

Impact of Ingratiation on Judgments and Evaluations: A Meta-Analytic Investigation

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A computer search was conducted to examine empirical research on the relationship between various ingratiation tactics and the judgments and evaluations of targets and observers. The data revealed a small positive effect for ingratiation on performance evaluations and a significantly stronger positive effect for ingratiation on judgments of interpersonal attraction (i.e., liking). However, these effects were qualified by a number of categorical and continuous moderator variables, including the specific ingratiation tactic used, the perceived transparency of the ingratiation, the direction of the influence attempt (upward, downward, or lateral), whether perceivers were targets of the influence attempt or simply observed the ingratiation, the gender of the perceiver, and the setting in which the data were collected. The implications of these findings for future research on the impact of various forms of ingratiation are discussed.

The study of self-presentation and impression management has long held the interest of theorists and researchers in social psychology, industrial-organizational psychology, management, and sociology (Goffman, 1959; Jones, 1964; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Jones & Wortman, 1973; Leary, 1995; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Porter, Allen, & Angle, 1981; Schilit & Allenby, 1988; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992). Much of this interest is undoubtedly due to the critical role of impression management in everyday social interaction. The symbolic-interactionist perspective, as delineated by Goffman (1959), views impression management as an integral component of interaction sequences. According to Goffman (1959), whether an actor is involved in an attempt to intentionally create a specific impression on the part of a perceiver or perceivers (expressions given) or provides presumably unintentional information (expressions given off), the verbal and nonverbal behavior of the actor will be used to help form an impression. In this sense, impression management (intentional, unintentional, or both) occurs in all interaction sequences. In Goffman's (1959) words, "Performers can stop giving expressions, but cannot stop giving them off" (p. 108). From this perspective, the study of impression man-

agement should provide an increased understanding of the basic processes involved in all social interaction sequences.

Specific self-presentational strategies can be motivated by a variety of different attributional goals. The framework developed by Jones and Pittman (1982) describes a number of such goals (e.g., intimidation, supplication, and exemplification). However, the ubiquitous nature of ingratiation as a specific form of impression management has made it an especially important topic of study. Jones's (1964) pioneering investigations in this area and his summation of the early empirical research on ingratiation provided a theoretical framework for the study of ingratiation and generated numerous research hypotheses that have been tested during the last 30 years. A subsequent review by Jones and Wortman (1973) continued the development of the framework created by Jones (1964), summarized research published over the intervening decade, and provided specific information on the relative efficacy of various ingratiation tactics.

Definitional Issues

There has been some debate over the appropriate definition of impression management in general and of ingratiation in particular. Perspectives have ranged from what Schlenker and Weigold (1992) referred to as "restrictive" positions to what they described as "expansive" positions. As an example of a restrictive definition, Jones (1964) suggested that the use of the term *ingratiation* be limited to tactical forms of impression management in which the attributional goal is that of increased liking. An even more restrictive position can be found in Jones and Wortman (1973), who defined ingratiation as "a class of strategic behaviors illicitly designed to influence a particular other person concerning the attractiveness of one's personal qualities"

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(p. 2). However, Jones and Wortman (1973) were also cognizant of the degree to which people come to engage in a variety of ingratiating behaviors as a function of automatic, as opposed to controlled, processing (i.e., as an overlearned response to contextual cues in the social environment that highlight one's own dependency on others). Toward the conclusion of their monograph, they made reference to the socialization process through which ingratiation becomes a reaction tendency, and they stated that "we now suggest—as we have implied throughout—that ingratiating overtures are rarely the result of conscious or deliberate tactical planning" (Jones & Wortman, 1973, p. 50). As suggested by Jones and Pittman (1982), social cues that highlight one's "momentary" dependency may automatically elicit ingratiating behavior with little volitionality. The lack of conscious attention to such impression management also provides a means of avoiding the potential dilemma of acting in ways that are inconsistent with one's inner beliefs and convictions and thus lessens the likelihood of dissonance arousal. This latter perspective is more consistent with the expansivist viewpoint of other theorists, including Goffman (1959), who have viewed ingratiation as a ubiquitous form of social behavior and as an integral component of interaction sequences (Schlenker, 1980; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992).

Whether one defines this form of impression management as a strategic attempt to attain the attributional goal of increased liking or as a more "mindless" automatic reaction to social cues that highlight people's dependency on one another, the specific behaviors (tactics) that constitute attempts to engender increased liking are likely to occur. The extent to which such behavior is motivated by a desire to be viewed favorably by others is often intensified when status differences exist between the interactants. Given that such differences exist in a wide range of interactions and in nearly all organizational settings, the topic of ingratiation is relevant for all who study social interaction and social influence.

