and then labeled these groups on the basis of the labels of the keywords and phrases and the labels provided to the groups when the academics were sorting them.

Results

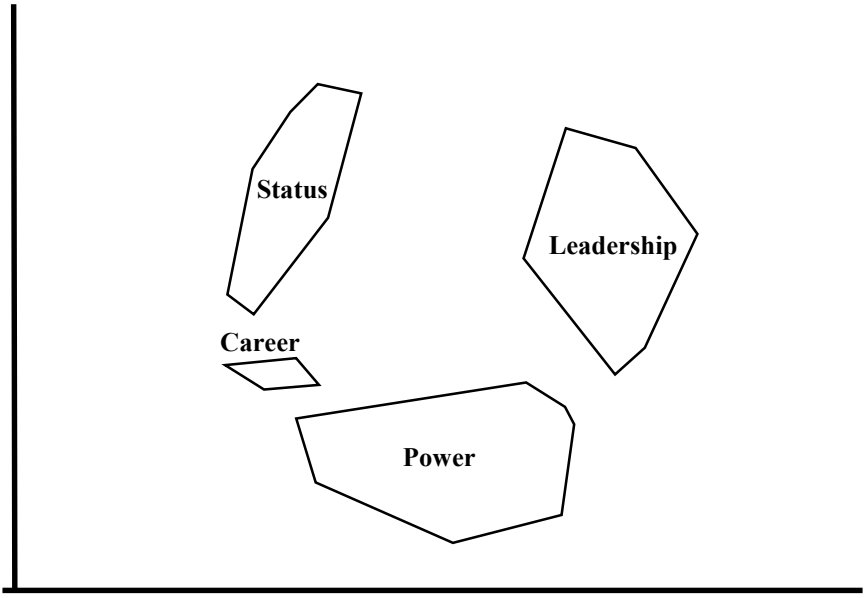
These analyses resulted in four different overarching types for the competitions between team members over the hierarchy. The three largest categories identified from the interviews were labeled power, status, and leadership. The same number of keywords and phrases were included in the power and leadership hierarchy struggle types, each representing 28% of the keywords and phrases elicited by the interview respondents. Slightly fewer keywords and phrases made up the status struggle type with 26.3% of the keywords and phrases included. A fourth, much smaller, category was identified and named career aspirations. Only 8.8% of the keywords and phrases were included in this type. Table 1 shows all keywords and phrases as elicited in the tree diagrams and their classifications into different types of struggles. Figure 2 shows the size and location of the four different categories. However, the exact position of these categories in the two dimensional space is less relevant, rather the position of each category compared to the other categories is most informative. These relative positions are based on the co-occurrence of the terms on the matrix of terms. Thus, categories that are closer together in the dimensional space are more closely associated with each other.

Table 1. Keywords and phrases elicited in the tree diagrams and final categorization

	Terms	Categorization
1.	Acknowledgement	Status
2.	Ambition	Career
3.	Career	Career
4.	Compassion	Leadership
5.	Content	Leadership
6.	Content as goal - personal interest	Leadership
7.	Content as goal - societal involvement	Leadership
8.	Content-based influence/authority	No classification
9.	Ego	Status
10.	Emotions	No classification
11.	Find topic personally relevant	Leadership
12.	Functions/position	Power
13.	Idealism	Leadership
14.	In order to remain on board	No classification
15.	Involvement	Leadership
16.	Leadership-based influence/authority	Power
17.	Obtain political point	Power
18.	Other politically unwise	Power
19.	Party ideals	Leadership
20.	Pecking order	Power
21.	Personal - being liked	Status
22.	Personal ambition	Career
23.	Personal development	Career
24.	Personal growth	Career
25.	Personal ideals	Leadership
26.	Persuasion	Power
27.	Politically driven	Power
29.	Position	Power
30.	Power	Power
31.	Profiling	Status
32.	Profiling yourself	Status
33.	Reasons of employment	No classification
34.	Responsibility to the supporters	Leadership
35.	Set of values	Leadership
36.	Society	Leadership
37.	Status	Status
38.	Status - own career	Status
39.	Status - own profiling	Status
40.	Status/respect	Status

41.	Strengthen personal position	Power
42.	To be agreed with	Status
43.	To be alpha male	Power
45.	To be heard	Status
47.	To be taken seriously	Status
48.	To disagree on principal	Leadership
49.	To fight out vendettas	Power
50.	To get things done	No classification
51.	To have a say	Status
52.	To have esteem	Status
53.	To have power	Power
54.	To not adhere value to another's opinion	Power
55.	To persuade colleagues	Power
56.	To raise public support	Leadership
57.	To realize ideas	Leadership
58.	Vanity	Status
59.	Vision	Leadership

Figure 2. Results of Multidimensional Scaling of Hierarchy Struggle Terms



The power category was characterized by terms such as “power”, “pecking order”, and “Adhere no value to the other”. One respondent described the importance of the pecking order in the party: “One way to claim a special position within the party is to become president of a committee… you know more about processes, about procedures, about substantive files, you can control what makes it to the agenda [of the meeting].” The leadership category was characterized by terms such as “to realize ideals”, “set of values”, and “vision”. Respondents described this as “You have to do something for its intrinsic value” and “You are part of [name of party] because this one is closest to your ideals.” The status category was characterized by terms such as “to have esteem”, “acknowledgement”, and “being liked”. One respondent said it bluntly: “We are all sensitive to it. What I have done to enhance my status is to tell stories afterwards [to other party members] about the important people I have met.” The career category was characterized by terms such as “personal development”, “ambition”, and “career”. Career appears to be a socially accepted type: “So basically I think that people think it is normal that you are ambitious and want to grow further.” However, based on the small size of the career type and a close inspection of the keywords and phrases that make up this type, we decided to drop this hierarchy struggle type from further theorizing and examination in this study. The keywords and phrases that make up this type suggest that this type can be characterized more as a means to an end, rather than an end in and of itself, which is more prominent in either of the other struggle types. For example, “ambition” can be defined as striving towards a specific goal and this goal can be related to status or power. Similarly, “personal development” specifies the goal of furthering oneself, but does not offer a specific direction, like power, status, or leadership do. Thus, the career struggle type was not considered in further theorizing as it represented only a small category and represented a means to an end, rather than an end like the other hierarchy struggle types. In addition 5 keywords and phrases were not included in any of the struggle types. Examples of these were: “emotions” and “to get things done.” It was impossible to meaningfully include these keywords and phrases in any of the identified categories.

Discussion

The interviews conducted in this study clearly show that team members have different reasons to engage in a hierarchy struggle with other members. Thus, we generated a typology

of three distinguishable types of hierarchy struggles that can take place in a team. First, power struggles, or competitions over the control of valuable resources which enable individuals to gain independence and autonomy from others. The second type of hierarchy struggle is about leadership, or struggles over who should have the responsibility to lead the team and advance the collective's goals. The third form of hierarchy struggles is about status, or struggles to gain respect and admiration in the eyes of others. All of the hierarchy struggle types we uncovered in this study are focused on striving for influence – they just take different forms in this quest. Thus, in one sense, they are all closely related to each other, which is consistent with other studies comparing power and status (Anderson & Brown, 2010; Blader & Chen, 2012; Bunderson & Reagans, 2011; Fast, Halevy, & Galinsky, 2012; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). However, as we show here, these different forms of hierarchy struggles can also be clearly distinguished.

Additionally, although two of the types identified here have been examined in earlier independent studies (Bendersky & Hays, 2012, Greer & Van Kleef, 2010) and are in line with previously formulated bases for social hierarchies (Magee & Galinsky, 2008), the third type uncovered in these interviews has to date been largely absent in the social hierarchy literature (Anderson & Brown, 2010). The leadership struggle type is in line with the commonly accepted definition of leadership as "the process of facilitating individual and collective efforts to accomplish shared goals (Yukl, 2002)." As such, the social hierarchy literature has overlooked an apparently important driver to engage in a hierarchical struggle. Moreover, the idea that team members can compete with each other for a hierarchical position is also largely absent from the leadership literature. Recent advances in this literature do suggest that team members may negotiate with each other for positions of leadership and followership. When these negotiating parties do not agree with each other, conflicts may occur (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). However, the exact nature of these negotiations is as yet unclear.

Development of accurate measurement

The qualitative interviews described above provide support for the idea that power and status struggles are distinguishable forms of hierarchy struggles and that an additional third form of hierarchy struggles exists focused on gaining leadership in a team. While all hierarchy struggles are focused on gaining influence and, therefore share certain similarities, these interviews demonstrated that different hierarchy struggle types exist, which emphasize distinct aspects of the hierarchy. The findings from these interviews open up the question of why existing research on hierarchy struggles has shown such similar effects for team outcomes. For instance, both power and status struggles have been demonstrated to negatively impact team outcomes. One potential reason is that the existing measurement of power struggles and status conflicts is a poor reflection of the concepts they are supposed to measure. In other words, the extant measures are not sensitive enough to capture differences between the different struggle types. Now that we have a better understanding of what each struggle type holds we are able to develop more fine-grained measurement for each of the three distinct hierarchy struggle types.

Accurate measurement of a concept is important for theory building and testing. Although little consensus exists in the field of Organizational Behavior about what good theory is exactly (Sutton & Staw, 1995; Weick, 1995), somewhat more consensus exists on what is no theory and how to evaluate whether something has some theory. The two primary criteria to evaluate any theory are its falsifiability and its utility (Bacharach, 1989). A theory is falsifiable when it is constructed in a way that allows for empirical refutation. A theory has utility to the extent it can both explain relationships between constructs and predict them (Bacharach, 1989). For each of these two criteria, accurate measurement of the constructs it includes is a pre-requisite. In order to falsify any theoretical claim, the measurement of the constructs it contains needs to be a precise and accurate reflection of the construct (Bacharach, 1989). Thus, at the base of a falsifiable and useful theory lies coherent operationalization of constructs. Current research lacks a precise and accurate way to measure hierarchy struggles.

Two issues exist with the existing scales used to measure hierarchy struggles. First, they only aim to capture power and status and do not capture leadership struggles. This is not

surprising given that this form of hierarchy struggle has, to date, been absent from the literature. However, for a comprehensive understanding of hierarchy struggles it is important that new measurement also captures this type. The second issue, however, is more problematic. Existing measure of power struggles and status conflicts claim to measure these distinct types of hierarchy struggles, but in actual fact fail to do so in a precise manner.

Extant measurement of hierarchy struggles are inconsistent with their definitions and different dimensions. Table 2 shows the items of the extant scales for both power and status struggles and how these map onto the relevant constructs. Bendersky and Hays (2012) define status conflicts as "disputes over people's relative status positions in their group's social hierarchy (p. 323)," whereby status is defined as the amount of respect each member receives from others (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Bendersky and Hays make an important contribution to the literature on hierarchy struggles as they argue that status conflicts are distinct from other types of conflict, because they are structural instead of based on differences in information or perceptions of the task, team processes, or personal values (De Dreu, Harinck, & Van Vianen, 1999). Moreover, status conflicts are, compared to other types of conflict, defined as zero-sum. Only one member of the team can have a relative status position (Bendersky & Hays, 2012), whereas for other types of conflict the outcomes may be integrative (Thompson, 2001; Walton & McKersie, 1965). This aspect, in particular, sets a status conflict apart from other types of conflict as this makes it a competition between team members. Having a certain amount of status precludes others from having that same amount of status. Given this discussion of the conceptual space of a status conflict present in Bendersky and Hays (2012) it is somewhat surprising that the scale to measure this construct includes only one item that reflects respect.

A similar disconnect exists between the definition of power struggles and its extant measurement. Greer and Van Kleef (2010) define power struggles as "the degree to which members compete over the relative levels of valuable resources held by members within the group (p. 1033)." Consistent with Bendersky and Hays (2012) this definition reflects a competition whereby a relative rank-ordering is established between team members. Consistent with the definition of power, members compete over control over resources. Although the measurement of the concept power struggles matches much more closely with

its definition, one item relates to the broader concept of hierarchy rather than power. This is problematic when measures try to distinguish between different types of hierarchy struggles that are conceptually close. As this analysis of these scales demonstrates, both existing measures of status and power struggles capture aspects that go beyond their concepts. Also, they appear to be capturing, in part, the same concepts (i.e. influence/hierarchy/dominance). This overlap makes it unsurprising that the findings for both power and status struggles are rather similar. Thus, in order to be able to develop and test the similarities and differences between the different hierarchy struggles more accurate measurement is required.

Table 2. Existing Scales to Measure Hierarchy Struggles

Item		Theoretical construct
	Bendersky and Hays (2012) Status conflict scale	
1.	My team members frequently took sides (i.e. formed coalitions) during conflicts.	Coalition formation; conflict
2.	My team members experienced conflicts due to members trying to assert their dominance.	Dominance/power; conflict
3.	My team members competed for influence.	Influence; competition
4.	My team members disagreed about the relative value of members' contributions.	Respect; conflict
	Greer and Van Kleef (2010) Power struggle scale	
1.	Did team members try to dominate each other during the task?	Dominance/power; competition
2.	Did team members argue about the hierarchical order in the team?	Hierarchy; competition
3.	Did team members compete for control in the team?	Power; competition

Below we present presents the results of two studies conducted independently to develop more accurate measurement of the different forms of hierarchy struggles. Study 1 describes a first test of the items developed to examine the three different hierarchy struggles. In a sample of student athletes, members of different crew teams, we conducted an initial test of the dimensionality and reliability of the scales. Study 2 describes a test of the scales to examine whether hierarchy struggles can be meaningfully distinguished from task, relationship, and process conflict. This study demonstrates that hierarchy struggles are substantively different from the other types of conflict.

Study 1

Methods

Participants and Procedure. Participants were 106 student athlete members of 25 crew teams collected on a national-level race day. 22 percent of the participants were female and on average 20.34 years old. Becoming a member of these crew teams is highly competitive and usually includes a 6 week intensive selection period. Team members see each other at collective practices at least 6 days per week and they are thus highly familiar with each other. Data were collected in the middle of the race season after which teams had been together for about 5 months, making these teams fairly temporally stable (Hollenbeck et al., 2012). As the goal of a crew team is to be highly synchronized in movement, skill differentiation is comparatively low (Hollenbeck et al., 2012).

Item generation. A total of 12 items, 4 per type, were generated based on the definitions of the three different hierarchy struggle types and the responses from the interviews. The stem of the items was kept consistent across the different struggle types, to ensure that the items were comparable with each other and only differed in the concepts they intended to capture. Table 3 presents the items generated for each struggle type. Participants were first presented with a definition of the construct and then shown the different items.

Analyses. An exploratory factor analysis using oblimin rotation was conducted to examine whether the items loaded onto the a priori specified constructs. Subsequently, confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to assess the three-factor structure of the scale using the lavaan package in R studio. Then the three-factor structure model was compared to a single-factor model structure to assess comparative fit.

Table 3. Item loadings for the different items capturing hierarchy struggles

Item		Power Struggles	Status Struggles	Leadership Struggles
Power issues revolve around who controls the allocation and distribution of valued resources in the team.				
1.	We compete over resources (e.g., time, money, materials) in this team.	**.795**	.178	.078
2.	We contest who can control other's outcomes in this team.	**.602**	.295	.498
3.	We have rivalry over control in this team.	**.717**	.298	.275
4	We struggle over who controls resources in this team.	**.787**	.319	.254
Status issues revolve around who receives the most respect from the other team members.				
5.	We compete over the allocation of prestige in this team.	.327	**.837**	.091
6.	We contest who has respect in this team.	.107	**.882**	.233
7.	We have rivalry over prestige.	.489	**.724**	.116
8.	We struggle over who has esteem in this team.	.309	**.731**	.333
Leadership issues revolve around who takes on the role to guide the team to goal achievement.				
9.	We compete over accountability to guide the team.	.029	.242	**.848**
10.	We contest who has important obligations within this team.	.252	.004	**.835**
11.	We have rivalry over facilitating team outcomes.	.352	.434	**.516**
12.	We struggle over who should take charge of the team tasks.	.249	.245	**.755**
	Eigenvalues	1.01	6.35	1.46

Results and Discussion

Table 3 also shows the factor loadings and the eigenvalues of the exploratory factor analysis for the 12 items of the hierarchy struggle scales. As is evident from this exploratory factor analysis, all the items load most highly onto the intended construct.

In order to more conclusively demonstrate the three-factor structure of the hierarchy struggle scales, we conducted confirmatory factor analyses using the lavaan statistical package in R studio. As per the recommendation of Oberski (2014), we interpreted the robust estimates, which corrects for non-normality of the data. Table 4 reports the fit statistics for the one-factor and the three-factor solution. Chi-square is an index of the absolute model fit which assesses the extent to which the covariances implied by the model's structure match the observed covariances. The larger the chi-square, the worse the specified model fits the data. In larger samples, the chi-square is nearly always significant, which would suggest a poor fit of the model. Therefore, most researchers gauge the chi-square relative to its degrees of freedom, with a ratio of 2 or lower as an arbitrary cut-off for the goodness of fit (Colquitt, 2001).

Additionally, Table 4 reports the comparative fit index, which compares the fit of a given model to a baseline model (Bentler, 1990). The closer to 1, the better the fit, with a value of .90 or higher as an indicator of good fit. Table 4 also reports the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) and the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR). The RMSEA measures the discrepancy in fit between the model, with unknown but optimally chosen parameter values, and the population covariance matrix and expresses this discrepancy relative to its degrees of freedom (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). An RMSEA of zero indicates optimal fit, but this is unrealistic to obtain. Values greater than .10 indicate poor fit, values between .08 and .10 indicate mediocre fit, values between .05 and .08 indicate reasonable fit, and anything less than .05 indicates great fit (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). The SRMR is uniquely developed to assess fit in structural equation modeling and demonstrates the square root of the discrepancy between the actual covariance matrix and the specified model covariance matrix. SRMR ranges from 0 to 1 and anything below a value of .08 indicates good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

The results in Table 4 indicate that the best fitting model is the three-factor model. Moreover, this is supported by a difference in chi-square test, which is significant and suggests that the three-factor model offers a significantly better fit to the data than the one-factor model. The chi-square difference is $(137 - 73) = 29$, $p < .001$. Thus, this study offers support for the three-factor model of hierarchy struggles and suggests that the three scales

test distinct aspects of hierarchy struggles as predicted based on the theoretical model. Although this provides initial support for the existence and measurement of the three different hierarchy struggles, this study does not offer any evidence that hierarchy struggles are empirically distinct from the more established types of conflict, task, relationship, and process conflict (Jehn, 1997; Jehn & Mannix, 2001). Study 2 will address this limitation.

Table 4. Comparison of Hierarchy Struggle Factor Structure

Structure	χ^2	*df*	χ^2/df	CFI	RMSEA	RMSEA confidence interval	SRMR
Study 1: Crew teams							
One-factor structure	137.717	54	2.55	.845	.121	(.101; .141)	.090
Three-factor structure	73.438	51	1.44	.958	.064	(.034; .090)	.069
Study 2: MTurkers							
One-factor structure	652.915	189	3.45	.670	.162	(.152; .173)	.109
Four-factor structure	364.322	183	1.99	.871	.103	(.091; .115)	.088
Six-factor structure	210.628	174	1.21	.974	.048	(.026; .065)	.068

Note. Study 1: *N = 106*; Study 2: *N = 93*

Study 2

While Study 1 demonstrated the three-factor structure of hierarchy struggles, replicating the tripartite distinction from the qualitative study, it was not able to provide evidence that these measures of hierarchy struggles can be effectively distinguished from other types of conflict that have received more attention in the literature. Intrateam conflicts are defined as perceived incompatibilities between people or goals (Jehn, 1995). Conflict research has traditionally distinguished between task conflicts, relationships conflicts, and process conflicts (Jehn, 1997; Jehn & Mannix, 2001). Task conflicts are disagreements among team members about the content and outcomes of the task at hand. Relationship conflicts are disagreements among team members about interpersonal issues, such as differences in personality or norms and values. Process conflicts are disagreements about

the logistics of a task, such as scheduling or the delegation of tasks (de Wit et al., 2012). Hierarchy struggles differ in three important ways from these three existing types of intrateam conflict. First and foremost, competitions about the hierarchy are about the underlying structure of the team, whereas the other conflict types are about specific issues, different perceptions and information related to task outcomes, team processes, or personal values (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). When the conflict or competition is about the underlying structure of the team, it implies that the competition is more fundamental about the social ordering of the team rather than the focus of the team. Second, hierarchy struggles, as compared to the other types of conflict, have more long-term consequences. The social order, which is at stake in a hierarchy struggle, determines whose opinion will be given greater weight throughout the course of the team task completion. As a consequence, the outcome of a hierarchy struggle will have a long-term impact on the goals and priorities. Finally, hierarchy struggles are decidedly zero-sum, which means that they leave no room for an integrative solution to the conflict. As only one team member can be at the top of the social hierarchy, there is no potential for agreement between two competitors. This sets hierarchy struggles apart from other types of conflict where conflict resolution is often possible in a manner that respects the different viewpoints of the conflicting team members (Behfar et al., 2008). In the study reported below, we tested whether hierarchy struggles are not just conceptually, but also empirically distinguishable from other types of conflict.

