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Justice or compassion? Cultural differences in power norms affect consumer satisfaction with power-holders

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to investigate cultural variations in the qualities that White Americans and Hispanic Americans believe power-holders should embody, and the situations in which these norms influence consumer satisfaction.

Design/methodology/approach – Two experimental studies ($n1 = 130$ and $n2 = 121$) and one field study ($n = 241$) were conducted with White American and Hispanic participants. Results were analysed using ANOVA and regression.

Findings – White Americans are predisposed to apply to power-holders injunctive norms of treating others justly and equitably, whereas Hispanics are predisposed to apply injunctive norms of treating others compassionately. These cultural variations in the use of injunctive norms were more evident in business or service contexts in which power was made salient, and emerged in the norms more likely to be endorsed by White American and Hispanic participants (Study 1), their approval of hypothetical negotiators who treated suppliers equitably or compassionately (Study 2), and their evaluations of powerful service providers in a real-life, on-going and consequential interaction (Study 3).

Research limitations/implications – This research suggests key implications for our theoretical understanding of the role of social norms in carrying cultural patterns, as well as for cross-cultural theories of consumer satisfaction with service providers.

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Practical implications – Marketers should pay attention to signals of fairness (compassion) in their services, as perceptions of fairness (compassion) by White American (Hispanic) consumers can boost satisfaction ratings. This is particularly important in service encounters that might be characterized by power differentials, such as those in health care and financial services.

Originality/value – As consumer markets grow more culturally diverse, it is important for marketers to understand how distinct notions of power impact the attitudes and behaviors of consumers from different cultures. This research investigates the implications of distinct power concepts for multi-cultural consumers' evaluations of service providers, an important and under-researched area with implications for global service management.

1. Introduction

Power is a fundamental aspect of everyday social life (Cartwright, 1959). The effects of power on human behavior have been widely documented in the sociology, psychology, and organizational behavior literature (Fiske, 1993; Magee and Galinsky, 2008; Blau, 1964). Interestingly, although notions of power are common in brand advertisements (as in Volkswagen's slogan "That's the power of German engineering") and can easily arise in consumers' everyday activities (e.g. an executive reminded of his powerful status when shopping or a patient waiting for a diagnosis from her doctor), only recently has the concept of power made it into the consumer research literature. In their recent review, Rucker *et al.* (2012) highlight the effects of having and lacking power, respectively, in fostering agentic and communal orientations. These orientations have downstream consequences for perception, cognition, and behavior. Absent from this review is the moderating role of culture on these well-documented power effects, as there is limited research on this issue. Yet, recent research suggests that within and across cultures, people vary widely in how power is conceptualized (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010, 2011). As consumer markets grow more culturally diverse and globalization fosters the penetration of culturally diverse markets, it is important for marketers to understand how distinct notions of power impact the attitudes and behaviors of consumers from different cultures (Luna and Gupta, 2001; Yaprak, 2008). Building upon recent work at the interface of power and culture, and integrating this with past findings about the central role of social norms in shaping human behavior, the present research addresses cultural patterning in the injunctive norms applied to power-holders. We investigate the consequences of this cultural patterning of power norms for consumers' evaluations of service providers, an important and under-researched area with implications for global service management (Alden *et al.*, 2010; Javalgi and White, 2002).

Our studies explore cultural variations in what people approve of as appropriate behavior for powerful people, and the situations in which these norms are applied to evaluate power-holders in business and service contexts. Specifically, we investigate the differences in injunctive norms that White Americans (i.e. people of the USA who identify their race as white, United States Census Bureau, 2014), and Hispanic Americans (people of the USA who identify their origin, heritage, and ancestry as Hispanic, United States Census Bureau, 2014) apply in supplier and services contexts, as well as the role of power salience in making these norms accessible to guide consumers' evaluations. Although very little research has addressed how ethnic cultural factors impact power-relevant processes in the marketplace, recent evidence suggests that White Americans conceptualize power in personalized terms and expect that power-holders will use their power for their own personal gain (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010; Torelli, 2007). In North American contexts, power-holders who do not succumb to

their selfish tendencies and who exercise power with a sense of justice and equity are judged as virtuous and worthy of respect (Folger, 1987; Blader and Chen, 2012). However, in addition, evidence indicates that Hispanics conceptualize power in socialized terms and expect not only that power-holders will act justly but that they will also exhibit empathy and use their power for helping others (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010; Torelli, 2007; Torelli *et al.*, 2014). In Latin American contexts, power-holders who show empathy and care for those in a low power position are often judged as virtuous and worthy of respect (Auyero, 2001; Taylor, 2004).

Three studies document cultural differences in the injunctive norms applied to power-holders engaged in market exchanges, and demonstrate that this cultural patterning is driven by distinct conceptualizations of power. Consistent with emerging evidence that adherence to cultural norms is often situationally dependent (Fu *et al.*, 2007; Savani *et al.*, 2012), and attesting to the linkage of these norms to power concepts, the studies further show that consumers' tendency to endorse or apply culturally distinct norms for power emerges primarily when power is made salient. The studies demonstrate that, when power is salient, White Americans are more likely to believe that the exercise of power should emphasize justice and equity rather than compassion. Therefore, White Americans may approve more of just and equitable (vs compassionate) treatment in supplier and services contexts. In contrast, for Hispanics, compassion will be weighed more heavily when power is salient than when it is not. This has direct implications for how consumers of different cultural backgrounds evaluate service providers.

2. Theory development

2.1 Interpersonal power and culture

Interpersonal power is often defined as "an individual's relative capacity to modify others' states by providing or withholding resources or administering punishments" (Keltner *et al.*, 2003, p. 265). The unrestricted ability of power-holders to act without social interference often results in a self-centered conceptualization of power as a means for promoting one's own ideas and goals (Galinsky *et al.*, 1998, 2003; Rucker *et al.*, 2012). This self-centered view of power is consistent with extensive evidence that powerful people exhibit agentic orientations, are insensitive to the needs and characteristics of others, focus inward on their personal agendas, and behave selfishly in the pursuit of their personal goals (Kipnis, 1976; Gruenfeld *et al.*, 2008; Galinsky *et al.*, 2006; Rucker *et al.*, 2012).

However, research has also suggested that power-holders can behave in a more benevolent way, showing concern about others' interests (e.g. Chen *et al.*, 2001; Howard *et al.*, 2007; Overbeck and Park, 2001). Attention has recently focussed on the cultural patterning of the meanings and goals associated with power (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010, 2011). Power is instrumental for achieving culturally nurtured goals (Russell, 1938), and because those goals vary by culture, views of power as a tool for achieving them differ as well.

Specifically, cultures appear to differ in the degree to which they nurture personalized vs socialized power concepts (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010). This distinction was originally introduced by McClelland and colleagues (McClelland, 1973; McClelland *et al.*, 1972; McClelland and Wilsnack, 1972) to distinguish people with a power motive to engage in forceful actions, influence attempts, and behaviors aimed at impressing and signaling power and status to others, from those with a power motive to pursue prosocial goals for the benefit of some other person or cause (Winter, 1973, 1993; McClelland, 1987). White Americans seem more likely to conceptualize power as something to be used for advancing one's personal agenda, obtaining praise and

admiration from others, and hence maintaining and promoting one's powerful status in the eyes of others. For instance, they describe more vividly than others do episodic stories in which they impressed others (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010, Study 2), revealing the greater relevance of these stories to ongoing goal pursuit (e.g. Woike, 1995). There are also implications for the value-expressive nature of brands (Shavitt, 1992): White Americans prefer brands that embody personalized power values of self-enhancement, high-status, and superiority (e.g. a luxury watch described as "an exceptional piece of adornment that conveys your status and signifies your exquisite taste," Torelli *et al.*, 2012). In contrast, Hispanics and Latin Americans are guided by socio-emotional schemas (Sanchez-Burks *et al.*, 2000), the pursuit of collectivistic goals (Triandis *et al.*, 1990), and the cultural script of simpatía (i.e. the ability to share in other's feelings, Triandis *et al.*, 1984). Hispanics emphasize interpersonal helping and the externalization of positive feelings (Triandis *et al.*, 1984), feel more comfortable interacting with powerful individuals who display relational attunement (e.g. mirroring others' behaviors) in a social interaction (Sanchez-Burks and Lee, 2007; Sanchez-Burks *et al.*, 2006), and appear more likely to view power as something to be used for helping and benefitting others (i.e. a socialized power concept). Accordingly, they describe more vividly than others do episodic stories in which they helped others, and prefer brands that embody prosocial values of social justice, environmental protection, equality, and unity with nature (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010; Torelli *et al.*, 2012). These findings highlight the cultural patterning of power concepts, goals, and values. However, little is known about the role of social norms in carrying and reinforcing such cultural patterns, and calls have been issued for greater attention to normative processes in evaluation and judgment (Riemer *et al.*, 2014). It stands to reason that norms and expectations about appropriate behavior should be instrumental in driving consumer responses to power-holders (Shavitt *et al.*, 2009). How does culture affect the injunctive norms that consumers apply to power-holders, and how does this impact the way they evaluate treatment in supplier and services contexts? We address this issue in the current research.