Researchers in social psychology, industrial-organizational psychology, and management have conducted a large number of empirical studies that have examined the impact of ingratiation strategies on specific judgments and evaluations (e.g., perceived likability, perceived competency, performance appraisals, hiring decisions, promotions, and pay raises). However, to date, no attempt has been made to statistically summarize the effects found in these studies. The purpose of the present investigation was to provide a meta-analytic review of the effect sizes in this group of studies and to test for a set of moderational effects derived from past research in this area. Given the problems inherent in collapsing across studies that evaluate the influence of a wide variety of impression management strategies (e.g., intimidation, ingratiation, supplication, and exemplification), the present study was restricted to research that operationalized the self-presentational tactic as a form of ingratiation and to research that examined the effect of ingratiation on various judgments and evaluations.¹

Overall Effect Size

Jones (1964) suggested that a variety of tactics can be used to increase liking on the part of a target. Consistent with this statement, Wortman and Linsenmeier (1977) noted that a wide

range of attributions may occur as a function of an ingratiation attempt. Indeed, the possibility that tactical ingratiation may become completely transparent (especially in situations in which the ingratiator is highly dependent on the target for rewards) exemplifies Jones's (1964) description of the "ingratiator's dilemma." Given the wide range of possible interpretations of and reactions to various ingratiation tactics, it is likely that the overall impact of ingratiation may be relatively small. However, the impact of ingratiation has been shown to be affected by numerous personal and situational variables. A list of potential moderator variables, along with their predicted effect on the strength of the ingratiation-evaluation relationship, is provided subsequently.

Moderator Variables

Specific Ingratiation Tactic

Perhaps the most basic factor related to successful ingratiation is the specific tactic used to increase liking. On the basis of research summarized in Jones and Wortman (1973), the specific class of ingratiation tactic (e.g., opinion conformity, enhancement of others ["other enhancement"], rendering favors, self-promotion, or modesty) was expected to moderate the ingratiation-evaluation relationship. Tactics that tend to be more transparent or that are known to produce a variety of responses (e.g., rendering favors producing reactance or a sense of obligation) were not anticipated to produce positive evaluations to the same extent as other tactics that may be less likely to be interpreted as an index of ulterior motives (e.g., other enhancement, opinion conformity, and self-presentation). The potential for interactions between ingratiation tactic and additional moderators is discussed in the *Status and Dependency* and *Transparency* sections.

Role of Perceiver

The next moderational prediction was based on the nature of the ongoing interaction and the manner in which actors reach consensus regarding the definition of an interaction sequence. Pandey (1986) has suggested that ingratiators are likely to be judged more positively by a target receiving direct compliments, opinion conformity, and so forth than by a bystander who observes an exchange between an ingratiator and target. He cited Goffman's (1955) writing on "face-work" and noted that, as a function of being an observer only, a bystander's ego or face is not directly involved in the interaction. Under such circumstances, it becomes easier to question the validity of ingratiators' behavior. Conversely, when an individual is directly involved as a target, it becomes more difficult to constantly question the honesty of the other's assertions and maintain the interaction.

A series of studies conducted by Cialdini and others (Braver,

¹ The one exception to this last criterion was that studies that examined the self-presentational strategy of self-promotion were also included in the review. This decision was based on the relatively large number of studies that operationalized self-promotion as a self-presentational form of ingratiation and on the taxonomy of ingratiation tactics described by Jones and Wortman (1973).

Linder, Corwin, & Cialdini, 1977; Cialdini, Braver, & Lewis, 1974) provide additional evidence relevant to differential evaluations by observers and targets of ingratiation. Cialdini and his colleagues demonstrated that people who deliver persuasive appeals form positive impressions of targets who respond with opinion conformity, whereas observers of such interactions develop more positive impressions of targets who resist persuasive appeals. The fact that this effect was also shown to be moderated by the persuader's degree of personal control (Cialdini & Mirrels, 1976; the effect described occurred only for persuaders with an internal locus of control) meshes nicely with Goffman's perspective on face-work differences between the target and the observer. These data, coupled with the relatively strong empirical evidence regarding the reciprocation of liking (cf. Backman & Secord, 1959), early ingratiation research described by Jones (1964), and findings from a direct test of this moderator by Pandey and Bohra (1986), suggest that participants who are directly involved as the target of the ingratiation tactic are more likely to be positively affected by the tactic than observers or bystanders who simply witness the exchange between ingratiator and target.

Setting

The setting (laboratory vs. field) in which the research took place was expected to affect the relationship. Given the increased control and relatively brief time span involved in most laboratory studies, stronger relationships were anticipated from laboratory data than from data collected in natural settings. Moreover, a number of additional moderator variables are likely to differ across settings in such a manner as to foster weaker effects in natural settings (e.g., status differences are likely to be heightened in natural settings, along with increased ingratiator dependency).

Type of Dependent Measure

The nature of the dependent variable was also predicted to moderate the impact of ingratiation. Once again, the tendency to reciprocate liking was expected to produce relatively strong relationships between ingratiation and likability assessments. However, weaker relationships were predicted across effect sizes in studies that examined the impact of ingratiation on evaluations of competency or actual performance evaluations. Given the strength of reciprocity as a social norm, it is possible that in situations in which the ingratiation attempt is interpreted by the target as "ingratiation," the most appropriate response might be to reciprocate the "feigned" liking while forming more negative judgments and evaluations of the ingratiator. Findings from a study by Kipnis and Vanderveer (1971) suggest that it is easier for ingratiating workers to obtain increased liking than it is for them to receive enhanced performance evaluations. In addition, the specific attributional goal of ingratiation is to produce perceptions of likability, not perceptions of competency.