Methods

Participants and Procedure. Participants were 93 adults recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). MTurk is an online platform offered by Amazon where individuals and companies can post surveys or studies. This platform allows scholars to crowdsource their data collection in exchange for a small payment. On average, participants are paid 10 cents per minute, which is considerably less than the 10 euros participants are paid per hour to participate in research at the Erasmus Behavioral Lab. Studies comparing MTurkers and more traditional student pools show that there is no difference in the quality of the data collected through MTurk. If nothing else, the participants are more diverse and data collection happens in matters of hours (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). On average, participants were 33.99 years old and 47.3 percent of the participants was female.

All participants had work experience (13.72 years on average) and experience as a member of a team.

Before administering the survey on hierarchy struggles and other types of conflict, participants were asked to describe the team that they were currently a part of. The types of teams described varied from sports teams to work teams to teams of volunteers. Participants had been a member of the team they described for 13.09 months on average. Then participants responded to the questions about the extent to which they had experienced hierarchy struggles and the other types of team conflicts. Participants were paid 2 dollars for their participation.

Measures. Beyond the hierarchy struggle items, participants answered questions related to task, relationship, and process conflict. All questions were answered on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree".

Task conflict was measured with three items from the task conflict scale developed by Jehn, Greer, Levine, and Szulanski (2008). Reliability for this scale was good ($\alpha = .85$). A sample item was "We are often in conflict about the tasks in this team."

Relationship conflict was measured with three items from the relationship conflict scale developed by Jehn and colleagues (2008). Reliability for this scale was good ($\alpha = .94$). A sample item was "We have disagreements over personal matters."

Process conflict was measured with three items from the process conflict scale developed by Jehn and colleagues (2008). Reliability for this scale was good ($\alpha = .91$). A sample item was "We disagree about the process to get work done."

Analyses. We conducted confirmatory factor analyses to assess the three-factor structure of the hierarchy struggles scale and the independence from the other types of team conflict using the lavaan package in R studio. We compared one-factor, four-factor, and six-factor models to assess comparative fit. The one-factor model assumes that all the constructs load on one overarching conflict construct. The four-factor model assumes that the hierarchy struggles load on the same higher-order factor, but that the other conflict types are

independent from each other. The six-factor model assumes the existence of three hierarchy struggle types and three other types of conflict.

Results and Discussion

The results in Table 4 indicate that the best fitting model is the six-factor model. Moreover, this is supported by a difference in chi-square test, which is significant and suggests that the six-factor model offers a significantly better fit to the data than the four-factor model. The chi-square difference is 256.93, $p < .001$. Thus, this study offers further support for the three-factor model of hierarchy struggles and suggests that the three scales test distinct aspects of hierarchy struggles and are separate from other, established conflict types. Based on Studies 1 and 2 it is reasonable to assume that substantive divergent validity exists for the empirical measurement of hierarchy struggles.

General discussion

Social hierarchies change and these changes can be competitive. In this paper we examined the forms these competitive hierarchical changes take. We define hierarchy struggles as competitions between members of a team over the rank ordering of influence within their team. Through qualitative interviews with politicians, we found that there are three main forms of hierarchy struggles. These politicians struggles for power, defined as a competition to gain control over valuable resources which enable individuals to gain independence and autonomy from others. Politicians also struggled for leadership, defined as a competition to gain the responsibility to lead the team and advance the collective's goals. Finally, the interviews also demonstrated that people struggle for status, defined as a competition to gain respect and admiration in the eyes of others. After careful examination of the existing scales, we developed new scales to measure these three different types of hierarchy struggles. Across two studies, we demonstrated that these scales had good internal validity and can also distinguish from previously identified types of conflict (i.e. task, relationship, and process; Jehn, 1997; Jehn & Mannix, 2001).

This paper makes contributions to several literatures. First, we contribute to the social hierarchy literature by demonstrating that team members can be active agents for change of

the social hierarchy through their striving for more influence. However, this striving is not universal in that there are different reasons underlying different types of hierarchy struggles. We replicate the distinction between power and status struggles, two types of hierarchy struggles other scholars have previously examined in separate studies (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Chun & Choi, 2014; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010). However, we add a third type of hierarchy struggle, which to date has been absent from the literature. These leadership struggles have a more prosocial character in that they are focused on doing well by the team to which the struggler belongs. This stands in contrast to the other two types of hierarchy struggles, which have a more self-interested nature. This contribution to the literature is not insignificant as the overwhelming majority of research on both the stable and the dynamic sides of social hierarchies have been solely focused on power and status as bases on which hierarchies form or can be changed (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). This literature has largely neglected the study of a more prosocial basis on which social hierarchies can form (Anderson & Brown, 2010).

This paper also contributes to the literature on conflict and competition in teams. This literature has largely neglected the role of hierarchy in its consideration of conflict, but has rather focused on the issues for the disagreement (de Wit et al., 2012; Greer & Dannals, 2016). This has resulted in a large literature on task conflict, relationship conflict, and process conflict. Recently scholars have started to distinguish between issue driven conflict and structural conflicts (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). We elaborate on this fourth type of conflict and demonstrate that hierarchy struggles are distinct from task, relationship, and process conflicts. Moreover, after careful consideration of the existing measures of power struggles and status conflicts, we concluded that these were lacking and opted to develop new, more accurate measures to capture the different forms of hierarchy struggles.

Finally, this paper also makes a contribution to the leadership literature. Conflicts and competitions about leadership positions have been almost entirely absent from this literature (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). Research on leadership emergence has focused almost exclusively on individual differences such as personality traits and abilities to explain why a team member rises to a leadership position (Bono & Judge, 2004). Recent advancements are focusing on perceptions of warmth and competence to explain why some members get

ascribed leadership capacities and others do not (DeRue, Nahrgang, & Ashford, 2015). However, the leadership literature has not thoroughly examined when and why team members fight over the leadership within their teams. The current paper is a first step in that direction.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite its notable contributions, this paper is not without its limitations. A first limitation is the fact that not all statements and phrases could be neatly classified into different categories and that we had to drop one category from further analyses because it described a means to an end rather than an end in and of itself. Although we feel justified in effectively treating these aspects of our findings as noise based on our theoretical question, future research should continue to critically examine the underlying motivations and reasons for why team members engage in hierarchy struggles. Ideally, future work would replicate our tripartite findings, but otherwise we should update our understanding of hierarchy struggles.

A second limitation of this paper is the fact that we only generated 12 items to capture the three different types of hierarchy struggles, whereas ideally to develop scales one would cast a wider net. These items were generated based on close consideration of the definitions of power, status, and leadership as well as the responses from the interviews. Because these concepts are closely related to one another and fall under the larger heading of hierarchy struggles, we opted to stay as close as possible to the established definitions of the constructs rather than cast as wide a net as possible simply to generate the cleanest, most differentiating scales for the different hierarchy struggle types as possible. We therefore think that we have good conceptual and empirical reasons to believe that these three scales accurately capture the similarities within and differences between hierarchy struggle types.

Concluding Comments

In conclusion, this paper makes three notable contributions to the literature on social hierarchy, conflict, and leadership. First, it demonstrates that people struggle over the hierarchy for three distinct reasons: to gain power, status, or leadership. Second, we developed accurate measurement scales for these three forms of hierarchy struggles and demonstrated that these were distinct from other types of conflict. Finally, we provide initial

evidence that team members actively compete for leadership positions where the extant literature has primarily focused on more natural leader emergence processes. Together, this paper opens the door for future research into and an in-depth understanding of hierarchy struggles.

Chapter 3

THE UPWARD CLIMB: A THEORY OF DIFFERENTIAL MOTIVATIONS AND BEHAVIORS ASSOCIATED WITH HIERARCHY STRUGGLES

Abstract

Self-managing teams are increasingly commonplace work structures. While this offers employees and organizations a wider range of possibilities to structure work adapting to new circumstances and tasks, it also opens the door for informal hierarchies to emerge due to the lack of a formalized hierarchical structure. These informal hierarchies oftentimes emerge through conflicts and competitions over influence, or hierarchy struggles. The goal of this paper is to build an integrative conceptual framework to explain why, how and when these hierarchy struggles occur. Specifically, we propose that three types of hierarchy struggles exist: struggles over power, or control over resources, struggles over status, or respect and admiration received from others, and struggles over leadership, or the possibility of the struggler to better advance the collective goals of the team. We propose that whether a team member strives for power, stratus, or leadership is determined by his or her interaction of proself and prosocial motivation. This also determines whether the struggler proactively searches for reasons to engage in a hierarchy struggle or whether these struggles are more reactive in nature. Moreover, social motivation also determines how other team members respond to the hierarchy struggler. Together, this paper advances knowledge and understanding on the nature of hierarchy struggles, integrating literatures on social hierarchy, conflict, and leadership.

Self-managing teams have become commonplace work structures in many organizations. Self-managing teams are characterized by the absence of a formal leader and a formalized hierarchy (Manz & Sims, 1987; Taggar, Hackett, & Saha, 1999). This lack of a formal structure gives greater flexibility to team members to adapt to new circumstances, tasks, and conditions, which enables these team members to deal with the increasing levels of complexity and uncertainty in the current business environment (Lanaj & Hollenbeck, 2015; Roberson & Williamson, 2012). Teams with formalized social hierarchies, rank orderings of team members along a valued social dimension that gives rise to differences in influence (Magee & Galinsky, 2008), are characterized by externally imposed job titles, reporting structures, and organization charts. In contrast to a formal hierarchy, in informal hierarchies the differences in influence between members arise naturally on the basis of inferences about competence and relevance of different team members (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). The absence of a formal hierarchy in self-managing teams leaves ample room for an informal hierarchy to emerge. This informal structuring can aid team performance when team members are able to take on positions of power and influence when they are most suited to do so (Aime, Humphrey, DeRue, & Paul, 2014; Langfred, 2007).

However, the formation of informal social hierarchies on the basis of inferences about competence and relevance may also open up the door to challenges to the hierarchy. Without formal job titles, team members may perceive their position in the social rank ordering to be more under their own volition, which increases their competitive behaviors to move up the hierarchy (Hays & Bendersky, 2015). Ample examples exist of two or more team members challenging the extant informal hierarchy. Consider, for example, a team of executive managers who fight over who has the best solution to a business case (Greer & Van Kleef, 2010) or a team of MBA students arguing about who has the best academic credentials and is thus best equipped to lead the team (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). The distribution of equity is a common source of contention among start-up founders (Breugst, Patzelt, & Rathgeber, 2015) and two equally talented and powerful team members may try to one-up each other to show off who is better than the other (Greer, Caruso, & Jehn, 2011; Groysberg, Polzer, & Elfenbein, 2011; Ronay, Greenaway, Anicich, & Galinsky, 2012; Swaab, Schaerer, Anicich, Ronay, & Galinsky, 2014). Moreover, team members may actively negotiate their leadership identity, thereby relying on others to adopt a follower position (DeRue, 2011; DeRue &

Ashford, 2010). Thus, as these examples demonstrate, challenges to the informal hierarchy are omnipresent in organizational teams absent a formal structure and individual team members may actively challenge this hierarchy to gain influence. Not only are these challenges commonplace in leaderless teams, they also have strong negative implications for team outcomes. For instance, conflicts and competitions about the hierarchy have been associated with poorer communication and information sharing in teams, lowered conflict resolution, and poorer team performance (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Chun & Choi, 2014; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010).

Despite this, researchers have considered social hierarchies, by and large, to be stable and self-reinforcing throughout their life span (Anderson & Brown, 2010; Bunderson, Van der Vegt, & Sparrowe, 2014; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). For instance, Halevy, Chou, and Galinsky (2011) suggest that social hierarchies form shortly after initial meetings and that team member's needs for order, stability, and predictability of all the actors in the hierarchy actively contribute to a maintenance of the hierarchical rank ordering. The assumption that social hierarchies are stable and self-reinforcing is not surprising as the evidence for the dynamics of and the challenges to social hierarchies is spread across different research areas, which have seen little integration. As an example, social hierarchy researchers have described the attributes of those who are likely to attain influence in a team (e.g., Anderson, John, Keltner, & Kring, 2001; Berger et al., 1998), but have largely stopped short of describing how team members actively pursue higher positions in the social hierarchy thereby challenging the existing order (with a few notable exceptions Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Cheng, Tracy, Foulsham, Kingstone, & Henrich, 2013; Willer, 2009).

In a similar vein, conflict researchers have demonstrated that hierarchies can elicit conflicts as team members fight with each other over the rank ordering in the team (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Chun & Choi, 2014; Greer, Schouten, De Jong, & Dannals, 2014; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010). For instance, Bendersky and Hays (2012) and Chun and Choi (2014) show that teams experience conflicts about the amount of status, or level of respect and admiration, different team members have. Similarly, Greer and Van Kleef (2010) show that some team members fight over power, or control over valuable resources, and that these fights are distinct from tasks or interpersonal relationships. However, the overwhelming

majority of conflict research has focused on conflicts over tasks, interpersonal relationships between team members, and procedures (de Wit, Greer, & Jehn, 2012; Jehn, 1997; Jehn & Mannix, 2001) leaving us with a very limited understanding of what conflicts over the hierarchy are, why they occur, and how they play out. Moreover, the few studies that have been conducted on hierarchical conflicts do not address the question of what drives team members to engage in a conflict about the hierarchy nor how this changes the dynamics of the conflict within the team.

Perhaps the scholars that have paid most attention to the dynamics of influence hierarchies are those that study leadership emergence. Despite seemingly overlapping interests between the social hierarchy and the emergent leadership scholars, these fields of study have operated in parallel, with limited integration between the two. As with the literature on social hierarchy, much of the literature on emergent leadership has examined individual differences that are antecedents to emerging as a leader, such as extraversion or political skill (Ferris, Treadway, Perrewe, Brouer, Douglas, & Lux, 2007; Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002). At the same time, this literature has also taken a more behavioral view considering influence tactics and negotiations of leadership positions as antecedents to leadership emergence (DeRue & Ashford, 2010; Foti & Hauenstein, 2007; Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980; Taggar, Hackett, & Saha, 1999; Wheelan & Johnston, 1996; Yukl & Tracey, 1992). However, this literature has, as yet, overlooked creating an integrative framework to understand how specific reasons to attain greater influence changes how people go about seeking this influence. Thus, there are a number of disparate literatures that have each provided a part of the answer for why and how members actively challenge the social hierarchy of their team, but currently integration across these fields is lacking. This severely limits our ability to understand why, how, and when team members challenge the extant hierarchy. Given the frequency of these challenges and the negative outcomes associated with such struggles over influence (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Chun & Choi, 2014; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010) a more integrative understanding of these hierarchical challenges can enable us to better manage them.

The goal of the current paper is to develop a unifying, conceptual model to explain why individual team members challenge the extant informal hierarchy within their self-managing

team in order to climb the hierarchical ladder, how they go about these challenges, and when these challenges are most likely to emerge. We term these challenges *hierarchy struggles*, which we define as competitions between team members over the rank ordering of influence within their team. We distinguish three distinct types of hierarchy struggles: power struggles about control over resources, status struggles about respect and admiration, and leadership struggles about advancing collective goals. Drawing on the difference between proself and prosocial motivation, we develop a framework for why and when hierarchy struggles occur and how other team members may respond to the struggler.

We contribute to the literature in several ways. First, in theorizing about the challenges people pose to existing social hierarchies we contribute to the social hierarchy literature. As the common assumption in the social hierarchy literature is that hierarchies are stable, this literature has, by and large, overlooked the fact that hierarchies change and that team members can be active agents for this change. Thus, by developing a unifying conceptual model about how, why, and when team members challenge and try to change the informal hierarchy, we contribute to a nascent but growing body of research on the dynamic side of social hierarchies in teams. In particular, we contribute to the growing body of research that examines how individuals drive this change (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Bendersky & Shah, 2012; Cheng et al., 2013).

Second, we contribute to the literature on conflict and competition in teams. Challenges to the hierarchy can be a topic of contention and contribute to a tense atmosphere in a team. As conflict research has mainly focused on conflicts over tasks, interpersonal relationships between people, and procedures (Jehn & Mannix, 2001), it has largely overlooked the reasons for and outcomes of hierarchy struggles. Hierarchy struggles, such as status conflicts, are likely to be even more damaging to the team dynamics than other types of conflict because they are zero-sum and the outcomes of the hierarchy struggle can potentially have longer-term consequences for the individual team members (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Thus, by providing a comprehensive model about the nature of hierarchy struggles we examine an important driver of conflict and competition in teams, which the conflict literature to date has largely overlooked.

Finally, we contribute to the literature on leadership in self-managing and leaderless teams. We are not the first to describe that leadership positions can be claimed through informal means (e.g., research on leadership emergence suggests that leadership hierarchies change; Foti & Hauenstein, 2007; Taggar et al., 1999; Wheelan & Johnston, 1996). However, this research has primarily focused on personality traits and consensual processes through which leaders emerge in self-managing teams, while leaders can also emerge in a team by actively negotiating their leadership identity (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). These negotiations can result in conflicts and struggles when team members do not readily agree with each other who should be the team leader. We contribute to this literature by examining under what conditions team members will struggle with others for influential positions and we, thus, take an approach to leadership emergence in self-managing teams which is focused on the agency of the leadership struggler.

The Dynamic Nature of Social Hierarchies

A large body of literature has argued that social hierarchies, or the rank ordering of team members on the basis of a valued social dimension, are self-reinforcing and stable over time (Anderson & Kennedy, 2012; Berger et al., 1980; Bunderson et al., 2014; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). This argument is based on the premise that the characteristics on which hierarchies form are stable (Berger et al., 1980) and that people engage in behaviors to reaffirm their position in the hierarchy (Tiedens & Fragale, 2003; Tiedens et al., 2007). This means that the influence team members derive from the traditionally considered bases on which the social hierarchy forms, power or status, is stable throughout the team's life. For many people, hierarchical relationships are preferable to egalitarian relationships because people process these more easily and understand them more readily (Zitek & Tiedens, 2012). Additionally, people prefer hierarchies to be stable, because they make situations predictable, clarify to whom to defer to for what, reduce conflict, motivate people to work hard in order to achieve higher level positions in another team, and fulfill basic human needs such as the need for power and achievement (Halevy et al., 2011; Ronay, Greenaway, Anicich, Galinsky, 2012). The stability of a hierarchy is apparently such a preference for people that even when people are

not at the top of the hierarchy, they justify the existing constellation of relationships (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). Together, this suggests that team members in every position of the hierarchy will support the maintenance of the existing hierarchical rank ordering and have little incentive to change it. As a result, many researcher argue that social hierarchies are, on balance, inert to change.

However, as both the examples in the introduction and scholarship suggests, social hierarchies do change (Aime et al., 2014; Bendersky & Shah, 2012, 2013). Hierarchies may change for many reasons. For instance, they may change after mergers and acquisitions when new members enter the team (Walsh, 1988); or because task demands change over time, which changes what team member is best suited to be in charge for that phase of the task (Aime et al., 2014; Klein, Ziegert, Knight, & Xiao, 2006); or because a team has experienced turnover or has had to downsize, which may prompt a reshuffling of the existing rank ordering (DeRue, Hollenbeck, Johnson, Ilgen, & Jundt., 2008). While these all represent external drivers of change, social hierarchies also change because team members may challenge the existing hierarchy and actively strive to climb the team's hierarchy (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Barrick, Stewart, & Piotrowski, 2002; Bendersky & Shah, 2012; Cheng et al., 2013). Higher positions in the hierarchy are associated with material and immaterial benefits, such as more pay and greater recognition of someone's worth. It is thus appealing to invest resources into changing and challenging the hierarchy rather than to keep the hierarchy stable (Bendersky & Shah, 2012).

In order to climb the hierarchy, team members have the option to engage in more cooperative or more competitive behaviors. Hierarchies are challenged in a cooperative manner when the climber emphasizes how he or she can be of more value to the team than others can be. By highlighting his or her own value to the team, the climber signals that the team will be more likely to reach its goals with him or her in an influential position. The climber can signal value in different ways: A team member can engage in self-sacrificing behaviors, such as sacrificing personal resources for collective goals (Halevy, Chou, Cohen, & Livingston, 2012; Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Willer, 2009). He or she can also demonstrate expertise on a topic that is relevant for the team's outcomes, which has been shown to lead to higher peer-ratings of prestige (Cheng et al., 2013). Expertise can also be demonstrated

by highlighting more general abilities that would signal knowledge and value, such as educational credentials (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Additionally, by helping others, one can also highlight its value to the team and this has been demonstrated to lead to more influence (Flynn, 2003), especially when this is done at strategically relevant times (Flynn, Reagans, Amanatullah, & Ames, 2006).