2.2 Injunctive norms applied to power-holders

Social norms are a central concept in the study of human social behavior (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975; Berkowitz, 1972), the study of cultures (Triandis, 1995, 1996; Riemer *et al.*, 2014), and the modeling of consumer satisfaction (Cadotte *et al.*, 1987). The term injunctive norm refers to beliefs about what commonly earns approval or disapproval by people in a group (Cialdini *et al.*, 1990). The cultural patterning of power concepts uncovered in past research suggests cultural differences in injunctive norms linked to power. White Americans who hold a personalized view of power would be expected to exercise power for personal gain. For these individuals, the norm for exercising power should be the agency orientation commonly associated with power-holders (Rucker *et al.*, 2012). This is consistent with the observation that, in North American culture, individuals controlling economic and political power have often been described as self-centered and focussed on their personal interests and status (Kipnis, 1976; Sorokin and Lundin, 1959). However, because self-centered power-holders have the potential to negatively impact those around them by maximizing their personal gain at the expense of others, it stands to reason that societies that foster a personalized view of power should fear the consequences of excessive power that goes unchecked and should foster norms of exercising power with justice and equity. This is evident in the Federalist papers written by James Madison, which states that fears of the consequences of excessive power are rooted in the assumption that all men are

"ambitious" and "rapacious" – and hence their access to power has to be limited. The principle of checks and balances in the American Constitution aims at assuring that power is exercised justly by each branch of government. Indeed, North American sociologists often identify justice in the use of power as a virtue of those power-holders worthy of respect (Folger, 1987), and as a norm for guiding higher ranked parties' actions toward others (Blau, 1964). Thus, mainstream White Americans, because they are seen as more strongly embodying North American culture (Devos and Banaji, 2005), may be especially likely to apply injunctive norms of justice and equity when judging the interactions of power-holders with others, including in supply chain and services contexts.

A different injunctive norm for exercising power is expected among Hispanics. This group tends to hold a socialized view of power for the benefit of others (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010) and emphasizes concerns with socio-emotional elements of their interactions with others (Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000; Triandis et al., 1984). It stands to reason that, among Hispanics, injunctive norms for exercising power should incorporate socio-emotional concerns with the well-being of others. These socio-emotional concerns rooted in care-giving motives foster the emergence of compassion, or the motivational framework that leads to helping behaviors that generate and express warmth (Gilbert, 2005; Bierhoff, 2005). Therefore, we propose that for Hispanics the injunctive norm for exercising power, and thus for judging suppliers and service providers with power, should include notions of compassion. That is, wanting to help others, generating warmth, and providing emotional reassurance. This is consistent with the observation that in Latin America political leaders (or "caudillos") are frequently idealized as benefactors whose primary goal is to protect helpless individuals (Auyero, 2001; Taylor, 2004). In Latin cultures, simpatía is a necessary pre-requisite of successful leadership (Dechert, 1961).

2.3 Power and the salience of norms
An important characteristic of social norms is that, although they serve an important role in guiding judgments and behaviors within a society, they are more likely to do so when they are made salient by environmental stimuli (Cialdini et al., 1990). Accordingly, cultural differences in the application of injunctive norms are more likely to emerge in situations that render these norms salient (Fu et al., 2007; Savani et al., 2012). For instance, although everyone may value justice or compassion as a quality in principle, we propose that White Americans are predisposed to apply injunctive norms of justice to judge power-holders, whereas Hispanics are predisposed to apply injunctive norms of compassion. We further suggest that these injunctive norms are linked to people's mental representations of power as nurtured by their cultures. If this is the case, then cues that prime power should increase the salience of the culturally associated injunctive norms and thereby increase the focus on these normative considerations for judging a powerful service provider. Thus, when power is salient (vs not salient) White Americans should rely more on notions of justice or equity for evaluating powerful service providers, whereas Hispanics should focus more on notions of compassion in the same context.

It is important to note that we are not arguing that culture predicts the sole use of justice vs compassion norms to evaluate the actions of powerful others. People from every culture care deeply about both justice and compassion. The universality of justice and being fair with others has long been acknowledged both by contemporary philosophers (e.g. Rawls, 1971) and political scientists (Donnelly, 2007). Likewise, compassion and concerns for others are universal values that emerge across all cultures (Schwartz, 1992). However, people rely more on compassion (or justice) for their judgments and decisions when these concepts are made salient, even when they

are in conflict (i.e. when being compassionate implies being unfair, Batson *et al.*, 1995). The crux of our argument is that because the link between power and injunctive norms of compassion/justice is culturally patterned, power salience activates the culturally associated norm for judging others. This in turn makes it more likely to be used by consumers evaluating powerful service providers.

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3. Hypotheses

We propose that cultural differences in the injunctive norms applied to powerful actors in consumer settings arise because, overall, White Americans and Hispanics differ in their conceptualizations of power. Moreover, because White Americans conceptualize power in personalized terms (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010), when power is primed (vs not primed) they are more likely to approve of service providers who treat others justly and distribute resources equitably. In contrast, because Hispanics conceptualize power in socialized terms, when power is primed (vs not primed) they are more likely to approve of service providers who treat others with compassion.

The present studies address three specific predictions. First, we study cultural patterns in the injunctive norms that White Americans or Hispanics apply to powerful targets when asked directly to report their power expectations (Study 1):

H1a. White Americans are more likely to endorse injunctive norms of justice than norms of compassion.

H1b. Hispanic Americans are more likely to endorse injunctive norms of compassion than norms of justice.

Next, we examine cultural differences in how consumers evaluate powerful members in a supply chain who behave justly or compassionately, and examine the link between power and injunctive norms of compassion/justice by examining whether these cultural differences depend on the salience of power (Study 2). We expect power salience to make more accessible the associated injunctive norm to be used for judging others:

H2a. When power is made salient (vs not), White Americans will approve more of power-holders who behave justly and equitably.

H2b. When power is made salient (vs not), Hispanic Americans will approve more of power-holders who behave compassionately.

Finally, we investigate cultural differences in the extent to which making power salient causes people to place a greater weight on perceptions of justice or of compassion when rating their satisfaction with power-holders with whom they have a real-life, on-going and consequential service interaction – a context that has been neglected in past power research. As is the case for other interactions, satisfaction with one's service interaction with a power-holder should be based on the extent to which the power-holder meets or exceeds one's expectations (Churchill and Surprenant, 1982). Because expectations of power-holders are culturally patterned, we predict that:

H3a. When power is made salient, White Americans will rate their satisfaction with powerful service providers more favorably the more the service providers are perceived to treat them justly and equitably.

H3b. When power is made salient, Hispanics will rate their satisfaction with powerful service providers more favorably the more the service providers are perceived to treat them compassionately.