Status and Dependency

On the basis of what may be gained for both ingratiator and target (power enhancement and dependency reduction), ex-

changes between high-status ingratiators and low-status targets (downward influence) are expected to be more successful than exchanges between low-status ingratiators and high-status targets (upward influence). However, other factors are expected to qualify this relationship. Both Jones (1964) and Jones and Wortman (1973) suggested that the variables of status and dependency should moderate the impact of ingratiation and increase or decrease the likelihood that specific tactics will lead to increased liking.

According to Jones (1964), a low-status ingratiator's position may be so obvious in terms of what he or she may gain through successful ingratiation that the use of direct and more obvious tactics such as rendering favors might be perceived as too risky. Therefore, tactics that match role expectations of low-status subordinates, such as opinion conformity, would appear to be better suited to exchanges between low-status ingratiators and high-status targets. In Jones's (1964) words, "The high status recipient of agreement is not likely to suspect the tactical origin because, from his perspective, it is gratifying, but hardly surprising when people believe what is correct" (p. 121). In keeping with this role perspective, the tactic of other enhancement would appear to be more appropriate for exchanges between high-status ingratiators and low-status targets because judgment and evaluation are congruent with a high-status supervisory role. In a similar manner, Liden and Mitchell (1988) have suggested that as status differences increase between ingratiator and target, the perceived risk of ingratiation also increases. Therefore, these researchers proposed that relatively unobtrusive ingratiation strategies such as the self-presentational examples of apology, modesty, and self-deprecation should be more successful when large status differences exist and that more obvious tactics such as other enhancement and rendering favors should prove more effective when status differences are relatively small.

In their literature review and description of their two-component model of impression management, Leary and Kowalski (1990) stated that the first component, "impression motivation" (the degree to which people are motivated to control how others perceive them), will be strongly affected by the individual's dependency on a specific target and, thus, status or power differences between a potential ingratiator and target. In turn, as status differences increase, they will affect the second factor in the model (impression construction). Large status differences should lead to the choice of a tactic that is less likely to be transparent. Consistent with Jones (1964) and Liden and Mitchell (1988), Leary and Kowalski (1990) noted that the direction of the influence attempt will also affect impression motivation and, consequently, impression construction.

On the basis of the information just delineated, the moderating effects of ingratiation and target status and the dependency of the ingratiator were examined. Given the interactive nature of the effects listed, when sample size (number of effect sizes) allowed, assessments were made of the interaction between the direction of influence, as determined by status differences, and the specific type of ingratiation tactic.

Transparency

As previously indicated, numerous factors are likely to influence the relative transparency of the ingratiation (e.g., ingra-

tiator and target status, ingratiation dependency, and specific tactic used). However, regardless of the specific combination of factors that lead to transparency, the likelihood that ingratiation is labeled as such should have an impact on the effectiveness of ingratiation. On the basis of the work of Jones (1964) and the review by Jones and Wortman (1973), it is possible that this relationship might approximate an inverted U function.

Ingratiation that becomes obvious to a target (entirely transparent) is likely to fail miserably at increasing a target's liking for the ingratiation. In fact, it is entirely possible that a correct interpretation on the part of a target would lead to a significant decrease in liking for the ingratiation. Conversely, as suggested by Jones and Wortman (1973), if a tactic is interpreted to be an example of entirely normative behavior (nontransparent), it may also fail to increase liking on the part of the target. The information just cited suggests that a moderate degree of transparency may be the key to success.

Method

Sample of Studies

The procedure used to derive the final sample of studies included in the meta-analysis was based on information and techniques described by Glass, McGaw, and Smith (1981); Hedges and Olkin (1985); Hunter, Schmidt, and Jackson (1982); and Rosenthal (1984). A computer search that examined the 1974–1992 PsycINFO (*Psychological Abstracts*) database and the 1966–1992 ERIC database was conducted. This search used the key words *upward influence*, *impression management*, *self-presentation*, and *ingratiation** for title and abstract. *Psychological Abstracts* was also searched manually for the years 1959–1974. Given the indexing changes that have taken place over time and the tendency in social psychology to provide new names for old concepts (Miller & Pollock, 1994), the following supplementary key words were also used for the manual portion of the search: *conformity*, *impression management*, *interpersonal influence*, and *social influence*. Additional sources of studies included reviews that have been published in the areas of ingratiation, self-presentation, and impression management (Jones, 1964; Jones & Pittman, 1982; Jones & Wortman, 1973; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992). The reference lists of each of the studies that were included in the sample were also inspected for additional relevant studies. Finally, additional studies were solicited from the 12 authors whose work constituted the largest portion of usable studies.