Hierarchies are challenged in a more competitive way when the climber focuses on his or her own strength independent of the team's goal. By highlighting his or her strength, the climber signals that he or she is in control over what happens in the team and cannot be touched by others. The climber can signal strength is a variety of ways: He or she can try to dominate others by bullying them and coercing them to do his or her bidding (Cheng et al., 2013). Strength can also be demonstrated when the struggler challenges the hierarchy by breaking norms (Van Kleef, Homan, Finkenauer, Gündemir, & Stamkou, 2011). Norms are guiding principles for people's acceptable and proper behavior in groups (Birenbaum & Sagarin, 1976). When someone breaks a norm, he or she infringes on these principles of acceptable behavior. People associate norm making and breaking behavior with power. As such, norm violators are ascribed greater power and influence than norm conformists (Van Kleef et al., 2011). Another way to signal strength is to undermine other people's contributions. This is in line with the notion that people who contribute more to the team's goals are ascribed greater influence and better leadership qualities (Giessner, van Knippenberg, & Sleebos, 2009; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985). When undermining other's contributions, the relative distance between one's own and other's contributions increases. As a result, the climber looks better and gains influence (Bendersky & Hays, 2012).

Ultimately, these challenges for more influence and higher positions in the hierarchy can lead to hierarchy struggles, which we define as competitions between members of a team over the informal rank ordering of influence within their self-managing team. We see these struggles as capturing both challenges to the existing hierarchy (implicit competition) and members openly fighting over it with each other (explicit competition; Weingart, Behfar, Bendersky, Todorova, & Jehn, 2015). Hierarchy struggles are essentially escalated negotiations over influence (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). In a negotiation over influence, team

members engage in mutual claiming and granting behaviors confirming or denying others' influential positions in their relationship. This is a fertile ground for hierarchy struggles when multiple members of a team want to have more influence. It is a distributive negotiation, because only one of the two (or more) competing parties can emerge as a winner.

Hierarchy struggles are distinct from other types of conflicts in teams, as they pertain to how influence is distributed among members as opposed to aspects of the task, interpersonal relationships, or processes (Jehn, 1997; Jehn & Mannix, 2001). Moreover, hierarchies are typically perceived as zero-sum, because people tend to think of hierarchies with only one member of the team occupying the top position (DeRue & Ashford, 2010; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Therefore, only one team member can ultimately win the hierarchy struggles in the team. Hierarchy struggles will also likely have more long-term consequences for the interpersonal relationships within the team as compared to other conflicts, because they can determine what other members will do. Some even suggest that influence relationships are a foundational base of all types of conflict, rather than form an additional form of conflict or competition (Greer & Dannals, 2016). So, in sum, the strong focus of social hierarchy researchers on stable hierarchies has led to a limited recognition for how and why social hierarchies change. Hierarchy struggles are a means through which team members actively attempt to change the social rank ordering within their self-managing team. They are distributive negotiations over influence and capture the competitive ways team members challenge and fight with each other to change the existing rank ordering of influence within the team.

Types of hierarchy struggles

We distinguish between three different types of hierarchy struggles. Prior research has focused on power struggles and status struggles (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Chun & Choi, 2014; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010) as the two forms of hierarchy struggles, following Magee and Galinsky's (2008) exposition on the bases on which social hierarchies form. However, we distinguish a third, new type of hierarchy struggle, namely leadership struggles. In this type of hierarchy struggle, the struggler is focused on gaining influence to advance the goals

of the collective to which he or she belongs. This follows from extant work on the third, but often overlooked, basis on which hierarchies form: leadership (Anderson & Brown, 2010; Van Vugt et al., 2008) and was empirically established as a distinct type of hierarchy struggle (Schouten, this dissertation). The three hierarchy struggles are focused on gaining influence and climbing the team hierarchy for different reasons. Therefore, we expect that the behaviors to achieve the goal of greater influence that is characteristic of each of the hierarchy struggles differs. Below we develop propositions about the distinct nature and behaviors associated with of each of the hierarchy struggle types.

Power strugglers

Power struggles are focused on increasing one's influence through increased control over valuable resources (Greer & Van Kleef, 2010; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Through this enhanced control, power strugglers gain autonomy and independence from others. Power strugglers are not concerned with the opinion of others about themselves because they do not need to be liked or respected in order to obtain power as long as the resources he or she controls are deemed valuable. Thus, in order to gain power, team members will exhibit behaviors that are primarily self-centered, that increase other team members' dependence on them, and that increase their control over valued resources.

Self-centered behaviors are behaviors that are focused on maximizing the outcome for the self without regard for the outcomes of the other and/or minimizing the outcomes of the other party (De Dreu, Weingart, & Kwon, 2000). They are core to power struggles, because they enable the power struggler to claim as much value from the interpersonal exchange as possible. In a direct competition with another team member, the power struggler who exhibits self-centered behaviors is able to increase the distance in resources between the self and the competitor. This process is comparable to a competitive negotiation where the negotiator is focused on claiming as much of the negotiated outcome as possible (De Dreu et al., 2000; DeRue & Ashford, 2010). The success of this strategy is determined by the extent to which the other team member is willing to concede at some point or also engages in self-centered behaviors. Examples of self-centered behaviors in team settings are an unwillingness to recognize the contributions other team members make to the team task (i.e. claiming a larger share of the contributions than is objectively true); an unwillingness to

offer help to other team members unless there is an immediate pay-off; and hiding knowledge or other resources from the other team members so that control over the valuable resources does not become diluted across members.

Behaviors aimed at increasing other team members' dependence on the power struggler are core to Emerson's (1962) definition of power as the implicit dependence of actor B on actor A. When a power struggler (A) successfully increases the dependence of others (e.g., B) on him or her, he or she has successfully increased one's amount of power by virtue of having more control than the other over resources the other wants. To the extent B cannot accomplish his or her goals without A, A is able to control the outcomes of B. Thus, it is in the interest of the power struggler to increase other people's dependence on him or her. However, these efforts may be thwarted when another team member (C) competes for the dependence of B and offers B an alternative to A's resources. Not only will this lower B's dependence on A, and thus reduce A's power, it will also reduce the overall power difference between A, B, and, C as B now has a choice between A and C to complete his or her goals. These dangers will prompt A to increase B's dependence by not solely focusing on immediate dependence, but also establishing a norm of reciprocity by exchanging benefits or favors with B (Gouldner, 1960). By indebting B to A, A is able to invoke one of the most powerful norms that govern society (Thurnwald, 1932) when a power struggle unfolds between different team members. Thus, by playing favorites and exchanging benefits a power struggler is able to build a coalition of supporters he or she can invoke when needed to by calling upon the norm of reciprocity.

Finally, the power struggler may engage in behaviors that will increase both his or her control over resources as well as the perceived value of those resources. A power struggler is able to control his or her resources in different ways. First, he or she can take resources away from other team members. Second, he or she can enlarge the total amount of resources controlled by the team and remain in control over those resources. Additionally, the power struggler can make the resources he or she already controls more valuable to the team. Which of these paths is chosen depends, in part, on the extent to which resources can be easily transferred or accrued. For instance, control over the budget of a team or control over task division are more easily transferred and accrued between members than control over

valuable knowledge for a particular task. When the resource is more easily transferred or accrued, the power struggler benefits more from a direct competition with others whereby resources are redistributed. When the resource is less easily transferred or accrued, the power struggler benefits more from refocusing the team's orientation to enable the resources controlled by the power struggler to be more valuable to the team. Thus, in sum, we propose that team members in a power struggle engage in behaviors focused on gaining independence from others by maximizing own outcomes, increasing other's dependence on them, and increasing control over valued resources.

Status strugglers

Status strugglers are focused on enhancing the perceptions other people have of them to gain their respect and admiration (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Through this respect and admiration they are able to influence others, which will serve their own goals. Status strugglers are therefore very concerned with the opinion of others about themselves and all their behaviors will be focused on giving a positive impression. Thus, in order to struggle for status, individuals will exhibit behaviors that demonstrate competence and ability (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009), such as demonstrating general and specific expertise (Cheng et al., 2013; Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006; Willer, 2009), helping other team members (Flynn, 2003; Flynn et al., 2006), and devaluing other people's contributions (Bendersky & Hays, 2012)

Typically, influence is awarded to those individuals who are regarded as experts (Ridgeway, 1987). Expertise signals competence and in task-focused teams signals of competence are awarded with greater status (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Berger et al., 1980; Bunderson, 2003; Cheng et al., 2013). Demonstrating expertise will thus add to the respect and admiration the status struggler has in the eyes of others. Expertise can be specific to the current task or it can be more generalized. Generalized expertise can be signaled through openly advertising one's degree and the quality of the degree granting institution (Bendersky & Hays, 2012), but other signals of generalized expertise also exist, such as being male or part of an ethnic majority (Bunderson, 2003). Specific expertise is expertise which is directly relevant to the immediate task and goals and can be signaled by explicit statements about the appropriate solutions to problems or by carving out a subset of the task which the status

struggler has exceptional abilities to do well. When confronted with another status struggler, arguments can occur about the relative value of specific or general expertise. For instance, Bendersky and Hays (2012) describe such a situation where two members of the same team argued about the relative prestige of their high school. One team member claimed that Madeline Albright went to their high school, whereas the other team member claimed that 70% of politicians in its country went to his or her specific high school.

A status struggler can also increase his or her status by helping other team members from which status is to be gained (Flynn, 2003). To the extent that the status struggler is able to create an imbalance between helping exchanges, i.e. the status struggler helps others more than others help the status struggler, he or she can increase influence because the status struggler will be seen with higher regard than other team members. A status struggler who gives more help than he or she receives will be perceived as generous (Blau, 1964), which will help in the extent with which others perceive the status struggler with respect and admiration. Moreover, helping others with their problems is an additional way in which the status struggler can signal his or her expertise and task-relevant competence, thereby adding to their status in that manner as well (Flynn et al., 2006). While it is probable that a leadership struggler will also be willing to help another member, the root of the helping behavior differs between these two strugglers: The leadership struggler will be focused on helping the collective, whereas the drive behind helping others for the status struggler is to paint oneself in a more positive light. This effectively means that the status struggler is more willing to help others, the more he or she stands to gain from it. For instance, a status struggler will be more likely to help a visible and central member of the team as opposed to a team member who occupies a peripheral role in the team (Humphrey, Morgeson, & Mannor, 2009). Similarly, he or she will be more likely to help with tasks that are core to the team's success than with other tasks and for which he or she is absolutely convinced that help will result in a successful outcome. Finally, a status struggler only stands to gain from his or her helping behaviors to the extent that other team members know about these helping behaviors. As status is conferred when competence and ability are demonstrated, the status struggler will likely signal to the other team members the crucial role his or her help played in resolving the team's problems.

Finally, a status struggler will try to gain status by devaluing other people's contributions. Devaluing the contributions of others makes the status strugglers contributions stand out more (Bendersky & Hays, 2012) thus generating greater admiration and respect for the quality of the contributions the status struggler provides. Thus, in sum, we propose that status strugglers engage in behaviors focused on creating a positive impression of value to the team by demonstrating competence and ability, helping others, and devaluing other's contributions.

Leadership strugglers

Leadership strugglers are focused on gaining influence in a team because the leadership struggler strongly believes that he or she has the best abilities to advance collective goals. Through greater influence, leadership strugglers are in a better position to steer the direction of the collective one way or another. Because leadership strugglers are concerned with the team's processes and outcomes, the individual does not necessarily need to be liked or admired by others, but he or she does need to sufficiently convey to the others that his or her behaviors are primarily driven by a focus on the well-being and success of the team.

Although this reason to engage in a hierarchy struggle and seek influence is currently absent from the literature, we believe it offers an important complement to the extant perspectives on hierarchy struggles. Existing accounts of hierarchy struggles focus on motivations that ultimately benefit the struggler, whereas a leadership struggle is focused on benefitting the collective. Leadership struggles capture a perspective on hierarchy struggles that is consistent with theories of functional leadership (Morgeson, DeRue, & Karam, 2010), which focus on leadership behaviors that help the team to which the leader belongs succeed rather than focus on the benefits the hierarchy struggler can accrue for him- or herself. Additionally, including the concept of leadership struggles is consistent with the distinction between personal power, in which power is used primarily to benefit the self, and social power, in which power is used primarily to benefit the team to which the power holder belongs (Maner & Mead, 2010). Whereas power struggles are primarily focused on gaining influence to benefit the self by satisfying a need for control and thus relate closely to a desire for personal power, leadership struggles are primarily focused on gaining influence to benefit their team and thus relate closely to a desire for social power. Finally, leadership

struggles are distinct from status struggles as the ultimate goal of leadership strugglers is to improve the outcomes of the collective. As a result, the status of the team to which the leadership struggler belongs may rise in the eyes of outsiders. Status struggles pertain to the distribution of status *within* the collective among its members. However, in a leadership struggle, team members are not focused on differentiating between each other in the amount of respect and admiration any other team member receives, but the struggle is much more focused on who is in the best position to advance the goals of the collective. As such, power and status struggles are conceptually distinct from leadership struggles. Because of the distinct character of the leadership struggle, strugglers will exhibit behaviors that are primarily characterized by defining the collective's shared goals through creating a shared vision, working hard towards these goals, and interpersonal fairness to facilitate effective processes.

A leadership struggler can create a shared identity and a shared focus on the collective goals by creating an appealing vision with which the other team members can identify (Stam, Lord, Knippenberg, & Wisse, 2014). A shared understanding of the collective's outcomes and goals is essential for effective team functioning because it brings the members' energy and efforts in alignment with each other (Mathieu, Goodwin, Heffner, Salas, & Cannon-Bowers, 2000). As a result, team members will be able to work together more effectively to meet the collective's goal. A shared vision is especially impactful in demonstrating one's focus on the well-being of the team when the leadership struggler paints a picture of the collective goals that takes into account the different strengths of the team members and leverages these such that each member feels like he or she can contribute to the team. Acting in this manner will signal to the other members that the leadership struggler acts in the best interest of the collective, but does not focus on self-interested gains. When faced with an opponent who is also trying to claim the leadership position, the leadership struggler needs to convince the other team members that with him or her in charge, the team's shared goals are going to be better met.

Effort towards collective goals is another effective means for the leadership struggler to demonstrate that he or she cares about the team (Willer, 2009). Teams reward self-sacrificing behaviors with attributions of leadership (Giessner, van Knippenberg, van

Ginkel, & Sleebos, 2013). Effort towards the team goals is such a self-sacrificing behavior as the leadership struggler has finite resources and putting a lot of effort towards the collective's goals means putting in less effort in other job areas. A leadership struggler can win the struggle by outworking his or her competitors and demonstrating greater willingness to self-sacrifice for the benefits of the team.

Finally, a leadership struggler will benefit in his or her struggle from engaging in interpersonally just and fair behaviors. While a leadership struggler, in effect, is also focused on creating a dependency relationship between him and other team members, by engaging in interpersonally just and fair behaviors, the leadership struggler demonstrates that he or she can be trusted to be depended on. Interpersonal justice is characterized by the respectful and dignified treatment of others (Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001). Similarly, interpersonal fairness describes the extent to which team members feel like their suggestions are taken seriously and the extent to which team members perceive all are on a level playing field (Donovan, Drasgow, & Munson, 1998). Both interpersonal justice and fairness facilitate team processes and outcomes (Colquitt, Noe, & Jackson, 2002; Whitman, Caleo, Carpenter, Horner, & Bernerth, 2012) because they stimulate cooperation and helping between team members (Ehrhart & Naumann, 2004). Thus, engaging in the just and fair treatment of others should facilitate positive team outcomes. In other words, a leadership struggler can signal his or her commitment to the collective's goals by creating an interpersonally just climate. Moreover, interpersonal justice has been associated with positive perceptions of leadership figures of the team (e.g., Colquitt, 2001). It stands to reason that these positive perceptions extend to a process of leadership emergence. Leadership strugglers who engage in high levels of interpersonal justice can create a climate of respect and dignity within the team to which members want to belong. Supporting the ascension to a leadership position for these strugglers then facilitates the well-being of the other team members and the team as a whole. Thus, in sum, we propose that leadership strugglers engage in behaviors focused on demonstrating value to the collective.

Proposition 1: Three different types of hierarchy struggles exist that can be distinguished by different behavioral profiles aimed at gaining influence.

1a: Power struggles are characterized by behaviors focused on gaining independence from others and making others dependent on the struggler.

1b: Status struggles are characterized by behaviors focused on creating a positive impression by demonstrating competence and abilities.

1c: Leadership struggles are characterized by behaviors focused on improving the well-being and success of the team.

Social Motivations Underlying Hierarchy Struggles

The three types of hierarchy struggles are characterized by different behavioral profiles. However, it is unclear what leads a team member to engage in one type of hierarchy struggle over another. As hierarchy struggles are essentially competitive negotiations for influence, we draw on a central theory in the negotiation and conflict resolution literature to understand why someone would be inclined to engage in a power, status, or leadership struggle.

Central to the negotiation and conflict resolution literature is how the different parties decide what goals to pursue: do they choose to maximize own or collective gains (De Dreu et al., 2000)? The social motivation of the different parties has been found to be a primary driver in this regard. Social motivation describes a person's relative interest in maximizing one's own outcomes compared to those of the other. Social motivation has not only been found to drive negotiation and conflict resolution tactics and outcomes, but has been found to have a pervasive impact on the behavioral choices people make throughout organizations. Traditionally, organizational scholarship has assumed the norm of self-interest as a guiding principle in organizational life (Meglino & Korsgaard, 2004; Miller, 1999). The norm of self-interest both suggests and prescribes that people act in a self-interested manner, which includes, but is not limited to, monetary gains, choices, and attitudes (Miller, 1999). This norm of self-interest coincides with microeconomic and behavioral decision making theories of human behavior and suggests that people think and act in a logical manner such that actions lead to an optimal outcome for the self as opposed to another (Miller, 1999). In other words, there is a widespread assumption across the social sciences that people are primarily

motivated to act in accordance with their own interests, or that they have a high proself motivation.

However, an increasing number of studies suggests that people also act in the interest of others (De Dreu, 2006; De Dreu & Nauta, 2009; Grant, 2007; Grant & Patil, 2012; Hu & Liden, 2015; Weingart, Brett, Olekalns, & Smith, 2007). Other-orientation, or prosocial motivation, is the extent to which people are interested in and willing to exert effort for the interests, needs, and desires of others (De Dreu, 2006; Grant, 2007). It has also been related to how much people pay attention to informational cues coming from other team members (De Dreu, Nijstad, & van Knippenberg, 2008). Prosocial motivation has been related to a number of interpersonally relevant outcomes, such as helping and voice behaviors (Grant & Mayer, 2009; Hu & Liden, 2015), creativity (Grant & Berry, 2011), and both integrative solutions as well as yielding in negotiations (De Dreu et al., 2000). Thus, although proself motivations are assumed to be dominant, prosocial motivations are increasingly recognized as a relevant aspect of organizational life.

The distinction between proself and prosocial motivation is important as it is fundamental in shaping our behaviors in mixed-motive situations, which many organizational situations, and especially teams, tend to be (Davis, Laughlin, & Komorita, 1976; Komorita & Parks, 1995). In ambiguous situations, we initially rely on our inherent motivations to satisfy our own and others' interests when we are faced with making a choice until we receive additional information about either the situation or our counterparts (Weingart et al., 2007). While sometimes conceived as the opposite ends of the same spectrum, proself and prosocial motivation are generally considered to be orthogonal constructs which can vary in strength independently from each other (De Dreu, 2006; De Dreu & Nauta, 2009). Moreover, proself and prosocial motivations are distinct from career aspirations (Tangirala, Kamdar, Venkataramani, & Parke, 2013). This means that team members can be highly self-interested, yet not interested in advancing within the organization or highly prosocially motivated but interested in getting ahead. Thus, proself and prosocial motivations are instrumental in shaping how we act in interpersonal situations and therefore likely to shape the choices employees make in their quest for greater influence in their leaderless team.

Assuming that proself and prosocial motivation are independent from each other gives rise to four exemplary combinations of proself and prosocial motivation (i.e. low/low, high/low, high/low, and high/high). When both proself and prosocial motivation are low, team members will likely not be motivated to engage in either self-interested or team-oriented activities. These people are likely passive bystanders in the team. When proself motivation is high, but prosocial motivation is low, the team member is predominantly interested in maximizing personal gains, without realizing any benefits for the other or the collective. Negotiation and conflict management research has shown that this leads to the use of contentious negotiation tactics and competitive behaviors (Carnevale & Pruitt, 1992; De Dreu & Carnevale, 2003). When prosocial motivation is high, but proself motivation is low, the team member is predominantly interested in maximizing the benefits of the collective, without necessarily realizing personal gains. This has been related to accommodating behaviors and giving in to the other party in negotiations (Carnevale & Pruitt, 1992; De Dreu & Carnevale, 2003). When both prosocial and proself motivation are high, the team member is both motivated to maximize personal gains, but also willing to take into account the potential benefits for the collective. This has been associated with more problem solving behaviors in negotiations and collaborative conflict resolution styles (Carnevale & Pruitt, 1992; De Dreu & Carnevale, 2003).