4. Methodology and results

4.1 Overview

In three studies, we investigate cultural patterns in the injunctive norms applied to power-holders, as driven by distinct power conceptualizations. Study 1 demonstrates that White Americans believe that power-holders should embody more justice than compassion whereas the reverse is true for Hispanics. In Study 2, we investigate the role of power cues in the cultural patterning of responses to powerful negotiators in a supply chain. This study shows that power cues cause White Americans (Hispanics) to evaluate more positively a powerful negotiator that behaves justly and equitably (behaves compassionately) toward powerless suppliers. Finally, Study 3 shows that in a real-life, on-going and consequential interaction with a powerful service provider (a physician), power cues cause White American (Hispanic) participants to express a higher level of satisfaction with providers to the extent that they perceive that these providers have treated them justly and equitably (vs compassionately) (Study 3). Throughout the studies, we surveyed Hispanics in Spanish in order to activate their culturally relevant views and norms. Past research suggests that language can function as a cue to activate cultural views (Chiu and Chen, 2004). For instance, Ross *et al.* (2002) demonstrated that Chinese bilingual participants reported greater agreement with Chinese cultural views when answering questionnaires in Chinese than in English. Similar effects have been reported among Hispanic participants, shown to activate views and norms of their culture more easily when processing information in Spanish than in English (Luna *et al.*, 2008, 2010).

4.2 Study 1: cultural differences in the traits that power-holders should embody

To test *H1* – the basic contention that White Americans and Hispanics differ in the injunctive norms applied to power-holders – we investigated the extent to which cultural group membership predicts beliefs that power-holders should exhibit justice vs compassion.

4.2.1 Sample and procedures. In total, 71 White Americans and 59 Hispanic participants residing in the USA took part in the study. The participants were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (Mturk) (mean age = 31.5 years, 58.9 percent male; for Hispanics: 71 percent foreign-born, mean number of years in the USA = 16.1) and were paid $2. We collected data using Mturk based on recent evidence suggesting that such data are as reliable as data collected from more traditional samples (Buhrmester *et al.*, 2011). White American participants completed the study in English, whereas Hispanic participants did so in Spanish (we used standard back-translation procedures, Brislin, 1970). Participants were asked to think about power-holders or persons with power (i.e. people who have the ability to influence others or control others' outcomes, such as CEOs, business owners, doctors, elected public officials, etc.), and to indicate on six-point scales (1 = not at all, 6 = very much) the extent to which they believed that power-holders should embody five personal characteristics that represent justice or equity (equitable, fair, thorough, unbiased, and just; $\alpha = 0.77$, items borrowed from Colquitt, 2001; Curhan *et al.*, 2006), and five personal characteristics that represent compassion (openhearted, good natured, compassionate, sympathetic, and interpersonally warm; $\alpha = 0.87$, adapted from Batson *et al.*, 1995; Gilbert, 2005, see pretest below). After that, they were presented with four pairs of characteristics designed to pit justice against compassion (sympathetic vs fair, thorough vs good-natured, interpersonally warm vs equitable, and compassionate vs just), and asked to

choose the one from each pair that they believe "it is a must" for power-holders to have. Finally, participants answered demographic questions and an open-ended question tapping suspicion with the study.

4.2.2 Scale validation. We conducted a separate pretest with seventy-four participants similar to those in the main study ($N_{White\ Americans} = 39$ and $N_{Hispanics} = 35$). They were presented, in a random order, with the ten items used in the main study to represent justice or compassion, and rated each item on the extent to which it represents notions of justice and equity vs notions of compassion and interpersonal warmth (1 = definitely notions of justice and equity, 7 = definitely notions of compassion and interpersonal warmth). To assess the cross-cultural validity of the justice and compassion scales, we conducted a test for full metric invariance by estimating sequential multi-group confirmatory factor analyses. This was done to show that the same two factors underlie the measures in each sample and that the correspondence between factors and indicators are the same. Following the nested sequential procedures suggested by Bagozzi and Foxall (1996) and Steenkamp and Baumgartner (1998), we assessed measurement invariance by comparing nested measurement models in terms of the difference in χ^2 relative to degrees of freedom and CFI. In the first model (base model), all factor loadings, error variances and all factor variances/covariances were allowed to be free across the two sub-samples (one marker item was selected and the same marker item was used in each sub-sample). This model offered a good fit to the data ($\chi^2 = 108.2$, df = 68, $p < 0.0015$, CFI = 0.92). In the second model (equal loading model) we constrained all factor loadings (apart from the marker item) to be equal across the two sub-samples. This model was also a good fit to the data ($\chi^2 = 113.3$, df = 76, $p < 0.005$, CFI = 0.92). Furthermore, the sequential chi-square difference test (SCDT) yielded a non-significant decrease in model fit ($\Delta\chi^2 = 5.09$, Δdf = 8, $p = 0.75$), which suggested full metric invariance.

Having established the cross-cultural invariance of the two sub-scales, we computed for each five-item sub-scale an average of the ratings of justice vs compassion representation (higher values mean higher representation of compassion). As expected, for the two sub-samples, the compassion items distinctively represented notions of compassion and interpersonal warmth (White Americans: $M = 6.28$, significantly above the mid-point, $t(38) = 19.20$, $p < 0.001$; Hispanics: $M = 5.55$, significantly above the mid-point, $t(34) = 11.58$, $p < 0.001$), whereas the justice items distinctively represented notions of justice and equity (White Americans: $M = 2.19$, significantly below the mid-point, $t(39) = 10.82$, $p < 0.001$; Hispanics: $M = 3.17$, significantly below the mid-point, $t(34) = 3.81$, $p < 0.001$).

4.2.3 Results. Participants showed no suspicion about the cultural nature of the study, which suggests that hypothesis guessing was unlikely to have affected the results.

We began the data analyses by conducting a second test for full metric invariance on participants' ratings about the extent to which power-holders should embody the ten personal characteristics that represent justice or compassion. The base (unconstrained) model offered a good fit to the data ($\chi^2 = 89.9$, df = 68, $p < 0.05$, CFI = 0.96). This was also the case for the second model with factor loadings constrained to be equal across the two sub-samples ($\chi^2 = 101.9$, df = 76, $p < 0.05$, CFI = 0.95). Furthermore, the SCDT yielded a non-significant decrease in model fit ($\Delta\chi^2 = 12.0$, Δdf = 8, $p = 0.15$), which suggested full metric invariance. Next, we conducted a repeated-measures ANOVA on the mean ratings of the extent to which power-holders should embody personal

characteristics that represent justice or compassion (type of characteristic as a within-subjects factor) with cultural group membership (White American or Hispanic) as a between-subjects factor. Results yielded only a significant type of characteristic $\times$ cultural group membership interaction, $F(1, 128) = 34.27$, $p < 0.001$. Simple contrasts revealed that White Americans believe that power-holders should embody more justice than compassion characteristics, $M = 5.15$ and 4.65, respectively, $F(1, 128) = 32.37$, $p < 0.001$ (*H1a*), whereas Hispanics believe that power-holders should embody more compassion than justice characteristics, $M = 4.80$ and 4.54, respectively, $F(1, 128) = 7.48$, $p < 0.01$ (*H1b*).

We also conducted separate χ^2 tests on participants' choice of the characteristic that is a must for a power-holder to embody – for each of the four pairs that pitted justice against compassion characteristics. For each of the four choice sets ($\chi^2 = 8.22$-26.92, all p's < 0.005), White Americans were much more likely to choose characteristics of justice (proportions from 69 to 87 percent; overall mean proportion = 76 percent) vs compassion (proportions from 13 to 31 percent; overall mean proportion = 24 percent) as "must haves" for power-holders, whereas the reverse was true for Hispanics; they were more likely to choose characteristics of compassion (proportions from 49 to 68 percent; overall mean proportion = 59 percent) vs justice (proportions from 32 to 51 percent; overall mean proportion = 41 percent).

4.2.4 Discussion. These results support the proposed cultural patterning in the characteristics that people believe power-holders should embody. When asked to rate the traits that power-holders should possess, although participants from both cultural groups judged that power-holders should possess both traits (i.e. both groups rated power-holders above the mid-point of the scale on both traits), White Americans believed that power-holders should embody traits of justice more than traits of compassion, whereas Hispanics believed that power-holders should embody traits of compassion more than traits of justice. This cultural pattern was also evident in participants' forced choices of the characteristic that is a must for a power-holder to embody. When forced to choose between traits of justice vs compassion, White Americans were more likely to choose traits of justice as "must haves" for power-holders, whereas Hispanics were more likely to choose traits of compassion. Because both traits are desirable for power-holders to have, showing that the effects emerge when forcing participants to choose which trait is a "must have" for a power-holder strengthens confidence about the cultural patterning of injunctive norms.