Inclusion Criteria

The inclusion criteria for the meta-analysis were as follows. First, the researchers had to explicitly define the self-presentational strategy as ingratiation or as a behavior previously described by Jones (1964) or Jones and Wortman (1973) as a specific ingratiation tactic. Second, the ingratiation had to be operationalized as an independent variable that could be compared against a no-ingratiation treatment condition, or the relationship between self-reports of engaging in ingratiation and some form of evaluation of the ingratiation had to be examined. Third, the necessary inferential statistics or means and standard deviations had to be reported in the article. Finally, the dependent measure had to involve a judgment or evaluation regarding the ingratiation.

Because of the relatively small number of paper presentations and research reports that met the inclusion criteria,² a decision was made to restrict the analysis to published research in the form of journal articles and summaries of research investigations found in books and reviews. It is possible that inclusion of data from the fugitive research literature

(including dissertations) might have had some impact on the nature of the relationships found in the present review. However, a file drawer analysis (Rosenthal, 1979) conducted on the final set of 69 independent effect sizes revealed that it would have taken 3,197 null findings to significantly affect the mean effect size found in the current collection of studies.

The search produced a total of 168 articles. Sixteen of these were narrative review or theoretical papers, 35 were studies in which ingratiation was examined as a dependent variable, and 62 either did not have a relevant control condition or did not provide data that would permit calculation of the relevant effect size. The remaining 55 journal articles met all of the inclusion criteria. This group of articles included 69 studies and yielded 106 effect sizes (studies included in the meta-analysis are indicated in the reference list with asterisks).

The relatively large number of effect sizes calculated per study (approximately 1.5) was a function of two factors. First, 17 of the independent studies involved separate liking and performance appraisal ratings. Given the predicted differential impact of ingratiation on these two types of judgments, this information was entered separately. Second, 9 studies involved the assessment of different types of ingratiation tactics. Given the importance of this potential moderator variable, this information was also entered separately.

Cooper's (1989) shifting unit of analysis strategy was used to address the issue of dependency across effect sizes. This approach involves an initial coding of each relevant statistical test within a study as an independent event. For example, a single group of participants' liking and performance appraisal ratings would be coded as two separate effect sizes. This assists in the evaluation of specific moderator variables. However, for the overall assessment of effect size or additional moderator assessments (e.g., specific ingratiation tactic), the two effect sizes referred to in the example just mentioned would be integrated so that the study would contribute a single independent effect size to the analysis.

Variables Coded From Each Study

In addition to the effect size(s) computed for each study (*d*), the following measures were also recorded: date of publication, design (correlational or experimental), and sample size. The following categorical variables were coded as potential moderators: (a) ingratiation tactic (opinion conformity, other enhancement, rendering of favors, self-presentation,³ or combination⁴), (b) role of perceiver (target of the ingratiation vs. bystander or observer), (c) type of dependent variable (liking vs. perceived competency or performance evaluation), (d) setting (university or school vs. field), (e) type of participants (university students, kindergarten–Grade 12 students, or nonstudents), (f) sex of participants (male, female, or both), (g) stimulus material (written, audio, audiovisual, or face-to-face interaction), and (h) direction of influence attempt (upward, downward, or lateral). The following four continuous moderator variables were also coded: (a) ingratiation status (*low* = 1, *high* = 7), (b) target status (*low* = 1, *high* = 7), (c) ingratiation

² A number of the paper presentations found in ERIC were subsequently published as articles and included in the study.

³ On the basis of the framework developed by Jones and Wortman (1973), this category included the following specific self-presentational tactics: self-promotion or entitlement, self-deprecation or modesty, apologies, positive nonverbal displays, and name usage.

⁴ Studies were coded in this category when the ingratiation instructions suggested that a variety of tactics were to be used (e.g., "get the person to like you by agreeing with them, flattering them, etc."), when generic instructions were given to ingratiation (e.g., "get the person to like you"), or when ingratiation was measured by an instrument that assessed a variety of tactics (e.g., Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson's, 1980, POIS-M scale).

Table 1
Moderator Variable Definitions, Range of Values, Coding Procedure, and Reliability

Variable	Definition	Potential range of values	Reliability
Ingratiation tactic	Type of ingratiation	1 = opinion conformity, 2 = other enhancement, 3 = rendering favors, 4 = self-presentation, 5 = combination	.88 ^a
Role of perceiver	Role of individual who provided the dependent measure(s)	1 = target of the ingratiator, 2 = bystander or observer	.87 ^a
Sex of participants	Sex of participants who provided the dependent measure(s)	1 = male, 2 = female, 3 = both	.98 ^a
Direction of influence	Direction of ingratiation	1 = upward, 2 = lateral, 3 = downward	— ^b
Stimulus material	Type of stimulus on which judgments were based	1 = written, 2 = audio, 3 = audiovisual, 4 = interaction	.93 ^a
Setting	Setting where data were collected	1 = university or school, 2 = field	.96 ^a
Type of dependent variable	Measure used to compute effect size(s)	1 = liking, 2 = perceived competency or performance evaluation	.88 ^a
Type of participants	Participants who provided the dependent measure	1 = university students, 2 = kindergarten-Grade 12, 3 = nonstudents	.97 ^a
Ingratiator status	Perceived status level of ingratiator	1 = low status, 7 = high status	.82 ^c
Target status	Perceived status level of target	1 = low status, 7 = high status	.64 ^c
Ingratiator dependency	Degree to which ingratiator was dependent on target for outcomes	1 = low dependency, 7 = high dependency	.73 ^c
Ingratiation transparency	Probability that ingratiation would be perceived as ingratiation	1 = nontransparent, 7 = transparent	.78 ^c