While the relative combination of proself and prosocial motivation have been primarily studied in the context of integrative negotiations and conflict resolutions, we propose that they play a role as well in the context of hierarchy struggles. As such, we propose that people with different combinations of proself and prosocial motivation can be interested in attaining influence in a self-managing team. It therefore follows that hierarchy struggles cannot be uniformly motivated across team members. While all hierarchy struggles are about striving for greater influence, we propose that the social motivations of those engaged in them determine what one aims to achieve when engaging in a hierarchy struggle (see Figure 1). We expect that different combinations of proself and prosocial motivation will focus the hierarchy struggler towards struggling for different outcomes. For instance, as predominantly proself motivated team members are motivated to maximize own outcomes, they will likely strive for greater influence in order to better advance their own interests, such as more resources or recognition. On the other hand, team members who are

predominantly prosocially motivated will be interested in attaining influence to better the team's outcomes, such as task accomplishments.

Specifically, we propose that the different combinations of social motivations will be differentially associated with striving for power, status, and leadership. Power leads to influence because the power holder has greater control over socially valued resources than another team member (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Status leads to influence because the high status member is more respected and admired by its team members than another member of the team (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Leadership denotes the amount of influence someone has to advance collective goals (Anderson & Brown, 2010). Power and status have been linked to the attainment of self-interested goals (Anderson, Hildreth, & Howland, 2015; DeCelles, DeRue, Margolis, & Ceranic, 2012; Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006), while leadership is focused on attaining collective goals. Because power, status, and leadership are differentially associated with attaining self-interested or collective gains, we expect that the different combinations of proself and prosocial motivation will drive what team members hope to accomplish by engaging in a hierarchy struggle.

We expect that team members with a high proself motivation, but a low prosocial motivation will be most likely to strive for power and thus engage in power struggles more than any other struggle. When team members engage in a power struggle, they may compete for a legitimate position of power within the team (e.g., Fligstein, 1987) or they may be dissatisfied with the current power structure of their team, (Greer et al., 2011). Although power provides autonomy, this also frees up the powerful member to primarily act in his or her own self-interest (DeCelles et al., 2012; Galinsky et al., 2006). Conversely, people primarily driven by self-interest will be motivated to increase their power (and to engage in a power struggle) so as to be able to act more in line with their self-interested choices (Inesi, Botti, Dubois, Rucker, & Galinsky, 2011). Compared to other sources of influence (status, leadership), power resides in the resources the power holder has control over rather than the evaluation of the person. It is the value of the resources which determines whether someone has power when he or she controls them. This means that in order to gain or maintain power, other team members do not necessarily need to agree about the power distribution as long as they need the resources controlled by the power struggler. As long as a team member is

able to increase his or her control over valued resources, the team member can successfully challenge the existing power hierarchy. This is appealing to someone with a proself motivation and a weak prosocial motivation, because it frees him or her from the need to think about others' wishes and desires and allows him or her to primarily be focused on own goals and resources. Similar to strongly self-concerned negotiators, power strugglers care about the ability to control their own interests and they are unlikely to pause and think about how others view them or how others' interests are met, simply because they do not care about others' agreement with their behaviors.

Second, we expect that employees with both a high proself and a high prosocial motivation will be most likely to strive for status and thus engage in status struggles more than any other struggle. In a status struggle, team members compete with each other for more respect and admiration in the eyes of others. Due to the asymmetric respect and admiration for the high status member compared to the other team members, other team members want to be associated with the status holder (French & Raven, 1959 refer to this as referent power). This eagerness to associate with the status holder gives him or her influence over the other team members. He or she can leverage this influence to satisfy self-interested goals. Moreover, status increases people's well-being, self-esteem, and health (Anderson et al., 2015). Thus, status benefits the holder to a great extent, not only by means of increased influence, but also at a very fundamental level in their self-worth. However, status also has a high prosocially motivated component. Prosocial motivation directs the attention of the struggler outward so that he or she pays attention to his or her social environment (De Dreu et al., 2008; Nijstad & De Dreu, 2012). This is crucial for the status struggler in two ways. First, a person driven by status derives his or her self-esteem from his or her social connections (Boeckmann & Tyler, 2002; Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003). Second, a person receives his or her status informally from other team members. This means that he or she is dependent upon the others to gain or maintain a status level. As such, the status struggler *needs* to pay attention to what the others want or need in order for them to defer to the status struggler. Thus, in short, team members engaged in a status struggle strive for the best outcomes for themselves – more respect and admiration that will increase their self-worth – but they also vie for the approval of others to gain status. Similar to negotiators who care deeply about their own goals and those of others, status strugglers will yield only very little

on their ultimate goal, but they will also pay great attention to the needs and wishes of others, in order to gain others' approval. This is consistent with research demonstrating that when people have status, they treat others more fairly and justly as compared to when they do not have a high level of status (Anicich, Fast, Halevy, & Galinsky, 2015; Blader & Chen, 2012; Fast, Halevy, & Galinsky, 2012).

Finally, we expect that team members with a high prosocial motivation, but a low proself motivation will be most likely to engage in leadership struggles as compared to any other struggles. Leadership hierarchies delineate the degree to which team members can use influence to attain *shared* goals. This is distinct from both power and status, which both focus on the degree to which team members can use influence to attain their personal goals. In a leadership struggle, team members strive for the best outcomes for the team to which they belong – be it a work team or the entire organization – and to make this happen they wish to gain in influence. Team members with a high prosocial motivation will pay more attention to cues and information in their environment (Grant & Berry, 2011), which allows them to develop a better grasp of the team's goals and potential avenues to reach this goal. Similar to prosocial negotiators, leadership strugglers care more about that the collective gets what it needs, possibly at a loss for their own interests. They are unlikely to resist based on their own goals, but will fight others to better meet the collective's goal.

The distribution of social motivations and the types of hierarchy struggles a team member will engage in to gain influence are depicted in Figure 1. Formally, we propose the following:

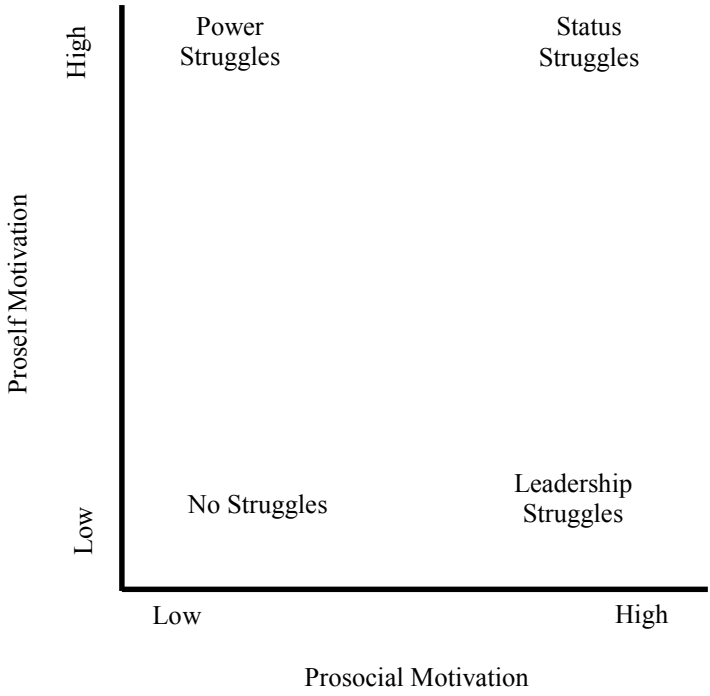
Proposition 2: An employee's proself and prosocial motivation interact to predict the hierarchy struggle he or she is likely to engage in.

2a: A higher level of proself and a lower level of prosocial motivation is associated with power struggles.

2b: A higher level of both proself and prosocial motivation simultaneously is associated with status struggles.

2c: A higher level of prosocial and a lower level of proself motivation is associated with leadership struggles.

Figure 3. A Graphical Representation of Proself and Prosocial Motivation in Relation to Hierarchy Struggles



What triggers a hierarchy struggle?

Social motivations change the type of information team members pay attention to and how they interpret their social situation (De Dreu et al., 2008). It follows from this that the specific social motivation configuration of a team member changes what aspects of the social situation trigger him or her to engage in a hierarchy struggle. Specifically, we propose that a proself motivated team member will always be *interested* in engaging in a hierarchy struggle to gain more influence in the team, because higher positions in the hierarchy will

benefit him or her. However, whether he or she will *actually engage* in the hierarchy struggle is determined by the perceived possibility to advance. In this sense, proself motivated team members are proactively searching to advance in the informal hierarchy and thus for a reason to engage in a hierarchy struggle. On the other hand, we propose that a prosocially motivated team member will only engage in a hierarchy struggle when they perceive the current hierarchical structure to be deficient and they believe they could offer a successful alternative to the current structure. As their goal is towards the well-being of the team, there is no reason to engage in a hierarchy struggle when the current hierarchical structure functions sufficiently well. In this sense, prosocially motivated team members are reactive in their engagement of a hierarchy struggle. In other words, the triggers to engage in a hierarchy struggle differ for those motivated by a proself or a prosocial motivation. Specifically, power and status struggles are proactively engaged in due to the self-interested component of each, while leadership struggles are reactively engaged in due to the dominating prosocial motivation.

There are many benefits associated with positions of more influence higher in a social hierarchy. In a general sense, those at the top are more likely to receive higher financial compensation (Belliveau et al., 1996), have better health and greater well-being (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000; Kifer, Heller, Perunovic, & Galinsky, 2013), experience less stress (Sherman et al., 2012), and have greater mating success (Hopcroft, 2006). More specifically to self-managing team tasks, occupying a higher position in the social hierarchy will allow for greater influence, greater autonomy, receiving more credit for contributions, and receiving more social support (Magee & Galinsky, 2008; Nadler & Chernyak-Hai, 2013; Van Der Vegt, Bunderson, & Oosterhof, 2006). In other words, team members benefit when they climb the hierarchy. Therefore, a proself motivated team member will be interested to climb the social hierarchy of a team to reap the benefits associated with these top positions and proself motivated team members will be on the lookout for ways to advance their position. Despite this, not all proself motivated team members will actively engage in a hierarchy struggle at all times. Changing one's position requires substantive resources, which cannot be expended elsewhere (Bendersky & Shah, 2012). Thus, engaging in a hierarchy struggle may take away precious resources from other important causes. While these costs may be justified if advancement is likely, not all hierarchies are equally mutable

(Hays & Bendersky, 2015). In hierarchies that are more mutable, people are more optimistic that their efforts to move up will be met by successful ascension of the hierarchy (Wright, 1997; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). As a result, their efforts to gain influence will not go to waste and hierarchy struggles are more likely to occur. Some empirical evidence supports this notion. For instance, Wright and colleagues (1990) demonstrated that individual people will only fight to gain entry into a higher societal status group when they perceived the boundaries to be permeable. This is even true when the disadvantaged group perceives the difference as unfair (Ellemers, Wilke, & van Knippenberg, 1993). Similarly, Hays and Bendersky (2015) show that when hierarchies are perceived as more mutable, people show highly competitive behavior, consistent with behaviors expected in a hierarchy struggle. These studies thus show that perceived potential for upward mobility is a crucial precursor to attempt to climb the social hierarchy.

On the other hand, while prosocially motived team members might possibly also receive personal benefits when they occupy a position of greater influence in the hierarchy, the potential for advancement should not necessarily trigger them to engage in a hierarchy struggle. Rather, their focus is on the well-being and success of the team. As a result, prosocially motivated team members will only engage in a hierarchy struggle when they perceive the extant hierarchy to be malfunctioning. Because of the team oriented focus, this team member has little reason to overthrow the extant regime when the team is performing well. Most conflicts, and especially hierarchy struggles, are dysfunctional for team success (Bendersky & Hays, 2012; De Dreu & Weingart, 2003; de Wit et al., 2012; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010). By engaging in a hierarchy struggle, the prosocially motivated team member risks hurting the team more than that he or she might help it. Therefore, he or she needs to have a strong belief that the extant hierarchy is deficient and that he or she is in a position to improve the success of the team.

There are different ways in which a hierarchy can be deficient, warranting a regime change. For instance, the person at the top of the extant hierarchy may turn out to be incompetent (Bendersky & Shah, 2013). The team is hurt when the most influential person is incompetent and the team benefits when a more competent team member takes over this role (Tarakci, Greer, & Groenen, 2015). Additionally, when the current hierarchy enables

unfairness and injustice, team members may be triggered to battle for greater influence. Fairness heuristic theory and the related uncertainty management model (Lind & van den Bos, 2002) suggests that perceptions of injustice and fairness cause uncertainty. The underlying premise of these theories is that team situations are inherently mixed-motive and therefore naturally infused with uncertainty. Team members fear exploitation as well as rejection by others (Lind, 2001). They use the way people treat each other as signals of trust and social inclusion. Fair treatment can reduce this uncertainty, but unfair treatment will increase this uncertainty. One way to mitigate the uncertainty stemming from unfair treatment is by increasing one's own influence over the situation through a hierarchy struggle. A prosocially motivated team member with greater influence will be in a position to ensure fair treatment for all team members, resulting in better team outcomes (Colquitt, Noe, & Jackson, 2002).

Based on the above, we propose that the different social motivations are associated with different situational triggers to engage in a hierarchy struggle. Specifically, leadership struggles will be triggered by the perception of a deficient hierarchy and will be reactive to a bad situation, while power struggles will be triggered by the perception of the mutability of the social hierarchy and will be proactively in search of personal benefits. Similarly, status struggles will also be triggered when the hierarchy is perceived to be mutable. While status struggles are driven by both prosocial and proself motivations, the proself motivation will be the dominant trigger to engage in a hierarchy struggle. Acting in a self-interested manner is often to avoid exploitation and out a fear of losing out (Kelley & Stahelski, 1970a; Miller, 1999). A self-interested motivation oftentimes prevails over a prosocial motivation because of a lack of trust in the others (Weingart et al., 2007). When driven by both a proself and a prosocial motivation, the proself motivation will dominate the engagement in a hierarchy struggle in fear of losing out on the self-interested benefits associated with positions of influence. Put formally, we propose:

> *Proposition 3:* The social motivations underlying the hierarchy struggles is associated with what triggers the struggle to occur such that proself motivated hierarchy struggles are more likely to be proactive and to be triggered by the possibility to advance, while

prosocially motivated hierarchy struggles are more likely to be reactive and to be triggered by the deficiency of the extant hierarchical structure.

The response of other team members

Hierarchy struggles do not occur in isolation, rather these processes happen within the microcosm of teams, where the response of the individual team members play an important role in the potential for success for the hierarchy struggler. Therefore the perceptions of and reactions to those team members that engage in a hierarchy struggle are a relevant component in how hierarchy struggles unfold in a team. Critical in these reactions to the hierarchy struggler are the social motivations of the other members in the team. The social motivations of a team member does not only predict what type of hierarchy struggle he or she may engage in, but, when faced with another team member who strives for greater influence, will also shape how the non-struggling team member may respond to a hierarchy struggler in the mixed-motive context of a team.

Prosocially motivated team members will be less concerned with their own outcomes, but will be focused on the success and well-being of the team, much like a prosocially motivated hierarchy struggler. Team members driven by a prosocial motivation may therefore be more willing to make way for a hierarchy struggler and perhaps actively support this team member when they recognize that the struggler has the right intentions for the team. As a consequence they will act in the interest of the team and potentially support a hierarchy struggler that they perceive to have the right intentions for the team, which is more likely when they are faced with a leadership struggler. Due to their prosocial motivation, their attention is directed outward (De Dreu et al., 2008), which makes it more likely that they will accurately pick up and understand the intentions of the hierarchy struggler. This gives them more information to decide whether they will or will not support a team member in its quest for greater influence. In other words, whether the hierarchy struggler indeed has intentions the team member can rally behind and show support for. However, a prosocially motivated team member may also respond negatively to a hierarchy struggler when he or she perceives the hierarchy struggler to be self-focused and not acting in the best interest of the team, such as when faced with a power or status struggler. This does not necessarily

imply that the team member wishes to expand its own influence, but rather that he or she will not support, and may even actively oppose, that specific hierarchy struggler in its striving for greater influence.

Team members driven by a proself motivation, on the other hand, may be less likely to support or even accommodate a hierarchy struggler in its pursuit for greater influence. A proself motivated team member is primarily concerned with maximizing his or her personal outcomes and the fact that another is striving for greater influence could be construed as a potential loss of influence for the team member him- or herself. When a self-motivated person perceives hierarchies as zero-sum, allowing another team member to have more influence, when vertical movement in the team is possible, would directly imply that this person is giving up some of its potential influence. This should lead to greater resistance in the proself motivated team member faced with a hierarchy struggler. Moreover, the attention of proself motivated team members is directed inwardly, which makes it less likely that they will pick up informational clues from their fellow team members (De Dreu et al., 2008). As a result, these team members are more likely to project their own intentions and motives onto others as they (falsely) assume that everyone is self-interested in their intentions within the team (Miller, 1999). This will lead to even greater resistance when faced with a hierarchy struggler, regardless of whether that struggler is prosocial or proself motivated. The assumption in the proself motivated team member is that the struggler cannot possibly be motivated by the potential success and well-being of the team. However, a proself motivated team member may respond positively to a hierarchy struggler if it is clear that the hierarchy struggler is more likely to be successful and the interests of the hierarchy struggler and the team member are aligned such that the team member stands to gain from having an ally in a position of influence. Despite this possibility, overall proself motivated team members will be more likely to resists anyone struggling for greater influence than prosocially motivated team members. Put formally, we propose:

> *Proposition 4:* The social motivation of the non-struggling team member affects his or her response to a hierarchy struggler such that prosocially motivated team members will be more supportive when they perceive the struggler to have the right

intentions, but proself motivated team members will be primarily resistant to hierarchy struggle attempts.

Discussion

Summary

Self-managing teams are increasingly prevalent in modern-day organizations. The lack of a formal social hierarchy in these teams offers them the much needed flexibility to adapt to new circumstances, tasks, and conditions, and to place those members in a position of power and influence who are most suited to do so at that point in time. However, the lack of formal hierarchy also gives ample room for an informal hierarchy to emerge. These informal hierarchies may give rise to challenges to the hierarchy, or hierarchy struggles, as team members may perceive their position in the rank ordering of the team to be under their own control increasing their competitive behaviors to move up the hierarchy. Hierarchy struggles are competitive negotiations about the amount of influence one member has compared to another member. The purpose of this paper was to develop a unifying, conceptual model to explain how individual team members challenge the extant informal hierarchy within their self-managing team in order to climb the hierarchical ladder, why they pursue one type of hierarchy struggle over another, and when these hierarchy struggles occur.

We distinguish between three different types of hierarchy struggles, each aimed at gaining influence in the team with a focus on different outcomes. Power struggles are focused on increasing the team member's control over valuable resources. Status struggles are focused on increasing the team member's respect and admiration that he or she receives from the other team members. Leadership struggles are focused on increasing the team member's ability to advance the goals of the collective. Due to the different foci of these three types of hierarchy struggles, we propose that they are characterized by different behaviors of the team member focused on increasing his or her position of influence. Specifically, we propose that power struggles are characterized by behaviors that increase the strugglers independence from others, while also increasing other's dependence on the

struggler. Status struggles are characterized by behaviors that that create a positive impression of the struggler by demonstrating his or her competence and abilities relative to the other team members. Leadership struggles are characterized by behaviors that improve the overall well-being and success of the team, such as creating a shared focus and goal.

Whether someone is naturally inclined to engage in a power, a status, or a leadership struggle is determined by his or her combination of proself and prosocial motivation. Social motives determine how we behave ourselves in mixed-motive situations, such as team contexts. We propose that a team member who is primarily driven by self-interest and has comparatively low regard for others will be likely to engage in a power struggle, while a team member who is primarily driven by concern for others and has comparatively low self-interest will be likely to engage in a status struggle. Finally, a team member who is both highly self-interested and concerned with others will be most likely to engage in a status struggle. We further propose that the social motives of the team members are also instrumental in predicting when a hierarchy struggle will ensue. Team members that are proself motivated are more likely to proactively seek to increase their influence by means of a hierarchy struggle and will do so when they think it is likely that they will be successful, while team members that are prosocially motivated are more likely to reactively engage in a hierarchy struggle when they perceive the existing hierarchy to be deficient. Moreover, social motivations also shape other team members' reactions to the hierarchy struggler such that a prosocially motivated team member may be more supportive of the hierarchy struggler when this person has positive intentions for the team, while a proself motivated team member will be much more resistant to hierarchy struggler's attempts to increase their influence. Together, these propositions offer a nuanced and in-depth understanding of the different types of hierarchy struggles present in self-managing teams.