A direct replication of this finding was provided by a smaller scale pre-study ($n = 54$) of White Americans and Hispanics, in which participants rated a smaller number of compassion and justice characteristics and traits that power-holders should possess. Together, these findings establish the presence of cultural group differences in the injunctive norms associated with power. Next, we addressed whether this would be reflected in responses to or evaluations of a hypothetical power-holder negotiating with others in a supply chain (Study 2) as well as real power-holders in an important service interaction (Study 3).

4.3 Study 2: evaluation of power-holders as a function of power salience and culture
This study extends the findings from Study 1 showing cultural differences in self-reported injunctive norms for power-holders to more tacit responses to a power-holder in a supply chain negotiating with powerless suppliers. In addressing these responses, we strive to provide direct evidence for the role of injunctive norms of

power by demonstrating that the cultural differences are more evident when power is (vs is not) made salient. Although all participants in Study 1 should have attended to power norms when directly asked to evaluate power-holders, making power salient should make it more likely that participants will interpret a business negotiation context through the lens of power dynamics, and hence evoke the associated cultural norms linked to power. In addition, Study 2 presented participants with a scenario pitting justice against compassion. Although such stark tradeoffs may not commonly occur, each norm represents a highly desirable standard. Thus, without pitting these norms against each other respondents are likely to rate both norms highly, as suggested by the trait ratings in Study 1. Showing differences in the way justice is traded off against compassion would strengthen confidence about the cultural patterning of specific injunctive norms as an underlying mechanism. When power is made salient (vs not), White Americans should be more likely to apply norms of justice and equity to evaluate the decisions of powerful negotiators (*H2a*), whereas Hispanics should be more likely to apply compassion norms to evaluate negotiators' decisions (*H2b*).

4.3.1 Sample and procedures. In total, 58 White American and 63 Hispanic participants residing in the USA took part in the study. The participants were recruited using Mturk (mean age = 34.3 years, 58 percent male; for Hispanics: 50.8 percent foreign-born, mean # years in the USA = 22.0) and were paid $2. White American participants completed the study in English, whereas Hispanic participants did so in Spanish (we used standard back-translation procedures). Under the cover story of conducting multiple studies, participants were first presented with a task designed either to make notions of power salient (power condition) or not (neutral condition). In the power condition, participants saw six pictures selected to activate notions of power (e.g. image of executives disembarking from a private jet, image of a Harvard doctor), whereas participants in the neutral condition saw six pictures unrelated to power (i.e. image of people waiting in a room or image of an office cubicle). The impact of these pictures in activating power was validated in a separate pretest, described below. Past research has established the effectiveness of picture-processing tasks in priming culturally meaningful constructs (e.g. Fu *et al.*, 2007; Hong *et al.*, 2000).

Participants in the study rated each picture they were shown for its clarity (1 = not clear at all, 10 = very clear) and familiarity (1 = not familiar at all, 10 = very familiar). After this, participants were introduced to what was ostensibly a separate study about negotiations in a supply chain context involving a powerful real estate developer and two powerless suppliers. The negotiation task was adapted from those used in past research on power (Howard *et al.*, 2007; Torelli and Shavitt, 2010). The task was described as a dispute situation between a real estate developer and the owners of two separate carpentry businesses about the amount to pay the carpenters/contractors after they incorporated a higher and more expensive grade of wood in a new development that went beyond contractual specifications (at an extra cost of $10,000 per unit). The real estate developer was in a high-power position in the negotiation in that he possessed resources (e.g. money) and had contractual law on his side (i.e. he was not contractually required to pay the contractors for the extra cost). The contractors were in a low-power position as they lacked resources and would go out of business if not reimbursed for the extra cost. Participants were further told that the real estate developer was aware that one of the contractors (carpenter A) had recently faced serious health issues in his family that were draining both personally and financially, whereas the other contractor (carpenter B) had no apparent personal or family

problems. Participants were told that the real estate developer would like to pay the contractors on average \$5,000 per unit (or 50 percent of the extra cost). Next, participants were either told that the real estate developer paid \$5,000 per unit to each of the carpenters (justice-driven condition) or that he paid carpenter A \$10,000 per unit and zero to carpenter B (compassion-driven condition). The former payment decision would be consistent with notions of justice and equity associated with an equal distribution of payments to the carpenters, whereas the latter would be consistent with notions of compassion associated with being sensitive to carpenter A's plight and with attempting to alleviate his suffering (see Gilbert, 2005; Bierhoff, 2005). It is important to note that because the developer was not contractually required to pay anything to either contractor, this latter payment decision is conceptually similar to the compassionately driven choice of a cause for a charitable donation (i.e. choosing one type of charity over another, Bennett, 2003).

They were then told to evaluate the real estate developer on three items: "How would you evaluate the real estate developer in terms of being bad or good?" (1 = bad, 9 = good), "To what extent would you say that the real estate developer will succeed in the future?" (1 = not at all, 9 = a great deal), "To what extent would you say that the real estate developer will be respected and admired by others?" (1 = not at all, 9 = a great deal). Participants also rated the extent to which the real estate developer showed justice and acted in a fair way ("To what extent would you say that the real estate developer is a fair individual?" 1 = not at all, 9 = a great deal) and the extent to which he exhibited compassion ("To what extent would you say that the real estate developer is a good-natured individual? 1 = not at all, 9 = a great deal). Finally, participants answered demographic questions, and were debriefed and dismissed.

4.3.2 Manipulation checks. We first assessed the success of the power manipulation in a separate pretest with 57 undergraduate students from a large public university in the American Midwest. They were presented with either the power photos or the neutral photos and rated, "How much has the task you just completed made the concept of power salient in your mind?" and "How much is the concept of power salient to you at this moment?" (1 = not at all salient, 7 = very salient). Results showed as expected that the power manipulation heightened the salience of power ($M = 4.83$, significantly above the mid-point of the scale, $t(25) = 4.26$, $p < 0.001$), and more so than the neutral task did ($M = 4.16$, $t(55) = 1.92$, $p < 0.03$, one-tailed). Participants in the neutral task were relatively neutral regarding the salience of power ($M = 4.16$, non-significantly different than the mid-point of the scale, $t = 0.56$, ns). These results validated the manipulation.

We assessed the extent to which participants perceived the real estate developer's actions as intended by conducting a repeated measures ANOVA on their perceptions of the developer as a just or compassionate individual (type of perception as a within-subjects factor) with the power condition and the decision condition as fixed factors. A significant type of perception × decision condition interaction ($F(1, 113) = 82.68$, $p < 0.001$) confirmed that, across power conditions and cultural groups, participants perceived that the developer was more fair than compassionate in the justice-driven condition ($M = 6.88$ and 6.03, respectively, $F(1, 113) = 9.87$, $p < 0.002$), whereas he was perceived as more compassionate than just in the compassionate-driven condition ($M = 6.44$ and 3.82, respectively, $F(1, 113) = 94.82$, $p < 0.001$). There were also main effects of type of perception, $F(1, 113) = 21.51$, $p < 0.001$, and type of condition, $F(1, 113) = 94.82$, $p < 0.001$, which can be explained by the very low perceptions of compassion in the justice-driven condition.

4.3.3 Results. The three items on which participants evaluated the developer were averaged to create an overall measure of approval ($\alpha = 0.85$), and this was submitted to an ANOVA with power condition, decision condition, and cultural group as fixed factors. Results yielded a significant main effect of decision condition, $F(1, 113) = 17.77$, $p < 0.001$, and power condition, $F(1, 113) = 4.76$, $p < 0.05$, as well as a significant decision condition × power condition × cultural group interaction. As depicted in Table I, and consistent with *H2b*, simple contrasts revealed that Hispanic participants in the compassion-driven condition evaluated the developer more favorably when power was salient (vs not), $M = 6.02$ and 4.62, respectively, $F(1, 113) = 5.35$, $p < 0.025$. In contrast, and consistent with *H2a*, White American participants in the justice-driven condition evaluated the developer more favorably when power was salient (vs not), $M = 6.80$ and 5.49, respectively, $F(1, 113) = 4.26$, $p < 0.05$. The data also show that participants generally approved of the behavior of the developer who exercised power with justice ($M = 5.49$-6.82), particularly Hispanics in the neutral condition, which is consistent with the universality of justice norms (Rawls, 1971). However, the important point is that when power was cued, this increased the application of culturally distinct injunctive norms of power to judge the powerful developer.