^a Perceived agreement measure. ^b Coding for this moderator was based on comparing the sums of ingratiator status and target status ratings. When the sum of target status ratings was larger, the corresponding effect size was coded as upward influence; when this sum was smaller, the effect size was coded as downward influence; and, when sums of status ratings were equivalent, the effect size was coded as lateral influence. ^c Spearman-Brown reliability coefficient.

dependency (low = 1, high = 7), and (d) ingratiation transparency (nontransparent = 1, transparent = 7).

The coding procedure involved an examination of the method section of each of the 69 studies. Raters were provided with a set of instructions and definitions for each of the categorical and continuous moderator variables.⁵ The list of moderator variables, definitions, scale values, measurement procedure, and reliability coefficients can be found in Table 1. The categorical variables were coded by two judges; the continuous variables were coded by three judges. The interrater agreement across the categorical moderator variables ranged from 87% to 98%. The mean interrater agreement was 92%, and disagreements were resolved via discussion. The average Spearman-Brown reliability coefficient across the four continuous moderator variables was .74, and the sum of judges' ratings was used as the final value for these moderators.

Analysis of Effect Sizes

The effect size used in the study was d , which is equivalent to the difference between the experimental (ingratiation) and control means divided by a pooled standard deviation. The 69 independent effect sizes were based on (a) t or F values (42 effects), (b) r or chi-square values (17 effects), (c) means and standard deviations (9 effects), and (d) p values (1 effect). Each of the effect sizes was converted to d and subsequently analyzed with DSTAT, a meta-analytic software package (Johnson, 1989). All effect sizes were corrected for bias due to d 's overestimation of population effect size (Hedges, 1981). The homogeneity of each set of effect sizes was determined with a technique developed by Hedges (1982). In this procedure, the homogeneity of the effect sizes within each class is estimated by Q_{wi} , which has an approximate chi-square distribution with $m - 1$ degrees of freedom, where m is equivalent to the number of effect sizes within each class. A significant Q_{wi} statistic is indicative of heterogeneity among a specific set of effect sizes.

Results

Overall Findings

A listing of each effect size (d) corrected for sampling bias, the respective 95% confidence interval, and categorical variable values can be found in Table 2. Positive effect sizes indicate that ingratiation had a positive effect on liking or performance evaluations. A summary of these effect sizes revealed that the mean weighted effect size, corrected for sample size bias, was 0.20. The test for homogeneity was significant, indicating that a substantial amount of variability existed across the 69 effect sizes, $Q_w(68) = 700.19, p < .00001$. This relationship was based on a total sample size of 6,509. The 95% confidence interval for this statistic ranged from 0.16 to 0.24, and the individual effect sizes ranged from -1.33 to 3.64. A counting analysis revealed that, for 36 of the 69 effect sizes (52%), ingratiation had a significantly positive effect on perceivers' judgments, $\chi^2(1) = 328.78, p < .0001$. Twenty-three of the 69 effect sizes were not statistically significant. Given the one-tailed logic of counting tests, it was not possible to evaluate the significance of the 10

⁵ The instructions for rating the categorical variables were relatively straightforward. However, given the likelihood that the continuously scaled variables of status, dependency, and transparency would be intercorrelated, the rating instructions for these moderators were more explicit and included hypothetical examples along with information on how the interaction of various factors (e.g., ingratiation, dependency, and status differences) might affect the perceived transparency of the ingratiation.

differences (14%) found in the negative direction (Rosenthal, 1978).

Categorical Variable Moderator Analyses

Subsequent to categorizing the effect sizes across each of the moderator variables, it became apparent that the overlap between the moderator variables of setting and type of participants was 100% (i.e., each of the 15 effect sizes gathered from field studies or experiments involved nonstudent participants). Therefore, moderational analyses of the type of participant variable have been omitted from the following presentation.

An examination of the remaining moderator variables was conducted, and the results of this assessment for the categorical moderator variables are listed in Table 3. Table 3 provides the results of a series of categorical model tests for eight potential moderator variables. The between-classes effect in these analyses was estimated by Q_B , which has an approximate chi-square distribution with $p - 1$ degrees of freedom, where p is equal to the number of classes. Again, the homogeneity of the effect sizes within each class was estimated by Q_{W_i} , which has an approximate chi-square distribution with $m = 1$ degrees of freedom, where m is equivalent to the number of effect sizes within each class. As mentioned earlier, a significant Q_{W_i} statistic is indicative of heterogeneity among a specific set of effect sizes. In calculating the mean weighted effect sizes reported in Table 3, each effect size was weighted by the reciprocal of its variance. Each of the variables in Table 3 significantly moderated the effect of ingratiation; however, tests of homogeneity within each of the classes were rejected across all assessments that involved more than two effect sizes.