Theoretical Contributions

This paper makes several contributions to theory. First, it contributes to the literature on social hierarchy. The assumption in this literature has been that hierarchies are stable over time and that they form nearly instantaneously on the basis of certain status characteristics of team members. As a result, social hierarchy scholars have largely overlooked the possibility that hierarchies change in their research. There is a nascent body of literature

examining the dynamics of social hierarchies to which we contribute. By unpacking an important antecedent of dynamics in the social hierarchy of a team, namely competitions over the amount of influence each team member has, we offer important insights into how change in the hierarchy comes about. As opposed to other research (e.g., aime, bendersky,) on the dynamics of social hierarchies, we put the team member center stage and provide an agentic perspective on how and why team members attempt to change the influence structure of their team.

This paper also contributes to the literature on conflict and competition in teams. We focus on a largely understudied type of conflict in teams. The conflict literature has primarily focused on conflicts around tasks, relationships, and processes. While some studies into hierarchy struggles exist a full account of these types of conflicts is lacking from the literature. Such an understanding is important because hierarchy struggles appear to be prevalent and debilitating to teams. Thus understanding what forms they take, why they occur, and how they develop is crucial to being able to effectively manage them.

Finally, this paper contributes to the literature on leadership in self-managing and leaderless teams. This literature has largely assumed that team members emerge as leaders on the basis of their personality characteristics (e.g., extraversion or political skill) and that the emergence to a position of influence in these teams is a consensual process whereby all team members agree who should be awarded greater influence. This neglects the agency of team members as it suggests that leaders emerge in self-managing teams without any active involvement of their own, while team members actively manage their leader and follower identities. By taking the perspective of a team member as an active participant in a quest for greater influence, we provide a different perspective to the emergence of a team member to a position of influence. We offer explanations for why and when team members seek influence on the basis of power, status, or leadership, which offers a more nuanced perspective to how team members may actively negotiate their leadership emergence than has been present in the literature to date.

Future Research

Beyond an empirical test of the propositions put forth in this paper, we encourage future scholars to continue to examine the nature of hierarchy struggles. Below, we offer three

possible avenues for future research that are beyond the scope of the present paper. First, scholars could look into the impact of culture on the occurrence of hierarchy struggles. There are a number of dimensions in cultures that could have their impact on hierarchy struggles. For instance, the power distance of a culture, or the extent to which people expect and accept that power is distributed unequally among actors, could affect hierarchy struggles. In countries with greater power distance, hierarchy struggles could be less prevalent because it us less accepted that people attempt to change their own position and success is less likely because current hierarchical structures are more likely to be endorsed. The often studied distinction between collectivism and individualism could also affect the occurrence of hierarchy struggles. In more individualistic cultures team members might be more likely to engage in hierarchy struggles with a more self-interested component (i.e. power and status struggles) because it is socially accepted to try to get the best outcome for the self, while in more collectivistic cultures, team members might be more likely to engage in prosocially motivated hierarchy struggles because focusing on self-interested outcomes is frowned upon.

Second, scholars could look into what characteristics of a member predict the success of the struggle. One potential characteristic could be the position the hierarchy struggler occupied in the hierarchy before the struggle ensued. Hierarchy struggles are not limited to the upper echelons of a team's hierarchy, the struggles can be about advancing in position at every level of the team's hierarchy or about maintaining one's position in the existing hierarchy. In other words, two team members that form the lower rungs of the hierarchical ladder in a team can engage in a hierarchy struggle, just as the most influential team member can be drawn into a battle for influence by another member who wants to take over his or her position in the team. Within the overarching behavioral strategies to gain influence in the informal hierarchy of the self-managing team, the struggler has a choice of specific behaviors he or she can use on a daily basis to gain or maintain influence. It could be that a struggler who starts of higher in the pre-struggle social hierarchy of the team will have a wider range of possible specific, day-to-day behaviors to struggle effectively for his or her position in the hierarchy than someone who starts off lower in the pre-struggle hierarchy. Because he or she has more influence, a team member higher in the social hierarchy has a greater ability to motivate others to do what he or she wants them to do and could thus

involve others more effectively as tools in the struggle. As a result, this team member has a broader range of specific struggle behaviors at his or her disposal than a team member who struggles from a position of lower influence. This might create a Matthew effect – i.e. the rich get richer and the poor get poorer – for the hierarchy struggler, enabling or limiting specific struggle behaviors that make the struggler more or less likely to be successful in the quest for greater influence.

Finally, as team members have different combinations of proself and prosocial motivations, scholars could examine how the different types of hierarchy struggles interact. What happens when one team member is fighting for status, while another is fighting for power? It could be that multiple hierarchies could emerge, where one member is on top of the status hierarchy, while another is on top of the power hierarchy. It could also be that team members misattribute what the other team member is fighting for and overattribute their own motives to engage in the struggle. This may lead to misunderstandings between team members further intensifying the conflict within the team as team members feel that their intentions are not heard. This might especially be a concern when team members that are prosocially motivated encounter a proself motivated team member and are not recognized for their team-oriented intentions. Moreover, in light of the triangle hypothesis, which suggests that prosocially motivated people become more proself motivated when they encounter a proself motivated individual, it could also be that one type of hierarchy struggle emerges as the dominant one subsuming all other types of hierarchy struggles.

Conclusion

Grounded in recent developments in the social hierarchy literature and in theories of social motivation, we present propositions about the different types of hierarchy struggles and how these come about. As with any theoretical framework, the next step is to test our propositions in the field. We hope this work contributes to an integrative and nuanced understanding of when and why team members strive for more influence and emerge as leaders in self-managing teams.

Chapter 4

IS IT WORSE TO LOSE POWER OR TO LOSE STATUS? A SOCIAL EXCLUSION ACCOUNT OF LOSING HIERARCHICAL RANK

Abstract

Social hierarchies, rank orderings of people in a group along a socially valued dimension, are fundamental to team structures and form on the basis of power and status. Moving beyond a static view of social hierarchy, we examine how the loss of either status or power affects someone. We predict and find across two lab studies that the loss of status more gravely impacts a team member than the loss of power. We argue that the loss of status, or the loss of the respect and admiration from other team members, is more similar to a process of social exclusion than the loss of power, of the loss of control over valued resources. Specifically, our Study 1 results show that status losers experience more negative affect and become more self-focused after a loss than power losers. In Study 2, we replicate the results and demonstrate that they extent to intentions to leave. Additionally, we demonstrate that external attributions for the cause weaken these effects. These studies contribute to our understanding of the dynamic side of social hierarchy and how power and status differ from each other, while often being conflated in research. Implications and future directions for research are discussed.

Social hierarchy is the rank ordering, either implicit or explicit, of team members on a valued social dimension (Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Most scholars have assumed that hierarchies within teams are stable and self-reinforcing over time (Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). As a result, few have studied dynamic social hierarchies, i.e., hierarchies in which members change their position in the rank ordering. Recently, however, some research has examined the consequences of hierarchy dynamics. For instance, team members will bully and threaten others to gain influence, but may also help them and show off their expertise (Cheng, Tracy, Foulsham, Kingstone, & Henrich, 2013), which changes the interpersonal dynamics in a team. Other research demonstrates that people award others greater influence after they climbed a hierarchy than after they fell down one, despite reaching the same objective position (Pettit, Sivanathan, Gladstone, & Marr, 2013). Thus, although recent studies provide important insight into the dynamics of social hierarchies, this area of research is still a comparative black box.

In the current paper, we explore individuals' affective, motivational and behavioral responses to losing their rank-order position in the hierarchy, and in particular we explore how these responses depend on the basis upon which the hierarchy rests. Existing research has examined this question in a fragmented manner and painted a diverse picture of the consequences of losing hierarchical position. For example, loss in influence is such an aversive experience, that people use more resources to prevent influence losses than to gain a comparable amount of influence (Pettit, Yong, & Spataro, 2010). Moreover, when individuals lose status, their performance suffers, particularly if they started out near the top of the hierarchy (Marr & Thau, 2014). But losing rank does not entail uniformly negative consequences: Although gaining power inspires negotiators to make bigger demands, losing power does not make these demands any smaller (Sivanathan, Pillutla, & Murnighan, 2008). Thus, the limited research findings in this area describe a range of consequences, but fail to distinguish between losing rank in different types of social hierarchies, because they compare losing in rank to either gaining or maintaining it.

Scholars have begun to tease apart the differences between the two most important bases on which hierarchies can form: power and status (Anicich, Fast, Halevy, & Galinsky, 2015; Blader & Chen, 2012; Fast, Havely, & Galinsky, 2012; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). A

power hierarchy is defined by differences between group members in control over valuable resources, whereas a status hierarchy is defined by differences between group members in the respect and admiration they receive from others in the group. These types of hierarchies are critically different. The control over resources makes a power-holder more independent from others (Emerson, 1962), which makes him or her more focused on the self and lose sight of the interests of others (Blader & Chen, 2012; Brion & Anderson, 2013; Magee & Smith, 2013). Conversely, because status comes from others' freely-given respect and admiration, those at the top of a status hierarchy are *more* focused on others and more concerned with treating them justly and fairly (Blader & Chen, 2012; Fast et al., 2012).

Because of this contrast, losing power and losing status are likely fundamentally different experiences. Yet the current literature on hierarchy dynamics has failed to adequately distinguish between them. By focusing on the comparison between losing rank and either gaining or maintaining rank (Brion & Anderson, 2013; Marr & Thau, 2014; Pettit et al., 2010; Sivanathan et al., 2008), it has left us with no understanding of how the loss of power is different from the loss of status, while either can occur on separate occasions. For example, imagine that a CEO loses a vote of confidence from her Top Management Team members, but that the Board of Directors votes to keep her in place regardless. The CEO will have lost a great deal of her status, but will retain her control over the company. On the other hand, a President of a university who steps down at the end of his term will lose his control over the university, but may still enjoy a great deal of respect from his colleagues. Who will feel worse, the CEO or the President? Who will be more likely to leave the organization? The goal of this paper is to understand how the loss of power differs from the loss of status, which can offer important insights into if and how we should manage employees after they lose rank.

In order to make predictions about how power loss differs from status loss, we start with the observation that because status is in the eye of the beholder, it implies social acceptance in a way that is not necessarily true for power. In turn, this means that losing status, much more so than losing power, means that one has been rejected, and that one has lost the social acceptance of the group. In other words, we propose that losing status feels in some respects similar to social exclusion (Robinson, O'Reilly, & Wang, 2013). When a

person is socially excluded or rejected, he or she is intentionally isolated from the other group members, which threatens their need for belongingness to groups (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). As a result, social exclusion lowers people's self-esteem, causes them to doubt whether their life has meaning, and makes them both more aggressive and more likely to break social bonds (Williams, 2007). Therefore, we expect that losing status, but not losing power, will damage an individual's affective state (Robinson et al., 2013), change the way he or she views oneself in relation to others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and lead him or her to leave a group so that a positive self-image can be restored through others (Maner, Nathan, Baumeister, & Schaller, 2007).

In showing how social exclusion can explain the effects of hierarchy bases (power vs. status) on how people experience changes in hierarchical position, we contribute to the dynamic view of social hierarchies, research on hierarchy bases, and social exclusion theories. First, by treating hierarchies as dynamic rather than static entities, we contribute to a growing body of literature that examines the consequences of hierarchical changes for individuals over and above the effects of simply having or not having a high position at a given time. Second, we directly compare the effects of losing status and losing power in the loser's affect, motivation, and behavioral intentions. This contributes to theories of social hierarchy by further demonstrating the unique nature of power and status, particularly in the context of anticipated interpersonal interactions. Third, we contribute to the literature on ostracism, social exclusion, and social rejection by examining a structural context, namely social hierarchy, which may explain when individuals show different responses to being excluded. Thus, the purpose of this research is to build theory on the different consequences of losing power or status.

Differentiating between power and status

Social hierarchies primarily form based on either power or status (Anderson & Brown, 2010; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). A power hierarchy rank orders individuals based on their amount of control over valued resources, which creates dependency between group members so that the one with the most power has the least dependency on others (Emerson, 1962;

Magee & Galinsky, 2008). A status hierarchy, however, rank orders individuals based on the amount of respect and admiration they receive from others in the group (Magee & Galinsky, 2008; Ridgeway, 1982). Power is more objective than status, as the amount of power is based on the value of the resource rather than on what others think of a person. Conversely, status is reliant on the judgments and evaluations of others and can never be obtained without the consent of these people, which makes status inherently social in nature. Having power, especially over prolonged periods of time, creates a sense of distance from others (Magee & Smith, 2013): the power-holder feels more independent from others and is liberated from social and normative pressures about how to act; the status-holder is under constant scrutiny from others to maintain his or her position.

Supporting this distinction between power and status, status-holders treat others with greater procedural and distributive justice than power-holders (Blader & Chen, 2012), which shows a greater concern for the evaluation from others. Similarly, people who have both power and status treat others with more respect, while having only power makes one treat others in a more demeaning way (Fast et al., 2012). Moreover, women prefer having status over having power, whereas this is the opposite for men, presumably because women have a higher need for affiliation, while men have a greater need for power (Hays, 2013). Power and status also differ in the way they can be achieved. Positions of power can be achieved by bullying and intimidating other group members, while status strivers are more successful when they demonstrate their value to the group, such as working hard and showing knowledge and expertise (Cheng et al., 2013; Willer, 2009). Although power can be gained through demonstrating value to the group, the reverse is not true for status. This suggests that status strivers give greater weight to the good opinion of others than power strivers. Thus, someone's status depends on other people's appreciation for them, while someone's power is more independent of what others think of the power holder.

Social exclusion

When status is dependent on other's good opinion, the loss of status is equivalent to the loss of respect and admiration from team members. We expect that losing other people's

respect and admiration is similar to a process of social exclusion, whereby other team members no longer wish to look up and grant as much influence to the status holder. In other words, the status loser is ousted as an important team member. Losing power and control over resources, on the other hand, does not have the same interpersonal connotations. A power holder is more independent to begin with (Blader & Chen, 2012; Magee & Smith, 2013), thus his or her interpersonal connections are less of a consideration. Subsequently, the loss of power will be less associated with the loss of the positive evaluation of others but much more with the loss of control over external resources. Thus, the loss of power is much less *personal* than the loss of status and, as a result, will be less impactful for the loser's persona than the loss of status.

A team member is socially excluded when he or she is alone or isolated from other group members, after either being explicitly or implicitly told that he or she is disliked (Williams, 2007). The term social exclusion is similar to the terms social rejection, which refers to the refusal to want to interact with or be in the company of someone (Blackhart, Knowles, Nelson, & Baumeister, 2009), and ostracism, i.e. not being included in a group when it is socially appropriate to do so (Robinson et al., 2013). Previous scholars have used the terms and research paradigms for social exclusion, rejection, and ostracism interchangeably (Williams, 2007). Given the interwoven nature of these literatures, we will also draw from the ostracism and social rejection literatures in addition to the social exclusion literature in developing our arguments.

People appear to be extremely sensitive to social exclusion (Williams, 2007, 2009), which may be an evolutionarily adaptive strategy to increase chances of survival (Gruter & Masters, 1986). People have an inherent need to belong to groups, or to form and maintain at least a few lasting, positive, and important interpersonal relationships (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Belonging to a group increases people's positive affect, shapes their interpretations of situations and events, and changes how people process information about the self (Anderson, 1991; Myers, 1992; Tice, Butler, Muraven, & Stillwell, 1995). Through social exclusion one's belongingness to a group is violated. Sensitivity to social exclusion enables people to respond timely to threats of ostracism by modifying their behaviors to avoid exclusion. People are so sensitive to exclusion that even participants, who know they

interact with computers, feel the pain of social exclusion by these pre-programmed computers (Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2005).

People respond to social exclusion in a three-staged process (Williams, 2007, 2009): In the reflexive stage, excluded and ostracized individuals primarily experience pain, which is often measured by affective experiences, such as negative affect, distress, and anger. In the following stage, the reflective stage, people attend to their feelings, appraise their pain, and attend to make sense of the rejection, which in turn shapes their behavioral responses. Behavioral responses to social exclusion can both stem from more automatic, level-1 processing, such as aggressive and confrontational behavior towards the excluding group or avoiding interactions with them, and stem from more conscious, level-2 processing, such as trying to reconnect with the excluding group to improve inclusionary status (Robinson et al., 2013; Taylor, 2006; Taylor et al., 2000; Williams, 2007). This latter, tend-and-befriend response, is often associated with group-oriented behaviors, such as cooperation, social perception, and pro-group unethical behavior (Ouwerkerk, Kerr, Gallucci, & Van Lange, 2005; Pickett, Gardner, & Knowles, 2004; Thau, Derfler-Rozin, Pitesa, Mitchell, & Pillutla, 2015). Because the tend-and-befriend response requires greater cognitive processing, this is more likely when there are pragmatic reasons to remain in good standing with the group (e.g., because some form of dependency exists). The third and final stage, that of resignation, occurs only when people expect prolonged periods of exclusion, such as when they expect to remain without a romantic partner in their life as is the case in the life-alone paradigm (Blackhart et al., 2009; Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001; Twenge, Catanese, & Baumeister, 2003). This is not a concern in the current study, so we will not discuss this process in depth at this point.

In this paper, we will examine reflexive and reflective responses to the loss of status and power. We will focus on the reflexive, affective response to losing hierarchical rank, the reflective motivational response to how a person sees him or herself in relation to others, and the subsequent behavioral flight response, intention to leave. We choose to focus on this specific response because of the clear implications for team life when a member departs.

Affective responses to losing hierarchical rank

Although intuitively one would expect that interpersonal rejection and social exclusion will have a negative impact on an individual's reflexive affect, there is an ongoing debate about the affective consequences of social exclusion (Robinson et al., 2013). Rejected people may experience more negative affect than accepted or included people (Blackhart et al., 2009). Because people in general are strongly motivated to belong to a group and to form social attachments, rejection from a group thwarts their belongingness motives (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). This will, in turn, result in increased negative affect because it is more difficult to achieve the belongingness goal (Blackhart et al., 2009; Frijda, 1986). However, social exclusion may also create a sense of numbness, when it is too painful to deal with the social exclusion (Twenge et al., 2001; Twenge, Catanese, & Baumeister, 2002). Recent meta-analyses of the effect of social exclusion on affective responses suggest stronger support for the distress hypothesis, i.e. social exclusion increases negative affect (Blackhart et al., 2009; Gerber & Wheeler, 2009). In line with these findings, we predict that status loss, which is more similar to social exclusion, will lead to a stronger negative affective response than losing power.

Moreover, because the expression of emotions also serves a signaling function to other group members (e.g., Heerdink, Van Kleef, Homan, & Fischer, 2013; Van Kleef, 2009; Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2010), the experience of negative affect may serve a social function for status loss as well. As status is, by nature, dependent on others, signaling negative experiences to others may be more important and hold more information for interpersonal relationships. Signaling that the excluded individual is negatively affected by the rejection may be the beginning of a process of repair.

Thus, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 1: Status loss will lead to the experience of more negative affect than power loss.

Social motivation and losing hierarchical rank

A central distinguishing factor between power and status is the extent to which people who have it are more or less focused on themselves versus others. Status is associated with a greater concern for the opinion of others, while power is associated with a greater concern for the self (e.g., Blader & Chen, 2012; Hays, 2013). In parallel, the social value orientation literature distinguishes between pro-self and prosocial orientation. A pro-self orientation is characterized by trying to maximize one's own outcomes without regard for the outcomes obtained by other group members (De Dreu, Weingart, & Kwon, 2008). A prosocial orientation can be characterized by trying to maximize both one's own and the other's outcomes, which includes taking into account the goals and ideas of others rather than just one's own (De Dreu et al., 2008). Thus, having status is more strongly associated with a prosocial orientation, whereas having power is more strongly associated with a pro-self orientation (Blader & Chen, 2012).

In contrast to having power and status, we expect that the association between the loss of hierarchical position and social value orientation is different. We argue that status loss will lead to a greater pro-self orientation as compared to power loss, in the reflective phase. The triangle hypothesis proposes that a prosocial orientation is more changeable based on the situation than a pro-self orientation (Kelley & Stahelski, 1970a, 1970b). When a team member with a prosocial orientation encounters another member with a pro-self orientation, the socially oriented team member is more likely to shift to a pro-self orientation than that the pro-self team member will shift to a prosocial orientation (Kelley & Stahelski, 1970b). The hypothesis also suggests that prosocial team members are more sensitive than pro-self team members to the social motives of others (Van Lange, 1992, 1999). Socially oriented team members are more aware of their external environment and their outcomes are hurt more when they encounter self-focused team members. Thus, those team members with a greater focus on the goals and interests of others are more likely to adjust their focus when they encounter self-focused team members than self-focused team members will change in the opposite direction. A rejection from the team will signal that the team no longer values the goals and interests of the rejected member. Thus, the rejected member is better of focusing on own goals and interests. The loss of status should results in a shift from an other-

focus to a self-focus. The loss of power will be less likely to shift an individual's orientation because a power-holder already has a greater self-focus.