4.3.4 Discussion. Study 2 showed that power activated culturally distinct injunctive norms associated with power, which in turn guided evaluations of a powerful developer negotiating with powerless suppliers. Consistent with past findings that situational factors impact the likelihood that culture will influence people's opinions of powerful negotiators (Valenzuela *et al.*, 2005), when power was made salient (vs not), White Americans evaluated more favorably a negotiator who exercised power according to cultural norms of justice. In contrast, when power was salient (vs not) Hispanics evaluated more favorably a negotiator who exercised power according to cultural norms of compassion. The findings supported *H2a* and *H2b*. These effects were absent when evaluating a person whose behavior was not as reflective of cultural norms for exercising power (i.e. a compassion-driven negotiator for White Americans or a justice-driven negotiator for Hispanics). Without reminders of power, all participants tended to evaluate more favorably the negotiator who exercised power with justice versus the compassionate negotiator, which supports the notion that all people care about justice and fairness. However, only Hispanics evaluated the compassionate negotiator more favorably when power was primed vs not primed. This is consistent with our theorizing that making power salient can activate what is culturally normative for exercising power, which in turn influences the extent to which people approve of powerful negotiators' actions.

4.4 Study 3: evaluation of on-going relations with power-holders as a function of culture and power salience
In Study 3 we tested the hypothesis that power salience would cause White Americans to evaluate power-holders more favorably the more they are perceived to treat them

Table I.
Approval of the developer's actions as a function of cultural group membership, power condition and decision condition in Study 2

| Power condition | White Americans | | Hispanics | |
	Justice condition	Compassion condition	Justice condition	Compassion condition
Power	6.80$_a$	5.02$_a$	6.82$_a$	6.02$_a$
Neutral	5.49$_b$	5.08$_a$	6.80$_a$	4.62$_b$

Notes: $n = 54$. Cells not sharing the same subscript in the same column differ significantly. $p < 0.05$

justly and equitably (*H3a*), whereas it would cause Hispanics to evaluate power-holders more favorably the more they are perceived to treat them with compassion (*H3b*).

To address these hypotheses we conducted a field study of people's evaluations of powerful service providers with whom they have a real-life, on-going and consequential interaction – a context that has been neglected in past power research. Many important service interactions take place with providers who hold significant power over their clients (e.g. doctors, lawyers, professors). We chose a health care setting for several reasons. First, a patient-doctor relationship is a type of dyad in which the service provider (the doctor) is likely to hold a high power status when compared to the patient (Winter, 1973). Second, research has already established that culturally patterned norms impact health care preferences (Wang *et al.*, 2010). Finally, people are generally highly involved in their interactions with their health care providers (Entwistle and Watt, 2006) and develop enduring opinions about these providers based on personal experiences with them (Pascoe, 1983). This provides a natural and compelling environment for testing the role of injunctive norms of power in people's evaluations of their health care providers.

In the context of the health care profession, the injunctive norm of justice or equity is likely to be represented by perceptions that the doctor allocates his/her resources (e.g. time and attention) appropriately and treats the patient with respect (Colquitt, 2001; Shapiro *et al.*, 1994). In contrast, the injunctive norm of compassion is likely to be represented by perceptions that the doctor is responsive to the patient's feelings and treats him/her with sympathy, caring, and concern (Gilbert, 2005; Bierhoff, 2005). Thus, in the health care context, we expected that when power is salient (vs not), White American patients' satisfaction with a health care provider should be based more heavily on perceptions of justice (appropriate allocation of resources and respect); however, when power is salient (vs not), Hispanic patients' satisfaction with a health care provider should be based more heavily on perceptions of compassion (emotional reassurance, sympathy, and caring).

4.4.1 Sample and procedures. We conducted a field study with 241 patients at two medical clinics serving low-income patients in the Chicago area. The study included similar numbers of White American ($n = 122$) and Hispanic ($n = 119$) participants. Individuals were approached in the waiting room of one of two urban clinics by trained survey researchers prior to a scheduled health care appointment and asked to complete two separate questionnaires. The first questionnaire, which was randomly assigned and used to introduce the power manipulation, was presented as a "Health care Advertising Study." Participants were first asked a few questions about their profile as a patient of the clinic (e.g. reason for their visit, number of visits in the last six months, type of doctor visited) and about their physical health ($0 = $ worst physical health possible, $10 = $ best physical health possible). Immediately after this, they were presented with either the six power pictures or the six neutral pictures used in Study 2. Participants in the neutral condition answered the same questions about image clarity and familiarity used in Study 2. Participants in the power condition were asked to rate the extent to which each picture depicts power ($1 = $ no power at all, $10 = $ a great deal of power) and influence ($1 = $ no influence at all, $10 = $ a great deal of influence). These questions were introduced to strengthen the power manipulation, which was important given that the study was conducted in a very busy and distracting field setting. Similar procedures have been used in previous research to make power sufficiently salient (see Galinsky *et al.*, 2003).

Later, participants were presented with an ostensibly unrelated "Health Care Survey," in which they rated their overall satisfaction with their health care provider in the last 12 months (four items, summed into an overall satisfaction index). Participants also indicated the extent to which they perceived their doctor to be a sympathetic and caring provider (four items, summed into a Physician Compassionate Index), as well as the extent to which they perceived the doctor allocated sufficient time, attention, and respect (four items, summed into a Physician Justice Index). These items were based on a well-established measure of health care satisfaction widely used in government and industry, the Consumer Assessment of Healthcare Providers and Systems (CAHPS), supported by the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality of the US Department of Health and Human Services (see Appendix). We adapted CAHPS items to fit the current research context. Finally, participants answered the following demographic questions: age, household income (1 = less than $20,000, 6 = $80,000 or more), and education (1 = no school completed, 11 = doctorate degree), as well as measures of individualistic and collectivistic cultural orientation (Triandis and Gelfand, 1998) and self-importance of values (Davidov *et al.*, 2008).

4.4.2 Scale structure. We used confirmatory factor analysis to assess the structure of the self-reported measures of overall satisfaction as well as perceptions of justice and compassion. We fit the data to a three-factor model and found a reasonable fit (CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.078), which in turn was better than that from a single-factor model (CFI = 0.78, RMSEA = 0.21, $\Delta\chi^2 = 470.79$, $p < 0.001$).

4.4.3 Manipulation checks. Although the manipulation had been validated previously, we assessed the power manipulation via average ratings of whether the pictures depicted power and influence ($\alpha = 0.88$). Results showed that participants in the power condition reported that power was salient ($M = 6.36$, significantly above the mid-point of the scale, $t(122) = 5.58$, $p < 0.001$).