Type of ingratiation tactic. The information in Table 3 demonstrates differential effects for the various forms of ingratiation tactics. The results also show that, with the exception of rendering favors, each of the ingratiation categories had a significant positive effect on perceptions. The results of a series of pairwise comparisons of the various ingratiation tactics revealed significant differences between the specific tactic of other enhancement ($M d = 0.31$) and the tactic of rendering favors ($M d = 0.05$; $p < .03$) and between other enhancement and the combination category ($M d = 0.11$; $p < .003$).⁶

Specific self-presentation tactics. As a means of further assessing the impact of ingratiation tactic on effect size, additional moderator analyses were conducted on the 17 effect sizes that involved a specific form of the self-presentational tactic and on the 25 effect sizes that fell within the combination category of the tactic variable.⁷ The results of both moderator analyses are listed in Table 4. Significant differences were found across the five different self-presentational categories ($Q_B = 73.53$, $p < .001$). However, the generic and modesty categories included only 1 effect size each. Significant negative effects were found for self-promotion ($M d = -0.17$), and a significant positive effect was found for apologies ($M d = 0.59$; $p < .05$). A contrast analysis revealed that the apology category was significantly more positive than either self-promotion or the nonverbal-name usage category ($ps < .00006$). In addition, the corresponding homogeneity test for the 6 effect sizes in the apology category was not significant.

The examination of the combination ingratiation category

also showed a significant difference among the three types of combination tactics ($Q_B = 61.05$, $p < .001$). Significant positive effects were found for the generic instruction category ($M d = 0.31$) and the multiple tactics category ($M d = 0.43$; $ps < .05$). The generic measure category produced a significant negative mean effect size ($M d = -0.09$, $p < .05$). Post hoc contrasts revealed that the generic instructions and multiple tactic categories produced more positive effects than the generic measure category ($ps < .0005$).

Role of participant. Consistent with the findings from Pandey and Bohra (1986), significant differences were found for the role of participant-perceiver moderator assessment ($Q_B = 76.30$, $p < .001$). Perceivers who were actively involved as the targets of the ingratiation tactic provided positive evaluations of the ingratiation ($M d = 0.36$, $p < .05$), whereas perceivers who played a bystander or observer role did not ($M d = -0.01$, $p > .05$).

Sex of participant. Sex of participant was also shown to significantly moderate effect size ($Q_B = 19.24$, $p < .01$). Results of post hoc contrasts revealed that ingratiation was perceived more positively by participants in studies that included only female participants ($M d = 0.45$) than by those in studies that involved both male and female participants ($M d = 0.16$; $p < .0009$). A similar difference was found between effect sizes based on male perceivers ($M d = 0.34$) and effects based on both male and female perceivers ($p < .03$). A further breakdown of effect sizes that crossed the role of participant and sex of participant variables yielded additional significant results. The results of this comparison are listed in Table 5. These data reveal that judgments of female participants were relatively consistent whether they were targets ($M d = 0.41$) or observers ($M d = 0.49$). However, effect sizes based on studies that included only male participants revealed a significant positive effect when these participants were targets of the ingratiation ($M d = 0.61$) but a marginally significant negative effect ($M d = -0.18$) when they were observers.

Direction of influence. Although all directions of influence attempt produced significant positive effect sizes, post hoc contrasts revealed that downward ($M d = 0.28$) and lateral ($M d = 0.32$) attempts were significantly more successful than were upward ($M d = 0.08$; $ps < .03$) attempts. To provide a test of the hypothesis that the impact of various tactics might differ as a function of the direction of influence, the interaction between these two moderator variables was assessed. Unfortunately, five of the six effect sizes based on downward influence attempts fell into the combination category. Therefore, the evaluation was based on a comparison of tactics used in upward versus lateral influence attempts. The results of this analysis can be found in

⁶ The lack of significant differences between the category of rendering favors and other tactics may have been due, in part, to the small number of effect sizes ($n = 4$) in this category.

⁷ Although it was possible to code the Ferris et al. (1994), Rind (1992), Schlenker and Leary (1982), and Wayne and Ferris (1990) studies into the general categories of self-presentation or combined tactics, the specific self-presentational category coding or combination coding fell into miscellaneous categories for these seven effect sizes. Thus, the numbers of self-presentational and combined tactic effects were reduced from 26 and 23, respectively, to 25 and 17, respectively.