Additionally, the social exclusion literature outlines three different possible behavioral responses to being ostracized as a team member: fight, flight, and tend-and-befriend (Williams, 2007). Regardless of whether the pragmatic situation dictates a more conscious tend-and-befriend response or whether a more automated fight or flight response can be given to the social exclusion episode, the rejected individual would benefit from assessing the amount of resources he or she has before taking any course of action. This should be associated with a greater self-focus, which allows someone to take stock of his or her own resources and goals, than when social exclusion is less severe. So, in order to prepare for the best response to social exclusion, an individual benefits from a greater self-focus that allows him or her to assess resources and desired end-states.

Together, this leads us to hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2: Status loss will lead to a greater self-focus than power loss.

Social exclusion and ostracism research theorizes that the reflexive state, in which pain and negative affect are experienced, is followed by a reflective stage, in which appraisal of the situation takes place and the desired course of action is chosen. Negative affect may lead to deeper processing of information, a more accurate assessment of the social environment, and decreased engagement with the team to which one belongs (Barsade & Gibson, 2007). In other words, negative affect appears to initiate a process of re-evaluation of the self and the environment to which one belongs. Building on this logic, we expect that the experience of negative affect will mediate the relationship between status/power loss and a greater proself orientation.

Hypothesis 3: The differential effect of status loss and power loss on self-focus is mediated by negative affect.

Hierarchical loss and intention to leave

The reflective stage of coping with social exclusion also stipulates that the cognitive appraisal of the situation is followed by an appropriate behavioral response. When an

individual is socially excluded his or her social needs are thwarted and this will motivate the excluded individual to seek ways to satisfy this basic need for affiliation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). One way to satisfy this need is to seek opportunities to establish new relationships outside of the current team and to leave (Maner et al., 2007). When a team member is hurt and has sufficient belief that he or she can successfully establish new relationships, these relationships can fulfill the need to belong. It is then more appealing to leave the team rather than attempt to re-establish positive relationships. Thus the need to belong may be more effectively fulfilled by leaving the team than by staying in the team. This flight response can have great implications for small teams that lose a member and can threaten the survival of the excluding team. We expect that because status loss will be more experienced like social exclusion, losers of a high status position will be more likely to sever ties with the excluding team than losers of a high power position. In other words, status loss will lead to a greater intention to leave than power loss.

Thus, we hypothesis the following:

Hypothesis 4: Status loss will lead to a greater intention to leave than power loss.

Moreover, we predict that the relationship between hierarchy loss and intention to leave is mediated by a greater self-focus. Self-focus can convince the loser that he or she has the resources to leave and provide greater clarity on own goals and intentions, independent from the original team. This can provide greater clarity what to do after leaving the original team and thus reduce anxiety about leaving.

Hypothesis 5: Self-focus will mediate the relationship between hierarchy loss and intention to leave.

Overview of the present research

We conducted two studies to test our theory. Study 1 was an online experiment in which we tested our initial hypotheses related to affect and social motivation. In addition to testing the affect hypothesis, we also examined the specific emotional factors that may be affected by status and power loss in a more exploratory manner. Using the PANAS, Leary, Springer,

Negel, Ansell, and Evans, (1998) distinguished between four emotional factors related to the negative affective side of social exclusion: Anxiety, Hostility, Shame, and General distress. We build on this distinction of negative affectivity and explore how the different emotional factors are affected by losing power and losing status.

In Study 2 we sought to replicate the findings for social motivation and extend these to capture the entire reflective phase of social exclusion, including behavioral intentions. Another goal of Study 2 was to add a contextual contingency to explain under what conditions status and power loss would be experienced more severely. Namely, whether the causal attribution of the power loss and the status loss changes its effect on the loser. Together, these two studies provide a test of our theory in an internally valid environment spanning all three aspects of the reflexive and reflective social exclusion phases.

Study 1

Method

Participants and Design. One hundred and nine participants (M_{age} = 36.17, SD_{age} = 11.01; 42.20% female) were recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk, a platform for the crowdsourcing of research studies, in exchange for $1.50. The study took between 10 and 15 minutes to complete and payment is consistent with the guidelines offered by Amazon in this regard. Participants were told they could only participate if they lived in the United States and spoke English. Subjects were told that the study was about how people experience different situations.

The experiment had a two conditional (power loss and status loss) between-subjects design, with participants randomly assigned to one of the conditions. We excluded 11 participants for taking breaks during the study (2) or because English was not their native language (9). As a result the status loss condition had 44 participants and the power loss condition had 54 participants.

Experimental manipulation and materials. We manipulated power and status loss by first describing a situation to the participant that granted them high power or high

status and subsequently describing a situation in which they lost this position. First, we asked participants to imagine they were the Chief Financial Officer of the top management team of a company and we described some of the aspect of the role to the participants. Then participants read the following text:

Status loss condition:

Given the structure of the top management team, it is obvious that the CFO commands high status; that is, you are regarded with greater esteem, respect, and admiration from others.

Power loss condition:

Given the structure of the top management team, it is obvious that the CFO commands a great deal of power, that is, you control the most critical resource allocation decisions here.

After reading this text, aimed at inducing a feeling of high status or high power, participants were asked to describe in a few sentences what they perceived their role and responsibilities to be as the CFO and, in a different question, to describe three specific actions they intended to undertake as CFO in the coming year to ensure that the company remains competitive. The purpose of these two questions was to enliven the experience of having status or power for the participants. After completing these questions, on the following page, participants read that due to the tough financial times the company has to merge with another company. It is described that the merger is one where the two companies contribute equally, but that only one CFO is needed in the newly merged company. Then participants read the following text:

Status loss condition:

You will no longer hold the position of CFO. Therefore, you have lost the status that came with the role, because the role of CFO commands high status and you are no longer regarded with greater esteem, respect, and admiration from others**.**

Power loss condition:

You will no longer hold the position of CFO. Therefore, you have lost the power that came with the role, because the role of CFO commands a great deal of power and you no longer control the most critical resource allocation decisions**.**

After reading this message, participants completed questions related to their mood and social valued orientation.

Negative affect. Negative affect was measured with the negative affect scale of the PANAS (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). This scale consists of 10 items ($\alpha = .95$) and participants rated their current feelings at that moment after reading the story on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree. The specific emotional factors were created from the negative affective scale in line with Leary and colleagues (1998). Anxiety consisted of the items nervous, jittery, scared, and afraid ($\alpha = .92$). Hostility consisted of the items hostile and irritable ($r = .73$). Shame consisted of the items guilty and shame ($r = .57$). Distress consisted of the items distressed and upset ($r = .85$). In order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the role of affect in power and status loss, we also measured positive affect using the 10 positive affect items of the PANAS ($\alpha = .90$), although we had no specific predictions for this.

Self-focus. Self-focus was measured with the Social Value Orientation measure developed by Van Lange (1999). In this measure, the tendency of participants in measured to be more focused on maximizing outcomes for the self (individualistic orientation), maximizing the difference between the self and another (competitive orientation), or distributing outcomes equally amongst partners (cooperative orientation), participants play a series of nine games in which they make choices about the distribution of resources. Each game has three choices, individualistic, competitive, and cooperative, and participants select one. Although this measure was originally developed to measure dispositional tendencies, research has demonstrated that one's social motivation is dependent upon the context (e.g., Weingart et al., 2007). Thus, in this study, we used these games as an implicit measure of proself orientation. Proself orientation was measured by a sum score of the number of games in which the participant had selected the individualistic option, whereby 0 represented no proself orientation and 9 represented a fully proself orientation.

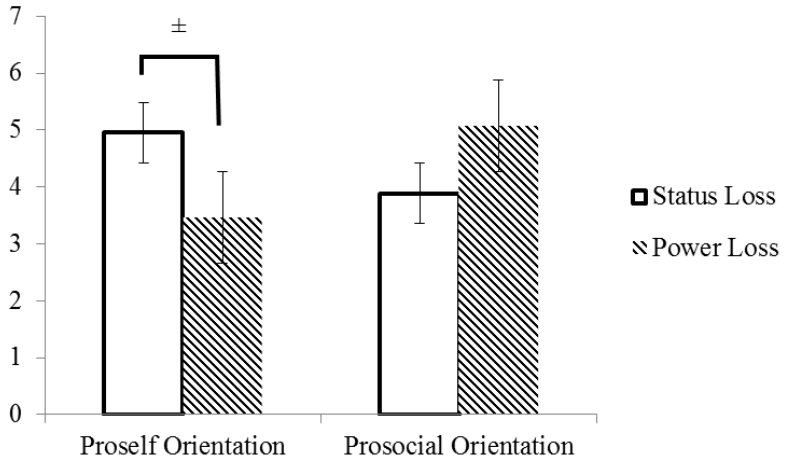
Results and Discussion

In order to test hypothesis 1, we must examine whether status loss has a greater impact on negative affect than power loss. In order to test this, we conducted a t-test comparing the different conditions. As predicted, status loss (M = 2.93, SD = 1.55) caused significantly more negative affect than power loss (M = 2.35, SD = 1.33), t (96) = 1.98, p = .050. Moreover, status loss (M = 4.02, SD = 1.18) and power loss (M = 4.01, SD = 1.22) did not differ significantly in the extent to which participants experienced positive affect, t (96) = .05, p > .250.

Examining the more specific emotional factors revealed that this significant difference between status loss and power loss was primarily caused by the differential experience of anxiety and shame rather than of hostility or distress. Specifically, comparing the status loss and the power loss condition showed that participants who experienced status loss felt more anxious (M = 2.93, SD = 1.68) than those who experienced power loss (M = 2.18, SD = 1.36), t (96) = 2.40, p = .019. Participants who experienced status loss also felt more shameful (M = 2.36, SD = 1.35) than those who experienced power loss (M = 1.82, SD = 1.08), t (96) = 2.20, p = .030. However, participants who experienced status loss (M = 3.11, SD = 1.88) did not feel more or less hostile than those who lost power (M = 2.69, SD = 1.75), t (96) = 1.14, p > .250 or distress (M_{status} = 3.28, SD_{status} = 1.81; M_{power} = 2.85, SD_{power} = 1.84), t (96) = 1.17, p = .247. Thus, hypothesis 1 is supported. Additional analyses qualify these results and demonstrate that the significant difference in negative affect between status loss and power loss is primarily caused by experienced anxiety and shame.

In order to test hypothesis 2, we must examine whether status loss leads to a more self-focused orientation than power loss. In order to test this, we conducted a t-test comparing the different conditions. As predicted, status loss (M = 4.95, SD = 4.15) caused marginally significantly more self-focused orientation than power loss (M = 3.46, SD = 4.20), t (96) = 1.76, p = .082. Moreover, status loss (M = 3.89, SD = 4.24) and power loss (M = 5.07, SD = 4.36) did not differ significantly in the extent to which participants became more other-focused in their orientation, t (96) = -1.36, p = .178. These results are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 4. Power and Status Loss Differences on Proself and Prosocial Orientation



Note: Error bars represent Standard Errors. ± p = .082

In addition to this more continuous measure of self- and other-focus, we calculated self- and other-focus categorical variable, in line with more traditional usage of this measure (Van Lange, 1999). As a result, we categorized a person as primarily self-focused when he or she made the individualistic choice in six or more of the choice sets, while he or she was classified as other-focused, when he or she made the cooperative choice in six or more of the choice sets. We then tested hypothesis 2 using a chi-square test to estimate the probability that someone would be self-focused or other-focused in either condition. This showed that people are disproportionately more likely to be self-focused after they lost status (25.5%) than after they lost power (19.4%), χ^2 = 4.59, p = .042. Thus, hypothesis 2 was largely supported.

In order to test hypothesis 3, we conducted a mediation analysis using the Preacher and Hayes bootstrapping method (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) with 5000 resamples. These results demonstrated that negative affect is a marginally significant mediator of the relationship between the conditions and self-focused orientation. Specifically, status loss predicted negative affect, β = .56, $CI_{90\%}$ (.09; 1.06), which in turn marginally predicted self-focused

orientation, β = .49, $CI_{95\%}$ (.002; .98), while the status loss condition no longer significantly predicted self-focused orientation, β = 1.21, $CI_{95\%}$ (-.22; 2.63). Finally, the indirect effect of negative affect marginally significantly mediated the relationship between hierarchical loss condition and self-focused orientation, $CI_{95\%}$ (.02; .87), explaining 6.87% of variance for self-focused orientation.

Moreover, a more detailed examination of the role of the different emotional factors demonstrated that while the relationship between the hierarchy loss conditions and self-focused orientation was not mediated by anxiety, it was significantly mediated by feelings of shame. Specifically, status loss predicted anxiety, β = .75, $CI_{95\%}$ (.14; 1.36), but anxiety did not predict self-focused orientation, β = .19, $CI_{95\%}$ (-.37; .75). On the other hand, status loss predicted feelings of shame, β = .54, $CI_{95\%}$ (.05; 1.03), which in turn predicted self-focused orientation, β = .77, $CI_{95\%}$ (.08; 1.45), while the status loss condition no longer significantly predicted self-focused orientation, β = 1.08, $CI_{95\%}$ (-.62; 2.77). Finally, the indirect effect of shame significantly mediated the relationship between the status loss condition and self-focused orientation, $CI_{95\%}$ (.03; 1.19), explaining 7.89% of variance for self-focused orientation.

Thus, Study 1 largely supports our hypotheses regarding the difference between power and status loss in that the experience of status loss is more in line with a process of social exclusion as compared to power loss. Specifically, our findings suggest that losing status increases the experience of negative affect, especially anxiety and shame, and it creates a greater focus on the self as compared to power loss. This is not to say that the experience of power loss is not at all like a situation of social exclusion, but rather that the loss of status has a greater connotation of social exclusion. In Study 2, we build upon these findings and focus on the reflective phase of social exclusion in which an appraisal of the social exclusion situation takes place followed by a behavioral response. In Study 2, we aim to replicate the finding that status loss leads to a greater self-focus than power loss (hypothesis 2), utilizing a different measure, and we aim to demonstrate that status loss leads to a greater intention to leave the excluding group than power loss (hypothesis 4). Moreover, we aim to contextualize these findings and demonstrate that these effects are most likely to occur when the loss has to be internally attributed rather than externally.

The role of contextual factors in the consequences of hierarchical loss

Not all hierarchical position loss is caused by the same factors. One can lose position because of situational factors, but also due to one's own poor performance. For instance, two companies can merge, simply leaving only one opening as Chief Financial Officer or, as in the example in the introduction, a University President's term may simply be up. However, it can also be due to one's own poor performance or loss of faith in the person. The CEO in our opening example has clearly lost the belief in her abilities from the other team members. Attribution theory suggests that when the cause of a specific occurrence is internal to the person, it has much stronger consequences for subsequent evaluations and behaviors than when the attribution is external (Kelley & Michela, 1980). When internal attributions are necessary, losses will probably have a greater impact than when the loss occurs outside of one's own control. As we have argued up to this point that the loss of status is similar to a process of social exclusion, while this is much less the case for a loss of one's power, we would expect that when the process of exclusion has to do with one's own behaviors rather than with the situation, this is especially likely to lead to a strong response of the excluded individual. Thus, we would expect that when status loss is due to one's own behaviors, it will lead to a greater self-focus and intention to leave, whereas we do not expect such a relationship for power loss or status loss due to situational factors.

Thus, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 6: Context will moderate the differential effects between status loss and power loss, such that losing status because of one's own doing will have a greater impact on (a) self-focus and (b) intention to leave than losing power or losing status because of situational demands.

Finally, as motivation is a strong predictor of behavior, we predict that self-focus can explain the moderated relationship predicted in Hypothesis 6. Specifically, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 7: Self-focus will mediate the moderated relationship between hierarchy loss and intention to leave, such that self-focus will explain the relationship

between status/power loss and intention to leave only when the loss was due to the self, but not when it was due to the situation.

Study 2

Methods

Participants and Design. Two hundred and forty participants (M_{age} = 34.46, SD_{age} = 11.02; 45.20% female) were recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk in exchange for $1.50. The study took between 10 and 15 minutes to complete. Inclusion criteria and study descriptions were the same as for Study 1.

The experiment had a 2 (power loss and status loss) X 2 (self vs situation) between-subjects design, with participants randomly assigned to one of the conditions. We excluded participants for taking breaks during the study (15) or because they failed at least one of the attention checks (15). As a result the participants were the cell size for the conditions ranged from 47 (situational power loss) to 60 (self-induced status loss) participants.

Experimental manipulation and materials. We manipulated power and status loss as in Study 1. Whether the loss was situationally or self-induced was manipulated by adding either of the following descriptions to the scenario describing the loss of hierarchical position.

Situationally-induced loss condition:

Due to the situation which is out of your control, it has been decided that this role will be given to the CFO of Bora Technologies.

Self-induced loss condition:

Due to your poor performance the past year, it has been decided that this role will be given to the CFO of Bora Technologies.

After reading this message, participants completed questions related to their self- and other-focus, their reputation, and their intention to leave the team.

Self-focus. Self-focus was measured with the self-focus scale developed by De Dreu and Nauta (De Dreu & Nauta, 2009). The extent to which someone considers only his or her own goals was measured on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Reliability of this scale was good at $\alpha = .87$. An example item for this scale was "I would be concerned about my own needs and interests." Other-focus was also measured with the scale developed by De Dreu and Nauta (2009) in similar fashion. Reliability of this scale was good at $\alpha = .93$. An example item for this scale was "I would consider others' wishes and desires to be relevant."

Intention to leave. Intention to leave was measured with two items assessing the extent to which the participant was likely to leave this team, if the study allowed for it. These items were How likely is it that you would leave this team, if possible?" and "If it were possible, how much would you like to start working in a new team?" The intention to leave was assessed on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from "very unlikely" to "very likely" and "definitely will not" to "definitely will". The items correlated at .52 with each other.

Results and Discussion

In order to test hypothesis 2, we must examine whether status loss leads to more self-focused orientation than power loss. In order to test this, we conducted a one-way ANOVA comparing the different conditions. As predicted, status loss ($M = 6.00$, $SD = .82$) caused significantly more self-focused orientation than power loss ($M = 5.67$, $SD = 1.07$), $F(1, 208) = 6.27$, $p = .013$ Moreover, status loss ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.29$) and power loss ($M = 4.93$, $SD = 1.39$) did not differ significantly in the extent to which participants became more other-focused in their orientation, $F(1, 208) = .172$, $p > .250$. Thus, Hypothesis 2 received further support in Study 2 utilizing a different measure.

In order to test hypothesis 4, we conducted a one-way ANOVA comparing the different conditions to examine whether status loss lead to a greater intention to leave than power loss. As predicted, status loss ($M = 4.87$, $SD = 1.35$) lead to a significantly greater intention to leave the team than power loss ($M = 4.48$, $SD = 1.44$), $F(1, 208) = 4.21$, $p = .041$. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was supported.

In order to test hypothesis 5, we conducted a mediation analysis using the Preacher and Hayes bootstrapping method with 5000 resamples. These results demonstrated that self-focus is a significant mediator of the relationship between the status loss and power loss conditions and intention to leave. Status loss leads to a greater self-focus than power loss, β = .33, $CI_{95\%}$ (.06; .59), which in turn significantly predicted intention to leave, β = .49, $CI_{95\%}$ (.31; .68), while the hierarchical loss condition no longer significantly predicted the intention to leave, β = .23, $CI_{95\%}$ (-.13; .59). Finally, the indirect effect of self-focus significantly mediated the relationship between hierarchical loss condition and intention to leave, $CI_{95\%}$ (.04; .35), explaining 13.15% of variance for intention to leave.

In hypothesis 6, we predicted that the effect of hierarchical loss on both (a) self-focus and (b) intention to leave were conditional on the extent to which the reason for losing one's position could be ascribed to situationally induced constraints or whether the loser him or herself had caused it. Tests of the main effect of the situation condition did not reveal a significant difference in self-focus ($M_{situation}$= 5.87, $SD_{situation}$ = .85; M_{self}= 5.81, SD_{self}= 1.08), F (1, 208) = .23, p > .250, or other-focus ($M_{situation}$= 4.88, $SD_{situation}$ = 1.31; M_{self}= 5.07, SD_{self}= 1.36), F (1, 208) = 1.06, p > .250. However, it did reveal a significant difference in intention to leave, such that intention to leave the team was greater when the loss was caused by the self (M = 4.77, SD = 1.44) than by the situation (M = 4.13, SD = 1.51), F (1, 208) = 9.69, p = .002. Moreover, factorial ANOVAs also demonstrated an interaction between the hierarchy loss and situation conditions for both self-focus, F (3, 206) = 2.88, p = .037, and intention to leave, F (3,206) = 3.70, p = .013, but not for other-focus, F (3,206) = .43, p > .250. Thus, showing support for hypothesis 6.