All of the participants had visited the clinic at least once in the last six months, and 56.8 percent of them had done it three times or more. In total, 55 percent of the participants were visiting their primary care doctor and 47 percent of participants came for either a routine physical or to treat a chronic condition. Overall, these measures suggest that most participants had an ongoing relationship with the health care provider whom they rated.
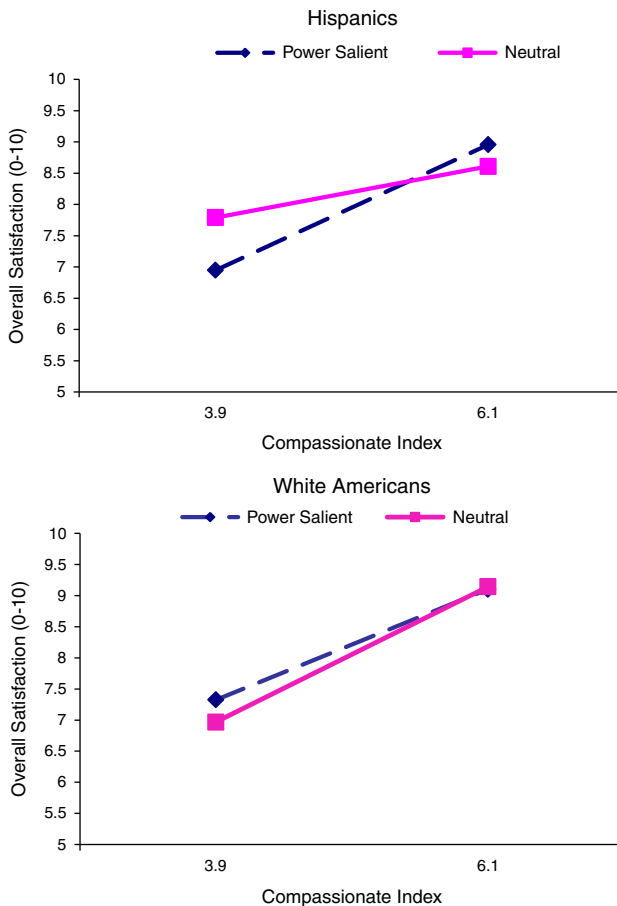
4.4.4 Results. We first estimated a regression equation with overall satisfaction ($\alpha = 0.92$) as the dependent variable, and Compassionate Index ($\alpha = 0.91$), cultural group membership (dummy-coded, 1 = White American, 0 = Hispanic), power condition (dummy-coded, 1 = power prime, 0 = neutral condition), and their two- and three-way interactions as predictors. Also included were ratings of one's physical health, age, education, and household income as covariates, given past research suggesting their impact on people's opinions about their health care providers (Hall *et al.*, 1988). All the continuous predictors were mean-centered for the analyses to avoid multi-collinearity issues. As shown in Table II, there were significant coefficients for compassionate index, cultural group × compassionate index, power condition × compassionate index, and cultural group × power condition × compassionate index ($R^2 = 0.45$). To further interpret these effects, we conducted simple slope analyses at 1 standard deviation above and below the mean compassionate index (Preacher *et al.*, 2006). Results showed that for Hispanics the compassionate index was a significantly stronger predictor of overall satisfaction in the power condition than in the neutral condition (slope = 0.91 and 0.37, respectively, $t(217) = 2.26$, $p < 0.025$, see Figure 1),

Predictor	b	SE	t	p-value
Power condition	−0.25	0.25	−0.99	0.32
Cultural group	−0.14	0.26	−0.55	0.58
Compassionate index	0.37	0.16	2.34	0.02
Cultural group × power condition	0.41	0.35	1.15	0.25
Cultural group × compassionate index	0.61	0.22	2.81	0.01
Power condition × compassionate index	0.54	0.24	2.25	0.03
Cultural group × power condition × compassionate index	−0.72	0.32	−2.22	0.03
Physical health	0.21	0.04	4.65	0.00
Age	0.02	0.01	2.87	0.00
Education	−0.11	0.05	−2.38	0.02
Household income	0.00	0.06	−0.01	0.99

Note: $n = 241$

Table II.
Satisfaction with physician as a function of compassionate index – results from regression analyses in Study 3

Figure 1.
Slopes of the overall satisfaction – compassionate index relationship as a function of power condition and cultural group membership (Study 3)

supporting *H3b*. In contrast, the opposite but non-significant pattern was obtained for White Americans (slope = 0.80 and 0.98, respectively, $t = 0.82$, ns), which directionally supported *H3a*. These findings suggest that, when power is made salient (vs neutral), the importance of a physician's level of compassion in predicting overall satisfaction with his/her care goes up significantly for Hispanics and down somewhat for White Americans.

We estimated another regression equation with overall satisfaction as the dependent variable, and Justice Index ($\alpha = 0.90$), cultural group membership, power condition, and their two- and three-way interactions as predictors, and the same covariates. As shown in Table III, there were significant coefficients for justice index, cultural group × justice index, power condition × justice index, and cultural group × power condition ($R^2 = 0.53$). The three-way interaction between cultural group × power condition × justice index did not reach significance ($p > 0.10$). As depicted in Figure 2, simple slopeanalyses showed that for both White Americans and Hispanics the Justice Index was a non-significantly stronger predictor of overall satisfaction in the power condition than in the neutral condition (for White Americans: slope = 1.14 and 1.10, respectively, $t = 0.15$, ns; for Hispanics: slope = 1.10 and 0.63, respectively, $t = 1.84$, ns, see Figure 2).

We also conducted additional analyses by replacing in the two regression models the cultural group dummy variable with mean scores for individualism and collectivism orientations, vertical and horizontal orientations, as well as self-importance of values. These revealed no significant effects on overall satisfaction by any of the cultural orientation or self-importance of values scores or their interactions with power. In other words, self-rated cultural values and beliefs did not predict the degree to which justice or compassion ratings drove overall satisfaction with one's physician.

4.4.5 Discussion. Study 3 demonstrates that, when power is salient (vs not), Hispanics evaluate more favorably a power-holder with whom they have an on-going, real relationship to the extent that he/she is perceived as being more compassionate. This supports *H3b*. This effect was absent among White Americans, who evaluated the power-holder non-significantly less favorably as a function of compassionate perceptions when power was made salient (vs the baseline condition). Although White Americans evaluated more favorably the power-holder as a function of perceptions of justice in the power salient (vs neutral) condition, this effect did not reach statistical

Predictor	b	SE	t	p-value
Power condition	−0.45	0.23	−1.93	0.06
Cultural group	−0.29	0.24	−1.19	0.24
Justice index	0.60	0.17	3.49	0.00
Cultural group × power condition	0.74	0.33	2.24	0.03
Cultural group × justice index	0.51	0.23	2.24	0.03
Power condition × justice index	0.55	0.25	2.19	0.03
Cultural group × power condition × justice index	−0.51	0.33	−1.57	0.12
Physical health	0.18	0.04	4.26	0.00
Age	0.02	0.01	2.62	0.01
Education	−0.08	0.04	−1.76	0.08
Household income	0.03	0.05	0.48	0.63

Note: $n = 241$

Table III.
Satisfaction with physician as a function of justice index – results from regression analyses in Study 3
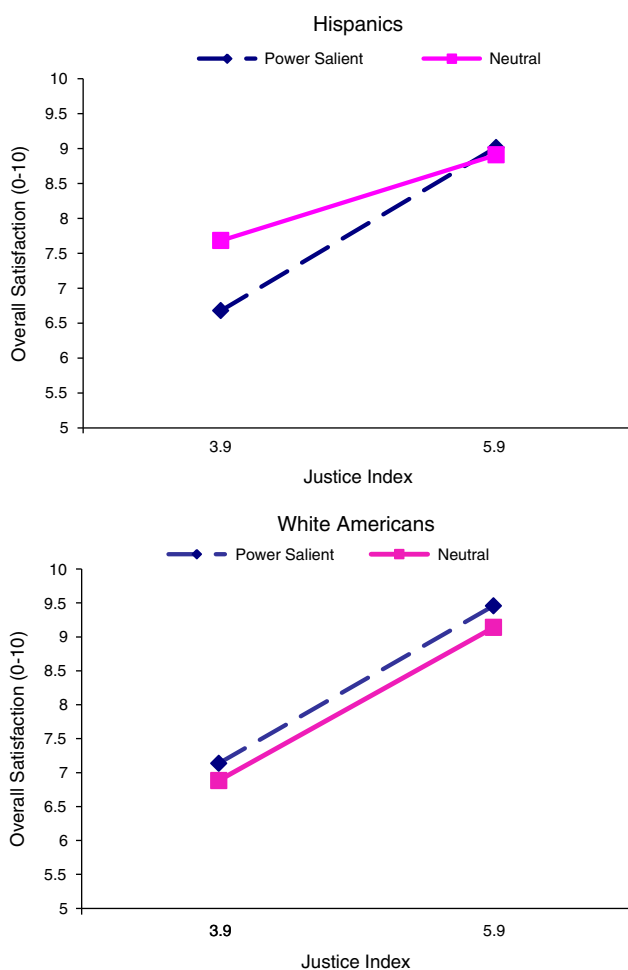
Figure 2.
Slopes of the overall
satisfaction – justice
index relationship as
a function of power
condition and
cultural group
membership
(Study 3)

significance. Thus, *H3a* was not supported. However, it is possible that the strong relationship between perceptions of justice and overall satisfaction that emerged among White Americans in the baseline condition left little room for enhancement upon making notions of power salient (i.e. a ceiling effect).