Table 2
Ingratiation Effect Sizes and Categorical Variables

Study	d^a	95% Confidence interval for d		Categorical variables ^b
		Lower	Upper	
Baron (1986)	0.67	0.19	1.14	1/1/3/1/4/4/2/1/1/5/9
Baskett (1973)	0.57	0.01	1.13	1/1/1/1/1/1/2/2/1/9/9
Brehm & Cole (1966)	0.00	-0.51	0.51	1/1/1/1/3/4/2/2/1/9/9
Brounstein & Sigall (1977)	1.27	0.68	1.85	1/1/1/1/3/4/1/1/1/9/9
Bryan & Sherman (1980), Study 1	0.34	-0.10	0.78	1/1/3/1/5/2/2/1/2/9/1
Bryan & Sherman (1980), Study 3	0.39	-0.13	0.91	1/2/2/1/5/2/2/1/2/9/1
Bryan, Sonnefeld, & Greenberg (1981), Study 1	0.47	0.31	0.65	2/-/3/1/5/4/-/-/1/9/3
Byrne (1961)	3.64	2.54	4.73	1/1/3/1/1/1/-/2/1/9/9
Byrne & Griffitt (1966)	0.49	0.18	0.80	1/3/3/1/1/1/2/1/9/9
Byrne & Ramey (1965), Group 1	0.95	0.57	1.32	1/1/3/1/2/1/1/2/1/9/9
Byrne & Ramey (1965), Group 2	1.35	0.89	1.80	1/1/3/1/1/1/1/2/1/9/9
Darby & Schlenker (1982), Study 1	0.62	0.35	0.89	1/3/3/1/4/1/-/2/2/2/9
Darby & Schlenker (1982), Study 2	0.44	0.16	0.72	1/3/3/1/4/1/-/2/2/2/9
Darby & Schlenker (1986)	0.58	0.30	0.86	1/3/3/1/5/1/1/2/2/9/1
Darby & Schlenker (1989)	0.59	0.14	1.04	1/3/3/1/4/1/-/2/2/2/9
Deluga & Perry (1991)	0.01	-0.14	0.16	2/2/3/1/-/4/2/1/1/9/2
Deluga & Perry (1994)	0.32	0.09	0.55	2/2/3/2/-/4/2/1/1/9/9
Deutsch & Solomon (1959)	0.41	0.00	0.81	1/2/2/1/2/1/1/2/1/9/9
Dockery & Steiner (1990)	0.84	0.59	1.08	2/1/3/1/5/4/-/3/1/9/2
Drachman, deCarufel, & Insko (1978)	1.25	0.77	1.73	1/1/1/1/2/1/1/2/1/9/9
Falbe & Yukl (1992)	-0.15	-0.43	0.13	2/2/3/2/5/4/2/2/1/9/2
Ferris, Judge, Rowland, & Fitzgibbons (1994)	0.11	-0.17	0.40	2/2/2/2/-/4/-/1/1/1/-
Ferris & Kacmar (1992), Study 1	-0.54	-0.71	-0.36	2/2/3/2/5/4/2/2/2/9/2
Ferris & Kacmar (1992), Study 2	-0.82	-1.11	-0.52	2/2/3/2/5/4/2/1/2/9/2
Fodor (1974)	-0.33	-0.84	0.18	1/1/1/1/2/1/2/1/1/9/9
Fodor & Farrow (1979)	0.66	0.21	1.11	1/1/1/1/2/3/-/1/1/9/9
Gandz & Murray (1980)	-0.24	-0.39	-0.10	2/2/3/2/5/4/2/2/2/9/2
Gerstein, Ginter, & Graziano (1985)	-0.36	-0.68	-0.05	1/1/3/1/5/2/1/1/2/9/1
Giocalone (1985), Study 1	-0.06	-0.78	0.66	1/1/2/1/4/1/-/2/2/3/9
Giocalone (1985), Study 2	-1.00	-1.66	-0.34	1/1/1/1/4/1/-/2/2/3/9
Giocalone (1985), Study 3	-0.16	-0.89	0.57	1/1/2/1/4/1/2/2/3/9
Gilmore & Ferris (1989)	1.13	0.58	1.67	1/2/3/2/5/2/2/1/2/9/3
Godfrey, Jones, & Lord (1986)	1.11	0.44	1.77	1/1/3/1/-/4/-/2/1/-/-
Gould & Penley (1984)	-0.03	-0.17	0.10	2/2/3/2/-/4/2/1/1/-/9
Izraeli (1987)	-0.56	-0.85	-0.26	1/1/3/1/2/1/2/3/2/9/9
Jones & Baumeister (1976)	0.03	-0.33	0.39	1/1/1/1/1/2/1/2/2/9/9
Jones, Gergen, & Jones (1963)	0.87	0.22	1.52	1/1/1/1/5/1/1/-/1/9/1
Jones, Jones, & Gergen (1963)	0.92	0.47	1.37	1/1/1/1/1/3/1/2/2/9/9
Jones, Stires, Shaver, & Harris (1968), Study 1	0.83	0.10	1.55	1/1/2/1/1/4/1/2/1/9/9
Keisler (1966)	0.79	0.33	1.24	1/1/1/1/3/4/1/2/1/9/9
Kipnis & Schmidt (1988), Study 3	-0.44	-0.98	0.09	2/2/3/2/5/4/2/3/1/9/2
Kipnis & Vanderveer (1971)	1.58	0.57	2.58	1/1/1/1/2/1/2/1/1/9/9
Kleinke, Staneski, & Weaver (1972), Study 1	-0.50	-0.85	-0.15	1/1/3/1/4/2/-/1/2/5/9
Kleinke, Staneski, & Weaver (1972), Study 2	-0.22	-1.01	0.57	1/1/1/1/4/4/-/2/1/5/9
Kleinke, Staneski, & Weaver (1972), Study 3	-0.45	-1.24	0.35	1/1/2/1/4/4/1/2/1/5/9
Knouse, Giocalone, & Pollard (1988)	-0.48	-0.92	-0.03	1/2/3/1/5/1/-/1/2/9/3
Martin (1987)	-0.05	-0.35	0.25	1/1/3/1/2/1/2/1/1/9/9
Pandey & Bohra (1986)	-1.19	-1.80	-0.57	1/1/1/1/5/1/-/1/2/9/3
Pandey & Kakkar (1982)	1.41	0.64	2.18	1/1/9/1/2/1/-/1/1/9/9
Pandey & Singh (1986)	-1.33	-2.02	-0.65	1/1/1/1/5/1/1/1/2/9/3
Pandey & Singh (1987)	1.04	0.66	1.42	1/1/2/1/2/1/-/1/1/9/9
Perlmutter & Bryan (1984), Study 1	0.38	-0.04	0.79	1/1/3/1/5/2/2/1/2/9/1
Perlmutter & Bryan (1984), Study 2	0.13	-0.30	0.55	1/1/3/1/5/5/2/1/2/9/1
Peters & Terborg (1975), Study 1	0.66	0.22	1.10	1/1/1/1/1/1/2/1/1/9/9
Peters & Terborg (1975), Study 2	0.49	-0.03	1.01	1/1/3/1/1/1/2/1/1/9/9
Rind (1992)	0.75	0.03	1.47	1/2/3/2/4/4/2/2/1/-/9
Schlenker & Leary (1982), Study 1	0.06	-0.40	0.53	1/1/3/1/4/1/1/2/2/-/9
Schlenker & Leary (1982), Study 2	0.25	-0.17	0.67	1/1/3/1/4/1/1/2/2/-/9
Schlenker & Leary (1982), Study 3	0.77	0.38	1.16	1/1/3/1/4/1/1/2/2/4/9
Schwartz, Kane, Joseph, & Tedeschi (1978)	0.88	0.23	1.53	1/1/2/1/4/1/2/2/2/2/9
Staneski, Kleinke, & Meeker (1977)	1.41	0.95	1.87	1/1/3/1/5/2/1/3/2/9/1