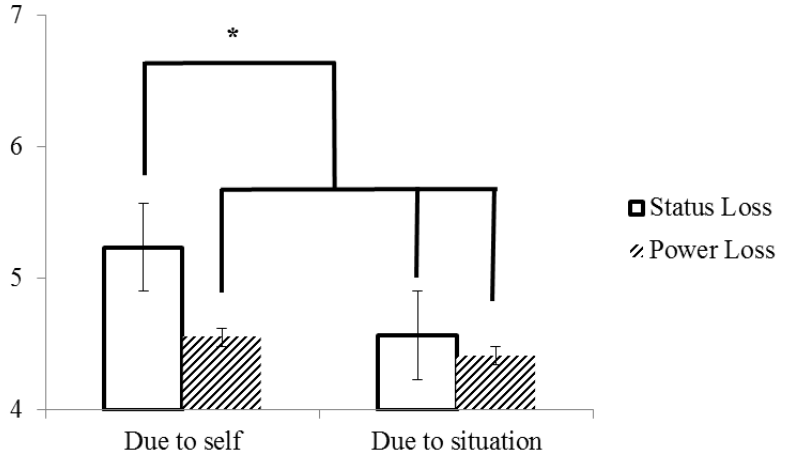
As shown in Figure 2, planned comparisons revealed that a loss of status due to one's own actions lead to a greater self-focus (M = 6.07, SD = .84) than a loss of power due to one's own actions (M = 5.53, SD = 1.23), F (1, 206) = 7.75, p = .006. However, this difference did not emerge for status loss due to situational factors (M = 5.94, SD = .81) and power loss due to situational factors (M = 5.79, SD = .90), F (1, 206) = .67, p > .250. Neither was the difference between status loss due to the self (M = 6.07, SD = .84) significantly different from status loss due to the situation (M = 5.94, SD = .81), F (1, 206) = .47, p > .250 or was the difference between power loss due to the self (M = 5.53, SD = 1.23) significantly

different from power loss due to the situation (M = 5.79, SD = .90), F (1, 206) = 1.90, p = .170. In other words, the interaction between the hierarchy loss conditions and the situation conditions is driven by the difference in self-focus between status loss due to the self and power loss due to the self.

Also shown in Figure 2 are the planned comparisons used to examine the interaction between the hierarchy loss conditions and the situation conditions for intention to leave. These comparisons demonstrated that the intention to leave the team after losing status due to one's own actions (M = 5.24, SD = 1.35) was significantly greater than for any of the other conditions, ($M_{status\ loss\ situation}$ = 4.57, $SD_{status\ loss\ situation}$ = 1.28; $M_{power\ loss\ situation}$ = 4.41, $SD_{power\ loss\ situation}$ = 1.42; $M_{power\ loss\ self}$ = 4.55, $SD_{power\ loss\ self}$ = 1.46), F (1, 206) = 10.70, p = .001. However, none of the other conditions differed significantly from one another: F (1, 206) = .35, p > .250, F (1, 206) = .003, p > .250, F (1, 206) = .255, p > .250, comparing status and power loss due to the situation, status loss due to the situation and power loss due to the self, and power loss due to the situation and power loss due to the self respectively. Thus, the interaction between the hierarchy loss conditions and the situation conditions is driven by the difference between status loss due to the self and the other conditions.

Figure 5a. Power and Status Loss Differences on Proself and Prosocial Orientation

Figure 5b. Power and Status Loss Differences on Intention to Leave



Note: Error bars represent Standard Errors. * $p < .050$

In order to test the moderated mediation predicted by hypothesis 7, we conducted two separate mediation analyses examining the indirect effects of self-focus for the relationship between the hierarchy loss conditions and intention to leave for the situationally induced and self-induced losses separately. Bootstrapping analyses showed that self-focus mediated the relationship between hierarchy loss and intention to leave when the loss was due to one's own actions, $CI_{95\%}$ (.07; .71) explaining 24.59% of the variance for intention to leave, but not when the loss was due to the situation, $CI_{95\%}$ (-.05; .23).

Thus, Study 2 shows that status loss leads to a greater focus on the self than power loss, but no difference existed in other-focus between the different types of hierarchy loss, replicating these effects of Study 1 using a different measure to capture self-focus and other-focus. Moreover, status loss leads to a greater intention to leave the team than power loss and this effect can be explained by the greater focus on the self when an individual has experienced status loss. Finally, these effects depend on the cause of the loss and are especially strong when the status is lost due to someone's own actions rather than due to situationally induced constraints.

General discussion

Status loss casts a larger shadow than power loss. Two studies demonstrated that status loss leads to more negative affect, especially feelings of shame and anxiety, a greater focus on one's own goals and outcomes, and a greater intention to leave than power loss. Moreover, we demonstrated initial evidence that these relations between hierarchy loss and the various outcomes are part of a larger causal chain in which loss changes mood, which in turn affects motivations and eventually behaviors. Although the current data do not provide evidence for the entire causal chain in a single study, this logic is consistent with the theorizing on social exclusion. Initial responses to social exclusion and ostracism are reflexive and affective, while later responses are more reflective and change an individual's motivation and behavior towards the ostracizers (Williams, 2007, 2009). Furthermore, in line with suggestions from attribution theory, the results in these studies demonstrate that status loss has a much greater impact when it needs to be internally attributed than when it can be attributed to external events.

Together, these findings significantly contribute to theory on social hierarchy and social exclusion. By examining how changes in someone's hierarchical position affect his or her experiences, we contribute to the growing body of literature on the dynamic sides of hierarchy. But, more importantly, we demonstrate how in this context of change, power and status loss have different effects. Our research shows that the loss of status results in a qualitatively different experience than the loss of power and thus offers additional evidence that power and status are truly distinct bases on which hierarchies can form. Power and status stem from very different sources, form control over resources or from socially conferred respect, so changes in the level of power or status will be experienced very differently. In line with other research (Anderson & Brown, 2010; Blader & Chen, 2012; Hays, 2013; Magee & Galinsky, 2008), our findings demonstrate that it is important to carefully distinguish between the concepts of power and status and that research should not conflate the two, as is often done. Moreover, our research begins answering the question whether either power or status is more important for individuals or for interpersonal dynamics. Thus, whether these bases can be equated to each other or whether there is a hierarchy amongst hierarchy bases. As our participants were more gravely affected by the loss of status than by the loss of power, this might suggest that status is more valuable to have, or at the very least to retain, than power. In addition to the social hierarchy literature, we make a modest contribution to the social exclusion literature and demonstrate a contextual factor that can determine whether someone feels more or less excluded. Both power loss and status loss imply a form of exclusion, but to date hierarchical loss has not been examined as a contextual factor that can enhance or mitigate the experience of social exclusion.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although we believe this research provides an important initial perspective into how status loss and power loss affect people differently, we do recognize there are a number of limitations to the current studies that ongoing research needs to address. The current studies were not conducted in an actual team setting in which participants either lost power or status to other team members. Although other research on hierarchy dynamics has also adopted such a strategy and tends to find consistent results between actual team studies and scenario-based studies (e.g., Bendersky & Shah, 2013; Marr & Thau, 2014; Pettit et al., 2010), it is important to examine the generalizability of our findings to actual team settings.

Interpersonal interactions do provide a different context of study than imagined interactions or situations, as were provided to the participants in the studies presented in this paper. However, social exclusion research has shown consistently that only minimal cues are necessary to feel excluded. For instance, in the ball tossing game, often used to study processes and responses to social exclusion and ostracism, participants will even feel excluded after being explicitly told that they are playing with pre-programmed computers (Zadro, Williams, & Richardson, 2004). Thus, it takes very little to feel excluded and only imagining a situation in which the participant can be excluded, such as the one used in the current studies, can be sufficient to yield responses consistent with actual social exclusion experiences. Although there are limitations to the use of scenarios to study interpersonal dynamics, it appears that in the case of social exclusion the psychological experience is not significantly affected.

In order to provide an initial test of our predictions, we focused on perceptions of the situation and behavioral intentions rather than actual behaviors. This is a potentially problematic limitation because of the moderate correlation that exists between behavioral intentions and actual behavior. For instance, the correlation between turnover intention and actual turnover is only .35 (e.g., Griffeth, Hom, & Gaertner, 2000) and actual turnover is greatly affected by other factors such as perceptions of outside opportunities. So, Study 2 might be overstating the likelihood that team members will actually leave their team after losing status. But this does not negate the finding that losses in status increase the *probability* that team members will leave compared to losing power. Future research should examine actual behaviors in addition to the behavioral intentions put forth in the current research. Based in the social exclusion literature, it might be worth to examine additional automated behavioral responses such as aggression towards excluding team members or poor performance ratings of these team members and actual turnover rather than turnover intentions. However, it might also be worth to consider more conscious behavioral outcomes, when the situation constrains a team member's ability to leave the team or to be aggressive. For instance, future research could examine task-related or interpersonal behaviors focused on re-climbing the hierarchy or re-establishing positive relationships with the team members. Although the aforementioned behaviors are more focused on interpersonal consequences of status and power loss, these losses may also differentially

affect organizationally relevant outcomes such as job performance, creativity, negotiations, and decision-making abilities as well.

Additionally, the current studies do not distinguish between hierarchical loss and just having a lower hierarchical position or the difference between hierarchical loss and any other form of loss. Although this limits the extent to which we can attribute our findings exclusively to hierarchical loss, it does not invalidate our conclusion that status loss has a different effect on people than power loss. Future research should definitely examine the extent to which hierarchical loss differs from other experiences of loss and low hierarchical positions. The predictions for these studies, however, are not straightforward. People are generally loss averse and will put in additional resources to avoid losing their hierarchical position (Pettit et al., 2010). Status loss may be more similar to the experience certain kinds of losses than power loss or vice versa. For instance, power loss could be perceived more similarly to losing money, while status loss could be experienced more similarly to the loss of a friend or family member.

Comparing hierarchy loss to a low position, we can make opposite predictions about whether these are similar or different. Sivanathan and colleagues (2008) demonstrated that losing power does not change negotiation behaviors in an ultimatum game from people who have a high power position, which demonstrates a particular rigidity in behaviors after power has been lost. This would predict that power loss should be qualitatively different from a low power situation. On the other hand, the affective and motivational experiences of low power and power loss might be very similar, because power loss does not have a very strong negative effect on people. Status loss does change behaviors like job performance dramatically (Marr & Thau, 2014), and consistent with our findings, losing status has a great effect on the affective and motivational states of people as well. When someone is low in status, nothing has been taken away from anyone, and this should limit an experience of loss. However, at the same time, low status does imply a consistently limited amount of respect and social acceptance for that person, which can be hurtful as well. Thus, the comparison between a low hierarchical position and a loss of a hierarchical position is definitely important, but it is not straightforward what can be expected from this. Perhaps power and

status loss will have inconsistent effects on affective, motivational, and behavioral outcomes.

Some scholars have suggested that it matters for status loss whether someone is falling from great or not so great heights (Marr & Thau, 2014). Falling from a high position has greater behavioral consequences than falling from a lower position, because the higher in the hierarchy someone is, the more he or she identifies with that position. Also research on power suggests that power dynamics are more consequential when a person is higher up in the hierarchy of an organization (Greer, Caruso, & Jehn, 2011; Greer & Van Kleef, 2010). However, others have not necessarily made this distinction in studying the dynamics of social hierarchies (e.g., Bendersky & Shah, 2012; Brion & Anderson, 2013; Sivanathan et al., 2008). Future research should examine what the minimal height is from which someone needs to fall in order to experience these losses as well as how deep someone needs to fall.

In the rationale for this study, we primarily explained why status loss is so much worse than power loss. However, this does not sufficiently answer why power losses affect someone so much less. Even though the loss of power can also be understood as a form of social rejection, people appear to be less sensitive to this. Although this may be very helpful in the short term, this might actually cause problems for the power loser and those around if he or she does not alter subsequent behaviors. For instance, a demoted team leader who keeps acting like the leader can cause significant issues for a team's functioning. Future research should examine more thoroughly what is different about the loss of power that it does not significantly affect a loser's affect, motivations, and behavior in the short run and how this affects longer term behaviors.

Finally, future research should examine countermeasures to the negative experiences of status loss. How can the negativity be mitigated? And how can an individual be made to feel like he or she is still worthy in the new position? For instance, when re-assigning someone to a new position, it may be extremely important that this new assignment is not perceived as a status loss, but rather as a power loss only.

Conclusion

Do people experience power loss differently from status loss or are these concepts too similar to meaningfully distinguish from each other? Across two studies, we demonstrated that status loss is similar to a process of social exclusion and rejection, while power loss is not. As a result, status loss thwarts people's need to belong and has important negative effects for people's moods, motivations, and behaviors. Thus, when incurring losses, they are best framed as a power loss.

Chapter 5

FOR FUTURE WORLD CONQUERORS

Hierarchical differentiation is an inevitable aspect of teams (Harrison & Klein, 2007; Hollenbeck, Beersma, & Schouten, 2012; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Social hierarchies can facilitate desirable behavior resulting in positive group outcomes (Halevy, Chou, & Galinsky, 2011), but they can also be a source of contention between group members resulting in negative group outcomes (Greer, Schouten, De Jong, & Dannals, 2014). Moreover, social hierarchies can be stable and self-reinforcing (Magee & Galinsky, 2008), but they can also be dynamic with members climbing up and falling down the hierarchical ladder (Aime, Humphrey, DeRue, & Paul, 2014; Bendersky & Shah, 2012, 2013). These scholars argue, instead, that social hierarchies change under pressure of changing task demands and re-evaluations of actor's performance that necessitate an adjustment of their position in the team's rank ordering. The collection of studies presented in this dissertation contributes to the growing body of research on the dynamics of social hierarchies by simultaneously examining the rise up the hierarchical ladder and the fall down.

Chapter 2 built a typology of hierarchy struggles based on qualitative interviews with members of two different political parties in the Netherlands. From these interviews I found that three – not two – types of hierarchy struggles are prevalent in the minds of people: power struggles, status struggles, and leadership struggles. Consistent with prior research, power struggles are conflicts and competitions between team members about the relative amount of control over resources each team member has. Status struggles are conflicts and competitions between team members about the relative amount of respect and admiration each team member receives. In contrast to prior research, my data show that this is not where

the story ends: Team members also engage in conflicts and competitions with each other for more influence in order to be able to better advance collective goals.

I then built on these interviews to develop scales that will enable the accurate measurement of each of the three different types of hierarchy struggles. Effective measurement of constructs is crucial for theory validation, falsification, and development. Extant scales of hierarchy struggles tended to conflate different aspects of hierarchy struggles as they, for instance, captured both status and influence, while intending to measure status struggles only (Bendersky & Hays, 2012). Moreover, these scales cover only a subset of the reasons why people engage in struggles over the hierarchy, i.e. power and status, as a full-fledged typology of hierarchy struggles did not exist. In this Chapter I also tested the three-factor structure of the proposed items and distinguished them from extant types of team conflict providing divergent validity. Thus, Chapter 2 provided a first comprehensive examination of the different types of hierarchy struggles that exist in teams.

In Chapter 3, I leveraged the tripartite nature of hierarchy struggles to develop a conceptual model to explain why, when, and how team members engage in one or the other hierarchy struggle. I argued that these struggles are characterized by different behaviors a hierarchy struggler engages in to strive for greater influence in the team. Examining interpersonal behaviors through the lens of social motivation led me to conclude that the different types of hierarchy struggles stem from different combinations of proself and prosocial motivation. I argued that power struggles are primarily driven by high proself motivation, while leadership struggles are primarily driven by high prosocial motivation, status struggles are driven by a combination of proself and prosocial motivation. Furthermore, I argued that the self-interested nature of power and status struggles make these struggles more proactive, while the exclusively prosocial nature of leadership struggles make these struggles more reactive. The social motivation underlying these struggles also affects the type of behaviors a hierarchy struggler engages in to strive for greater influence in the team. Moreover, I proposed how other team members may respond to the hierarchy struggler on the basis of their own social motivation. Thus, Chapter 3 advanced our knowledge of the microdynamics of hierarchy struggles in teams.

While Chapters 2 and 3 both focused on advancing one's position in the social hierarchy, Chapter 4 examined the other side of the dynamics of social hierarchies: What happens when one falls down the hierarchical ladder. This chapter focused exclusively on the two proself motivated bases on which social hierarchies form, power and status, as these are most established and most self-relevant for the actor in the social hierarchy. In this chapter I built and tested theory differentiating the effects of power and status loss. I argued that the loss of power is rather external to the individual, while the loss of status means a negative evaluation of the individual and, in effect, simulates a process of social exclusion. In two experiments, I indeed found support for this idea that status loss mimics a process of social exclusion, while power loss has much less of an impact on the loser. Status loss led to more negative affect, had greater impact on an individual's motivation, and was associated with greater flight behavior than power loss, all steps that are consistent with those a socially excluded individual encounters. Together, the studies in this dissertation advance our knowledge of how the dynamics of social hierarchies affect interpersonal relationships and group member behaviors.

While the present dissertation addresses important questions of social hierarchy research, many questions remain. First, social hierarchy research needs to clarify how different shapes of social hierarchy affect intrateam processes and interpersonal relationships. We have only begun to examine how the hierarchical structure of a team can be facilitating or debilitating. Second, social hierarchy research should further examine the aftermath of hierarchy struggles, both at the individual and the team level of analysis. In particular, this research should focus on how hierarchy struggles affect an individual beyond the workplace and how leadership struggles affect team-level outcomes. Third, the current literature assumes that perceptions of hierarchies align with the actual hierarchy of a team. However, people's perceptions often diverge from reality. Hierarchy research should address this misalignment and should examine how our perceptions of the social hierarchy affect our behaviors. For instance, how does the perception a hierarchical move affect our response to this behavior? And if an actual social hierarchy violates the societal norm of perceived equality, present in countries like the United States or the Netherlands, how do we create a myth of equality and how does this affect individual and team outcomes? Fourth, given the negative effects of social hierarchies and hierarchical ordering for both

interpersonal behaviors (e.g., hierarchy struggles and hierarchy loss) and team-level outcomes (e.g., reduced team performance), scholars should examine viable alternatives to hierarchical structuring of groups. One potential alternative that warrants more research is that of a heterarchy (Aime et al., 2014) in which power shifts from team member to team member over time, thereby leveraging the potential coordination benefits of hierarchies while avoiding the negative interpersonal dynamics.

The different shapes of social hierarchy

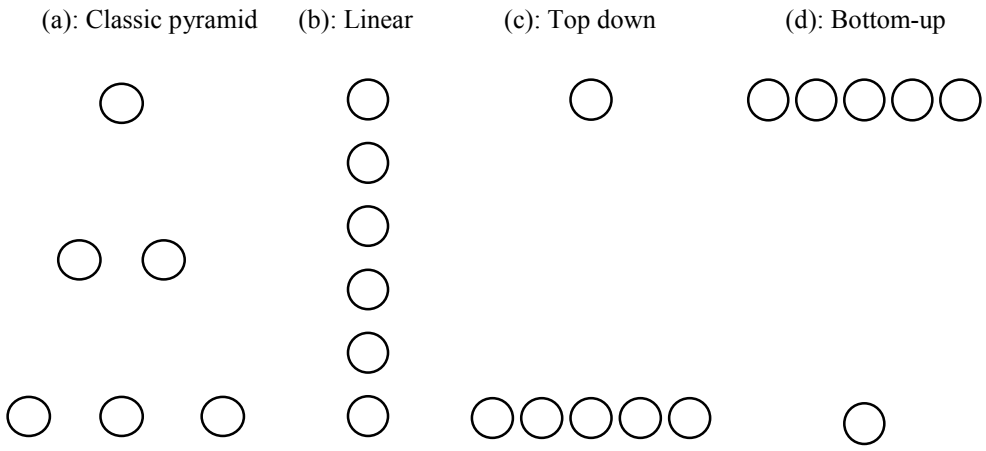
The rank order of a team may take on different shapes. Figure 1 demonstrates four possible ways a team of six members can be hierarchically differentiated. Figure 1a demonstrates the most 'classic' form of a hierarchical structure shaped as a pyramid, with one member at the top and progressively more members at each level of the hierarchy below. An example of such a hierarchy is a top management team with the CEO at the top, a CFO and COO at the next level down, and some divisional presidents at the lowest level. Figure 1b demonstrates a linear rank ordering with one member per level in the hierarchy. For instance, the rank ordering of athletes in a competition takes the shape of a linear rank ordering. Figure 1c shows a hierarchy with one member at the top of the hierarchy and all other members at the same level. This can be a hierarchical decision-making team, with one leader and all other members at the same level (Hollenbeck et al., 1995). Figure 1d shows a hierarchy where most members are at the top of the hierarchy and only one is at the lower end. An example of this is a management department with many full professors and only one or a handful of assistant professors. As is evident from Figure 1, the form of a social hierarchy can change depending on the distance between the different levels, the number of levels, and the number of people per level.