This field study shows for the first time the role of injunctive norms of power in a real-world and highly involving context. Although collecting data and administering a power prime in the waiting rooms of actual medical clinics was complex and noisy from the standpoint of experimental control, it enabled us to show the impact of culturally patterned injunctive norms on judgments of one of the most important power-holders in one's life, one's physician. In other words, the context of this field study maximized the external validity of our research findings. Although the findings as a function of power condition were not as strong as in the online contexts used in Studies 1 and 2, they were largely consistent with the previous studies' patterns for normative expectations applied to power-holders.

5. General discussion

Power is a pervasive and important concept in consumer behavior (Rucker *et al.*, 2012), and social norms play a central role in influencing consumption (Ryan, 1982; Nolan *et al.*, 2008). By integrating these two important concepts with emerging research on cultural distinctions in power concepts (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010, 2011), this research uncovered cultural variations in injunctive norms applied to power-holders, and highlighted situations in which these norms are likely to be applied to judgments in services and supplier contexts. Because White Americans conceptualize power in personalized terms, and expect that people will use their power for their personal gain, they are predisposed to apply to power-holders such as service providers' injunctive norms of justice (rather than compassion). In contrast, because Hispanics conceptualize power in socialized terms, and expect that people will use power for helping others, they are predisposed to apply to power-holders injunctive norms of compassion (rather than justice). As expected, cultural variations in the use of alternative injunctive norms for judging powerful service-providers or negotiators were more evident when the norms were made readily available by priming power.

These cultural patterns emerged in the beliefs about injunctive norms for business leaders and other power-holders that were more likely to be reported by White American and Hispanic participants (Study 1), their approval of hypothetical negotiators in a supplier negotiation setting who behaved in just or compassionate ways (Study 2), and their evaluations of powerful service providers in a real-life, on-going and consequential service interaction (Study 3). Attesting to the linkage of these norms to power concepts, the studies showed that the tendency to endorse or apply culturally distinct injunctive norms emerges primarily when power is made salient (Studies 2 and 3). These findings show generalizability across a number of dependent variables and business contexts.

6. Theoretical implications

This research suggests two key implications for our theoretical understanding of the role of social norms in carrying cultural patterns. First, in line with research showing that adherence to cultural norms depends on the situation (Fu *et al.*, 2007; Savani *et al.*, 2012), our findings shed light on the conditions under which cultural differences in the injunctive norms applied to power-holders are more likely to emerge. We were able to provide evidence for contextual variability by examining judgments in situations in which power was (was not) primed. In line with the position that norms applied to power-holders are linked to culturally nurtured views of power, we show that they are more likely to be used for judging others in contexts in which power is salient.

Second, findings in this research suggest that what people in a culture believe power-holders typically do can shape what behavior they (dis)approve of. Because White Americans, who conceptualize power in personalized terms, believe that power-holders strive to maximize personal gain at the expense of others' (Torelli, 2007), justice and equity should be a virtue of those power-holders worthy of respect (Folger, 1987). Indeed, justice emerged in our research as the injunctive norm that was activated by power salience among White American participants. In contrast, because Hispanics, who conceptualize power in socialized terms, believe that power-holders should care for the well-being of others (Torelli, 2007), they applied injunctive norms of compassion to a greater extent when primed with power.

Our research also has implications for cross-cultural theories of consumer satisfaction with service providers (e.g. Duque and Lado, 2010; Alden *et al.*, 2010) and negotiating partners (e.g. Shankarmahesh *et al.*, 2004). Although past research has

attended to how cultural factors shape consumer satisfaction in these settings (Shavitt *et al.*, 2009), more research is needed on the moderating role of power salience and the role of distinct power norms. Our findings demonstrate that consumers of different cultures hold distinct power norms, and that these culturally nurtured norms become more influential in driving consumer satisfaction when notions of power are made salient.

This research focussed on cultural differences between Hispanics and White Americans, a comparison often overlooked in past psychological and marketing research. Most cultural research outside the USA and Western Europe has been conducted in East Asia, and very little research has examined Latin America (Maheswaran and Shavitt, 2000). The same is true for marketing research conducted outside the USA, or for research with ethnic groups within the USA, that often compares White Americans with East Asians or African Americans, but rarely focusses on Latin Americans (Fastoso and Whitelock, 2011). Our research addresses a population that is culturally rich and growing in importance, yet has been understudied.

The conceptualization of justice adopted in this research focussed broadly on notions of equity and fairness when determining outcomes during resource allocation (i.e. distributive justice in Study 2) as well as when assessing the interpersonal treatment people receive (i.e. interactional justice in Study 3, see Colquitt, 2001). Our results suggest that, among White Americans, the link between power and injunctive norms of justice emerges in both justice domains. Although some researchers consider interpersonal treatment as an aspect of the process that leads to decision outcomes (i.e. procedural justice, Niehoff and Moorman, 1993), future research might explore more directly whether the same effects emerge when people's ability to influence the actual outcome itself is particularly relevant.

7. Implications for practice

Our findings demonstrate how power salience can make readily available different culturally nurtured power norms among White Americans and Hispanics, which in turn causes these consumers to judge differently their satisfaction with service providers in ongoing, real-life service interactions. In Study 3, when notions of power were (vs were not) made salient by contextual cues (e.g. viewing power images in a questionnaire), Hispanics evaluated more favorably their actual health care provider to the extent that he/she was perceived as being more compassionate. These findings have direct implications for how marketers in the health care industry train customer service employees and manage power signals in service encounters. Because interactions with health care providers can spontaneously trigger notions of power (one of the power images in our studies was that of a doctor wearing a white coat), it would be advisable for these providers to exhibit compassionate behaviors when interacting with Hispanic consumers. Indeed, levels of customer satisfaction may increase when such compassion cues are delivered jointly with power signals (e.g. wearing a white coat or other symbol of power, or when exhibiting expert power upon providing health advice). In contrast, when interacting with White American consumers, health care providers may want to pay careful attention to appearing just and equitable to earn high levels of customer satisfaction. These recommendations also extend to other service contexts in which notions of power can be salient due to the nature of the provider-consumer relationship (e.g. interactions with lawyers, financial lending companies, or government service providers).

Hispanics are the fastest growing demographic group in the USA. As such, they are becoming an increasingly important consumer segment (Nielsen, 2012). Our research

provides important insights into how to better satisfy this growing number of Hispanic consumers by signaling compassion in service interactions likely to be construed in terms of power differentials. More broadly, this research can also inform marketers on how to design service programs when expanding their businesses to Latin America (i.e. American countries south of the USA), the region of origin of Hispanic Americans. Because Latin American economies have enjoyed strong growth momentum during the last decade (an average of 4 percent per year, IMF, 2013), international corporations are paying careful attention to Latin American countries as markets for their products and services (Solomon, 2012). One obvious implication of our findings for marketers is that, when expanding to the region, they should pay attention to signaling compassion in their customer service interactions, as perceptions of compassion can boost satisfaction ratings. This is particularly important in service encounters that might be characterized by power differentials. Latin American consumers should be more likely to favorably evaluate sales representatives of powerful service companies (e.g. sales executives in financial lending services) who show compassion, even at the expense of appearing unfair in their decisions. This might seem counterintuitive for White American sales representatives doing business in the region as they may be accustomed to relying on demonstrations of fairness as a way of gaining respect at work (Blader and Chen, 2012). In the context of multi-cultural sales teams, in which different members might apply distinct cultural norms for evaluating a common team leader, it might be challenging for that person to meet competing cultural standards of an ideal leader (Giessner and van Knippenberg, 2008).