Scholars of social hierarchy have largely ignored this variation of shapes and focused on a situation whereby either one team member occupies the top position (e.g., a team leader) or whereby each member occupies a unique layer (e.g., pay differences in a sports team). However, the shape of the hierarchy can have different implications for the interpersonal processes and outcomes within a team. For instance, a small distance between two levels

can spur social comparison processes (e.g., Ridge, Aime, & White, 2014), whereas a large difference between two levels may stifle voicing of opinions (Tost, Gino, & Larrick, 2013). Moreover, the number of people per layer, the number of layers, and the distance between the different layers as well as between the top and the bottom can interact to shape interpersonal processes and team outcomes. A group in which each group member occupies a unique hierarchical layer will offer clarity of the rank ordering, but this will also spur hierarchy striving behavior as there is a clear zero-sum nature to the hierarchy. A team in which multiple members occupy the same hierarchical layer may stimulate subgroup formation along hierarchical lines, but may also lead to more cooperative behaviors as the hierarchy may be perceived as less zero-sum. These more nuanced differences between social hierarchies are poorly understood and offer potential for future research.

Moreover, it is still unclear when social hierarchy structure is facilitating versus debilitating for teams. Greer and colleagues (2014) offer important insights into what task and interpersonal factors contribute to the relationship between team hierarchy and team performance. They demonstrate an overall negative relationship between hierarchical differentiation and team performance, but also show that this relationship is mitigated when the team's coordination demands are high and attenuated when the team is susceptible to interpersonal rivalries. However, for most teams these mitigating and attenuating factors do not operate in isolation, but appear in teams at the same time. This pulls the team in opposite directions leaving scholars in the dark about how the different aspects of hierarchy can be balanced. On the one hand, social hierarchy offers structure to team members, which offers them clarity about whom to report to, as well as incentives to work hard (Halevy et al., 2011). Additionally, hierarchical relationships are more easily processed than egalitarian relationships (Tiedens & Fragale, 2003; Zitek & Tiedens, 2012). So group members may appreciate and value the level of predictability a social hierarchy offers. On the other hand, individuals may also value autonomy and a degree control over their own behaviors. A hierarchical structure may subsume this autonomy. This paradox between structure and autonomy operates as two opposing centripetal and centrifugal factors that pull the group members in different directions. It is therefore important to understand how structure and autonomy operate in concert to strike a balance of hierarchical differentiation.

Figure 6. Forms of a Social Hierarchy in a Six-person Group



The aftermath

In addition to better understanding how the different facets that make up a hierarchy interact to affect individual and team outcomes, comparatively little is known about the long-term effects of the dynamic side of social hierarchies. Chapters 2 and 3 in this dissertation offer insights into the types of hierarchy struggles people engage in and how these affect interpersonal behaviors. As such, this research focuses on work-relevant outcomes of hierarchy struggles. Yet, employees do not just have a role at work, but also engage in important roles in other domains. The large body of literature on work-family conflict (c.f. ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012) suggests that our experiences in one role affect our behaviors in other roles. Each of our roles takes up resources, which we cannot expend in other roles potentially hurting our own well-being and that of those around us. For instance, faking emotions at work is an activity that takes up a lot of our resources and this negatively affects our own well-being and that of our spouses (Schouten, Wagner, Spitzmuller, & Barnes, under review; Wagner, Barnes, & Scott, 2014). Despite the evidence that we take our work experiences home with us, the conflict literature, in general, and the hierarchy struggle literature specifically, implicitly assumes that conflict or competition remains within the realm of the team in which it occurs (de Wit, Greer, & Jehn, 2012). Thus,

expanding the consideration set of relevant outcomes could benefit our understanding of the concept of hierarchy struggles.

As an example, I suggest that hierarchy struggles impact employee home lives by keeping these employees up at night. Hierarchy struggles have the potential to be especially cognitively draining as they are zero-sum and are about the extent to which a team member can exercise control over and receive respect from others. Hierarchy struggles may cause extensive rumination, which increases the likelihood that they spillover in other domains as we cannot let them go. Ironically, it is possible that employees who are more engaged with their work or more identified with their team, both factors that generally contribute positively to employee outcomes (Rich, Lepine, & Crawford, 2010; Van Der Vegt & Bunderson, 2005), may be more hurt by hierarchy struggles. Thus, hierarchy struggle research could benefit from expanding its consideration of outcome variables considered.

Additionally, scholars interested in hierarchy struggles have focused on the antecedents and consequences of power and status struggles, but have as yet to examine the team-level implications of leadership struggles. As argued in this dissertation, power and status struggles have their basis in self-interested motivations, while leadership struggles are focused on benefitting the collective. This raises questions both of the team-level antecedents and consequences of these leadership struggles. While this dissertation, and in particular Chapter 3, offers some initial conceptual ideas for these, empirical examination of these factors is warranted.

Mythical perceptions of reality

To this point, I have assumed that the perceptions of a social hierarchy are in line with the actual hierarchy in a team. However, this does not have to be the case. For instance, hierarchy struggle moves and striving behaviors may be ambiguous. In order to interpret these behaviors and the motivations behind them we make attributions about the behaviors and the strivers. The attributions we make about other people's motivations are strongly dependent on our own motivations in similar situations, a psychological process known as social projection. We are especially likely to engage in social projection when the others are

part of the in-group (Monin & Norton, 2003; Robbins & Krueger, 2005), such as a work team with which one strongly identifies. Social projection can lead to a false interpretation of other people's motivations. As hierarchy struggles may be construed as zero-sum, social projection will likely have negative consequences: when someone is motivated to struggle for status, social projection will lead him or her to perceive others as also engaging in status struggle behaviors independent of their actual reasons to engage in a hierarchy struggle. When only one member can be at the top of the rank ordering, these behaviors can be a threat to the self, resulting in more negative behaviors. Both individual and structural aspects can mitigate the likelihood that social projection occurs. For instance, an individual's need for cognition (Cacioppo, Petty, Feinstein, & Jarvis, 1996) may mitigate an individual's tendency to project. Individuals high in need for cognition tend to engage in more careful consideration of the behavioral evidence available rather than relying on heuristics, such as the social projection bias. Social categorization of members into outgroups also mitigates social projection (Clement & Krueger, 2002). Finally, knowledge about the other's social motivations may color the focal person's perceptions of the other's striving behaviors and change the response he or she has to these behaviors. Conversely, knowledge of the other's social motivation may also change the focal person's striving behaviors as it may lead them to assumptions about the other's responses to striving behaviors. Thus, perceptions and attributions of motivations to engage in a hierarchy struggle may change both a person's interpretations of the other's striving behaviors as well as one's own striving behaviors. In this dissertation, I have begun to conceptualize how this affects team member's responses to a hierarchy struggler, however, this should be substantiated by empirical tests.

A divergence between the perceived and the actual hierarchy may also occur due to societal norms. In many Western countries a shared belief exists that everyone is, or at least should be, equal. However, if hierarchical differentiation is an inevitable aspect of team life, then true equality cannot exist. This may give rise to a myth of equality in which team members hold the subjective belief that everyone in the team is similar to one another in the rank order they occupy in the team. In this case, myth refers to a misrepresentation of the truth. These myths appear pervasive in research on self-managing teams and shared leadership, which demonstrates that the more members perceive equality between each other, the better the team performs (Wang, Waldman, & Zhang, 2014). As organizations

move towards flatter hierarchical structures, these myths become increasingly prevalent. It is therefore important to understand what gives rise to these myths and their consequences.

Alternatives to social hierarchies

When composing teams, organizations often form these with members with unique skills and knowledge (i.e. high skill differentiation, Hollenbeck et al., 2012), who can each weigh in to make better decisions. However, one of the biggest challenges teams face is to effectively incorporate all the members' inputs and leverage these so that teams can reach their potential (Kerr & Tindale, 2004). As has been proposed by some scholars, one way to manage these coordination issues in teams is to form a social hierarchy, because they clarify who has authority over which decisions, and thus who defers to whom. As such, they reduce psychological uncertainties about the interpersonal relationships among team members (Halevy et al., 2011). Because social hierarchies provide clarity about interpersonal relationships making these relationships more predictable and easier to process, people tend to prefer them over more egalitarian structures (Zitek & Tiedens, 2012).

However, the effectiveness of this means of organizing people is under increasing scrutiny. Hierarchically organized teams do have the potential to facilitate coordination, but they can also increase conflicts and reduce such states and processes as psychological safety and learning, and thereby simply hurt team performance. These effects are especially likely to emerge when teams are highly skill differentiated, because team members do not understand why one skill should be more highly valued than another. This increases the conflict potential of a team and reduces communication between members to stimulate information elaboration and learning (Bunderson & Reagans, 2011; Greer et al., 2014; Hollenbeck et al., 2012; Tost et al., 2013).

An alternative way for highly skill differentiated teams to organize themselves is to form a heterarchy rather than a hierarchy. In a heterarchy, team members shift control over subsections of the tasks to those members who have greatest knowledge or skill (Aime et al., 2014). A heterarchy allows teams to maintain the coordination benefits of social hierarchies, without incurring some of the costs. As in a hierarchy, in a heterarchically

structured team, team members have clarity about who defers to whom for subsets of the task. However, contrary to the issues in highly skill differentiated hierarchically structured teams, in a heterarchy, each member will be valued *over time*, namely for the piece of the team task that is most relevant to that member's knowledge, skills, and abilities. This potentially reduces conflicts and feelings of under appreciation that may arise in a hierarchically structured team.

However, it is at present unclear when and why heterarchical team structures exist and persist. Contradicting the literature on social hierarchy, which suggests that hierarchical structures are inevitable, it will be interesting to understand the alternatives to a stable social hierarchy, especially for organizationally relevant teams that are highly skill differentiated. Potentially, cross-functional teams start their team development as a heterarchy, but given certain characteristics of its members, a hierarchical team structure is likely to emerge. Focusing on the microdynamics in teams (Humphrey & Aime, 2014), it would be interesting to build and test a theory that outlines why heterarchical team structures are the fundamental starting point in a functionally diverse team's development and how this structure can be sustained as well as why it often is not. This has the potential to offer an alternative organizing structure to a hierarchy leveraging the coordination benefits while reducing the pitfalls such as increased conflict.

Concluding comments

Despite decades of research on social hierarchy starting as early as the 1930s, we know comparatively little about how social hierarchies shape interpersonal relationships. Together, the studies in this dissertation contribute to our understanding of the dynamics of social hierarchies in important ways. First, by shedding light on why team members compete over hierarchical positions and how this might affect their subsequent interpersonal behavior, it provides important insights for research and theory development on the conflict-based perspective of social hierarchy. Second, by offering fully developed and validated hierarchy struggle scales, it enables scholars to further develop and test theories on the conflict-based perspective of social hierarchy. Third, by examining the differences between

losing power and status, this dissertation contributes to a better understanding of both the unique nature of power and status as well as the downstream consequences of dynamics in social hierarchies. To fully understand how social hierarchy affects interpersonal relationships and dynamics much research is still needed. In this chapter, I offer several potential avenues for research in this area. Hopefully this dissertation sheds a glimmer of light on the role social hierarchy plays in shaping interpersonal relationships and team dynamics.

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SUMMARY

Scholars have assumed that social hierarchies, the rank ordering of individuals with respect to a valued social dimension within a team, are stable over time. However, hierarchies change and the more changeable they are, the more likely they are to lead to conflicts and have other negative interpersonal consequences. In this dissertation, I examine both the ups and the downs of hierarchy.

Focusing on how and why people go up the hierarchy, I conducted a qualitative study of Dutch politicians to explore what drives them to engage in hierarchy struggles, or competitions for more influence within their teams. Contrary to previous research, which has focused on two forms of hierarchy struggles, my results suggest that three distinct forms of hierarchy struggles exist – power, status, and leadership struggles. Power struggles are about increasing control over valued resources, while status struggles are about increasing one's respect and admiration in the eyes of others. Leadership struggles are about increasing one's influence to better advance collective goals. In subsequent studies I develop scales to measure these constructs and to replicate the tri-partite structure of hierarchy struggles distinguishing them from other types of conflict. I then leverage these studies to build a conceptual model focused on how, why, and when team members engage in a hierarchy struggle with other team members to climb the hierarchy and how other team members likely respond to these.

Finally, in examining the downs of hierarchy, I focus on the different nature of losing power versus losing status. I argue and demonstrate that losing status is more painful and has greater intra- and interpersonal consequences than losing power. Together, the studies and model presented in this dissertation offer an in-depth exploration of the changeable nature of hierarchy and suggest that the changing nature of social hierarchies can be a source of contention and has significant implications for within-team dynamics.

SAMENVATTING

Sociale hiërarchieën zijn rang ordes van mensen op basis van hun bezit of controle over een bron waaraan waarde wordt gehecht door anderen. Academici hebben aangenomen dat hiërarchieën in teams stabiel zijn. Echter, hiërarchieën veranderen en hoe veranderlijker ze zijn, des te waarschijnlijker is het dat ze leiden tot conflicten en negatieve interpersoonlijke consequenties hebben. In dit proefschrift onderzoek ik de oorzaken en gevolgen van het stijgen en het dalen binnen hiërarchieën in teams.

Om de vragen hoe en waarom mensen in de hiërarchie stijgen te beantwoorden, heb ik kwalitatief onderzoek gedaan onder Nederlandse politici om te ontdekken wat hen drijft om de strijd voor meer invloed, oftewel hiërarchiestrijd, met anderen in hun team aan te gaan. In tegenstelling tot eerder onderzoek wat zich heeft gericht op twee vormen van hiërarchiestrijd suggereren mijn resultaten dat drie afzonderlijke vormen van hiërarchiestrijd bestaan: machts-, status-, en leiderschapsstrijd. Machtsstrijd gaat over het vergroten van controle over bronnen of faciliteiten, terwijl statusstrijd gaat over het vergroten van iemand's respect en bewondering in de ogen van anderen. Leiderschapsstrijd gaat over het vergroten van iemand's invloed om beter de doelen van het collectief te kunnen dienen. In daaropvolgende studies heb ik schalen ontwikkeld om deze constructen te meten, waarbij ik de driedelige structuur van hiërarchiestrijd heb weten te repliceren en onderscheid heb aangebracht met andere typen van conflict. Vervolgens gebruik ik deze onderzoeken om een conceptueel model te ontwikkelen dat is gericht op het beantwoorden van de vragen hoe, waarom, en wanneer teamleden de hiërarchiestrijd aan gaan met anderen in hun team, en hoe andere teamleden reageren op deze strijd.

Tenslotte onderzoek ik dalingen in de hiërarchie. Hierbij richt ik mij op het verschil in het verlies van macht en het verlies van status. Ik beargumenteer en demonstreer dat het verlies van status, ten opzichte van het verlies van macht, meer pijn doet en dat dit grotere gevolgen heeft voor de verliezer zelf en voor zijn of haar gedrag naar anderen. Samen vormen de studies in dit proefschrift een diepgravend onderzoek naar de veranderende natuur van hiërarchieën en suggereren ze dat de veranderlijke natuur van hiërarchieën een bron van spanning kan zijn met belangrijke gevolgen voor de dynamieken in teams.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Maartje Schouten obtained her Bachelor's degree in Natural and Social Sciences and Research Master's degree in Psychology (both cum laude) from the University of Amsterdam. In 2010, Maartje started her PhD project at the Erasmus Research Institute of Management, Erasmus University Rotterdam. She is currently a visiting professor with the department of Management at the Broad College of Business, Michigan State University.

In her dissertation, she brings together topics from organizational behavior and social psychology to investigate the antecedents, contingencies, and outcomes of dynamics in social hierarchies within teams. Specifically, she focuses on how and why people are driven to obtain greater influence and how losing their position affects their affect, motivation, and behavior.

Maartje presented her research at several international conferences including Academy of Management, Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, and INGroup. Her work has been published in the Academy of Management Review and is currently under review at various management and psychology journals.

PORTFOLIO

Refereed Publications

Hollenbeck, J. R., Beersma, B., & Schouten, M. E. 2012. Beyond Team Types and Taxonomies: A Dimensional Scaling Conceptualization for Team Description. ***Academy of Management Review****,* 37: 82-106.

Schouten, M. E., & Felps, W. 2011. Rather a Hedgehog or a Fox? A Knowledge Density Perspective on Specialists and Generalists. ***Academy of Management Best Paper Proceedings.***

Contributions to Books

Barnes, C. M., Schouten, M. E., & van de Veen, E. (2016). Management educators are asleep at the wheel: Integrating the topic of sleep into management education. In. J. Barlking, C. M. Barnes, E. Carleton, & D. T. Wagner (Eds.) ***Work and Sleep***. Oxford University Press: London.

Papers Under Review

Greer, L. L., de Jong, B. A., Schouten, M. E., & Dannals, J. Hierarchy and group performance: A contingency model and meta-analytic examination.

Schouten, M. E., Bechtoldt, M. N., & Beersma, B. The dark side of perspective taking in teams.

Sleesman, D. J., Hollenbeck, J. R., Spitzmuller, M., & Schouten, M. E. Initial Expectations of Team Performance: Specious Speculation or Framing the Future?

Grants, Honors, and Awards

Outstanding Reviewer, Academy of Management Organizational Behavior Division, 2014.

Selected Participant, Social Hierarchy Summer School, hosted by IDC Herzliya and Dr. Adam Galinsky, 2014.

John Flanagan Award for Outstanding Student Poster, Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology Conference, 2013. Finalist.

Top 10 Outstanding PhD Candidates, Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2013.

Organizational Behavior Doctoral Consortium, Academy of Management, 2013.

INGroup Doctoral Consortium and Travel Grant, Annual Meeting of the Interdisciplinary Network for Group Research, 2013.

Travel Grant, Erasmus Trustfonds, Erasmus University, supported my visit with Christina E. Shalley, Georgia Institute of Technology, 2013.

Travel Grant University of Amsterdam, for visit with John R. Hollenbeck, MSU, 2010.

Conference Presentations

Schouten, M. E. 2016. Hierarchy struggles: A multistudy examination of its types. *Academy of Management Meeting*, Anaheim, CA.

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Schouten, M. E., van Knippenberg, D., & Greer, L.L. 2016. The upward climb: A theory of differential motivations and behaviors associated with hierarchy struggles. *International Association for Conflict Management,* New York, NY.

Schouten, M. E., van Bunderen, L., & Shemla, M. 2016. Is it worse to lose power or status? A social exclusion account of hierarchical loss. *International Association for Conflict Management,* New York, NY.

Schouten, M. E., & Bechtoldt, M. N. 2015. The dark side of perspective taking in teams. In symposium: Individual perspectives and emergent team information processes. *Academy of Management Meeting,* Vancouver, BC.

Schouten, M. E., Shalley, C. E., & van Knippenberg, D. 2014. The role of supervisor support in creative networks. *Academy of Management Meeting,* Philadelphia, PA.

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Greer, L. L., Schouten, M. E., de Jong, B. A., & Dannals, J. 2014. A meta-analysis on the effects of hierarchy on team performance. *International Association for Conflict Management,* Leiden, The Netherlands.

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Schouten, M. E., Greer, L. L., & van Knippenberg, D. 2013. A multi-method investigation of the types and consequences of hierarchical conflicts in teams. In symposium: Intragroup conflict: Unique perspectives and new questions. *Academy of Management Meeting*, Orlando, FL.

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Schouten, M. E., Greer, L. L., van Knippenberg, D., & Van Kleef, G. A. 2013. Attributions of social rank: How are hierarchical moves perceived? *INGroup,* Atlanta, GA.

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Sleesman, D. J., Hollenbeck, J. R., Spitzmuller, M., & Schouten, M. E. 2011. Team risk-taking: The effects of social influence and interdependence between leaders and followers. In symposium Team interdependence: Looking back and moving forward. *Academy of Management Meeting*, San Antonio, TX.

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DISSERTATIONS LAST FIVE YEARS

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THE UPS AND DOWNS OF HIERARCHY

THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF HIERARCHY STRUGGLES AND POSITIONAL LOSS

A long-standing assumption among scholars is that social hierarchies, the rank ordering of team members on a valued social dimension, are stable over time. However, hierarchies change and the more changeable they are, the more likely they are to lead to conflicts and have other negative consequences. In this dissertation, I focus on the dynamics of social hierarchies examining both the ups and the downs of hierarchy.

To examine why team members climb the hierarchy, I conducted qualitative research to understand what drives people to engage in hierarchy struggles, or competitions for more influence within their teams. My research suggest that three hierarchy struggle types exist: power, status, and leadership struggles. Power struggles are about increasing control over valued resources, while status struggles are about increasing one's respect and admiration in the eyes of others. Leadership struggles are about increasing one's influence to better advance collective goals. I then develop scales to measure these constructs. Following-up on this, I leverage these studies to build a conceptual model focused on how, why, and when team members engage in hierarchy struggles and how other team members likely respond to these.

To examine the downs of hierarchy, I focus on the differential nature of losing power versus losing status. I argue and demonstrate that losing status is more painful than losing power. Together, the studies presented in this dissertation offer an in-depth exploration of the changeable nature of hierarchy and suggest that the dynamic nature of social hierarchies significantly impacts within-team dynamics.

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