As stated earlier, we are not arguing that culture predicts the sole use of justice vs compassion norms to evaluate the actions of powerful others. People from every culture care deeply about both justice and compassion. Accordingly, jointly addressing these notions during service encounters is likely to generate favorable responses across consumers regardless of their culture. However, certain consumer situations might pit fairness against compassion (as in Study 2). When this is the case, a powerful service provider should emphasize more the culturally relevant injunctive norm of power in order to maximize customer satisfaction, and particularly so when notions of power are salient. Marketers may want to consider these issues when designing training programs for customer service employees.

8. Limitations and directions for future research

Our research addresses cultural patterning in the injunctive norms applied to power-holders, highlighting the consequences for consumer evaluations of service providers. We focussed on two sub-cultural groups within the USA, White Americans and Hispanics, and emphasized how culturally relevant norms applied to power-holders predict consumer judgments in supply chain and service settings. Thus, our findings are limited to these sub-cultural groups and to the settings included in the studies. Study 2 investigates cultural differences in injunctive norms in the context of a hypothetical supply chain scenario in which justice norms were pitted against compassion norms. Asking participants to rank the importance of these norms strengthens confidence about the cultural patterning of injunctive norms as an underlying mechanism (i.e. increased internal validity), although we acknowledge that forcing a tradeoff may limit the generalizability of the findings (i.e. decreased external validity). The field study (Study 3) shows for the first time the role of injunctive norms of power in a real-world and highly involving context, a health care interaction, providing evidence for the external validity of our research findings.

Overall, our results show that, for Hispanics, the cultural default seems to be applying to power-holders injunctive norms of compassion (rather than justice). However, Hispanics may not always respond in this way. We surveyed Hispanics in Spanish in order to activate their culturally relevant views and norms. Because past research shows that culturally patterned responses among bilinguals are affected by the language in which they are surveyed (Ross *et al.*, 2002), it is possible that the effects reported here would be attenuated when Hispanics are surveyed, or interact with service providers, in English (Luna *et al.*, 2008, 2010). A related consequence of surveying Hispanics in Spanish is that our effects are limited to those Hispanics who are bilingual. This is not a serious limitation as a majority of Hispanics speak Spanish at home (74 percent as of 2011, Ryan, 2013). Nevertheless, it would be interesting to investigate the extent to which our effects hold among Hispanics who are not bilingual, or who are surveyed in English. These issues deserve additional research.

Although our findings are limited to Hispanic Americans, we believe that the effects uncovered here should be more broadly relevant to individuals in Latin American countries. Past research has found similarities in terms of power concepts and cultural values between Hispanics living in the USA and their counterparts residing in Latin American countries (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010; Triandis, 1995). Furthermore, in Latin America, the tendency to apply to power-holders injunctive norms of compassion should be pervasive, and may also be evident in the symbolic meanings of consumption practices (McCracken, 1986). Investigating whether power and compassion are linked in the symbolic meanings of Latin American consumption practices, and whether this differs in the USA, seems an important area for future research.

In this research, we defined White Americans as people of the USA who identify their race as White. This is the major ethnic group in the USA, accounting for 72 percent of the US population (as of 2010, United States Census Bureau, 2014). Early on in the USA, "White" referred to people of British ancestry or northern (Scandinavian) and northwestern (British and French) European descent. However, in the contemporary USA, anyone of European descent is considered White (Tehranian, 2000). In contrast to Hispanics, Whites in the twenty-first century are less likely to be first-generation immigrants and to speak a foreign language at home. Only 12.1 percent of today's foreign-born individuals residing in the USA are of European origin, whereas 53.1 percent are Hispanics. Of today's immigrants, Whites are three times more likely than Hispanics to speak only English at home (33 vs 10.4 percent, United States Census Bureau, 2014). When considering all of the languages spoken in the USA, Spanish is spoken in 62 percent of the households that speak a language other than English, whereas other European languages are spoken in only 10.9 percent of foreign speaking households in the USA (Ryan, 2013). These figures are consistent with the view that White Americans (compared to Hispanics) are more likely to be associated with and to endorse mainstream American culture (Devos and Banaji, 2005). Thus, their culturally nurtured injunctive norms of power-holders might be relatively stable regardless of whether their heritage identity (e.g. Norwegian or British) is made accessible. However, further investigating the impact of heritage identity salience among White Americans seems worthy of further investigation.

We based our prediction about the injunctive norms of Hispanics on past research showing their tendency to conceptualize power in socialized terms (Torelli and Shavitt, 2010), their emphasis on collectivistic values (Triandis *et al.*, 1990), and their ability to share in others' feelings (culture script of simpatía, Triandis *et al.*, 1984). Other cultures throughout the world share some of these psychological tendencies.

Southern European cultures (e.g. Italy, Spain and Portugal) also tend to emphasize collectivistic values (Koopman *et al.*, 1999), as well as to share historical connections with Latin American cultures (Hallin and Papathanassopoulos, 2002). Would these cultures also promote the application of injunctive norms of compassion to power-holders? Further research could address this question.

Findings in this research demonstrate that contextual cues that make power salient promote the application of culturally relevant injunctive norms for evaluating health care providers. What other situational factors can contribute to making such culturally relevant norms readily available? It is possible that factors that heighten the need to defend one's cultural worldview, such as mortality salience (Arndt *et al.*, 2002), can have similar effects. Furthermore, in the health care setting investigated in Study 3, mortality salience (as when facing a life threatening illness) may compound the impact of power cues to strengthen reliance on culturally nurtured injunctive norms of power for evaluating health care providers. Investigating other contextual factors that can promote or hinder the application of injunctive norms of power to judgments seems a fruitful area for research.

9. Conclusion

In sum, our research shows that injunctive norms applied to power-holders vary according to culturally nurtured power concepts. White Americans – who conceptualize power in personalized terms and expect that power-holders will use their power for personal gain – are predisposed to apply to power-holders injunctive norms of justice. In contrast, Hispanics – who conceptualize power in socialized terms and expect that power-holders will use power for helping others – are predisposed to apply to power-holders injunctive norms of compassion. Consistent with the notion that adherence to cultural norms is often situationally dependent (Fu *et al.*, 2007; Savani *et al.*, 2012), and attesting to the linkage of these norms to power concepts, our findings show that the tendency to endorse or apply culturally distinct injunctive norms in supplier and services contexts emerges primarily when power is made salient.

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Appendix. Items used in Study 3

Overall satisfaction – items from the Consumer Assessment of Healthcare Providers and Systems (US Department of Health & Human Services, cahps.ahrq.gov) ($\alpha = 0.92$):

(1) Using any number from 0 to 10, where 0 is the worst doctor possible and 10 is the best doctor possible, what number would you use to rate the doctor you saw most often in the last 12 months?

(2) Using any number from 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all satisfied and 10 is very satisfied, what number would you use to rate how satisfied you are with the health care you have received over the last 12 months?

(3) Using any number from 0 to 10, where 0 is the worst quality possible and 10 is the best quality possible, what number would you use to rate the overall quality of your health care in the last 12 months?

(4) Using any number from 0 to 10, where 0 is the worst health care possible and 10 is the best health care possible, what number would you use to rate all your health care in the last 12 months?

Perceptions of physician as being compassionate – based on items adapted from Batson *et al.* (1995) ($\alpha = 0.91$):

(1) How often did the doctor make you feel comfortable? (1 = never, 6 = always).

(2) How often did the doctor show concern about your health and how you were feeling? (1 = never, 6 = always)

(3) How often did the doctor show sympathy for your health concerns? (1 = never, 6 = always)

(4) How often did the doctor explain things in a way that was easy to understand? (1 = never, 6 = always)

Perceptions of physician as being just – based on items adapted from Curhan *et al.* (2006) and Colquitt (2001) ($\alpha = 0.90$):

(1) How often was the doctor as thorough as you thought you needed? (1 = never, 6 = always)

(2) How often did the doctor spend enough time with you? (1 = never, 6 = always)

(3) How often did the doctor give you enough attention? (1 = never, 6 = always)

(4) How often did the doctor show respect for what you had to say? (1 = never, 6 = always)

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