(table continues)

Table 2 (continued)

Study	d^a	95% Confidence interval for d		Categorical variables ^b
		Lower	Upper	
Tjosvold (1978)	0.51	0.07	0.96	1/1/3/1/2/4/1/2/1/9/9
Watt (1993)	0.96	0.56	1.36	2/2/3/2/5/4/2/1/1/9/2
Wayne & Ferris (1990), Study 1	1.82	1.34	2.30	2/1/3/1/5/4/1/1/1/9/3
Wayne & Ferris (1990), Study 2	0.33	-0.02	0.67	2/2/3/2/-/4/-/1/1/-/9
Wayne & Kacmar (1991)	0.92	0.50	1.34	1/1/3/1/5/4/2/1/1/9/3
Wood & Mitchell (1981), Study 1	0.94	0.51	1.38	1/2/2/2/4/1/2/1/2/2/9
Wood & Mitchell (1981), Study 2	0.35	-0.14	0.84	1/2/2/2/4/2/2/1/2/2/9
Yukl & Tracey (1992)	0.01	-0.23	0.26	2/2/3/2/5/4/2/-/1/9/1

^a Effect size corrected for sampling size bias. ^b The 1st categorical variable was study method (1 = experimental, 2 = correlational); the 2nd variable was type of participants (1 = university students, 2 = nonstudents, 3 = kindergarten-Grade 12 students); the 3rd variable was sex of participants (1 = male, 2 = female, 3 = both); the 4th variable was setting (1 = university or school, 2 = field); the 5th variable was ingratiation tactic (1 = opinion conformity, 2 = other enhancement, 3 = rendering favors, 4 = self-presentation, 5 = combination); the 6th variable was stimulus material (1 = written, 2 = audio, 3 = audiovisual, 4 = face-to-face interaction); the 7th variable was type of dependent variable (1 = liking, 2 = perceived competency or performance evaluation); the 8th variable was direction of influence attempt (1 = upward, 2 = lateral, 3 = downward); the 9th variable was role of perceiver (1 = target of the ingratiation, 2 = bystander or observer); the 10th variable involved the specific form of the self-presentational ingratiation tactic (1 = generic, 2 = apology, 3 = self-promotion, 4 = modesty and self-deprecation, 5 = miscellaneous [e.g., nonverbal presentations and name using]); and the 11th variable was a further assessment of the combined category of ingratiation tactics (1 = generic instructions [e.g., "get them to like you"], 2 = generic measurement [e.g., Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson's, 1980, POIS-M], 3 = combined instructions [e.g., "get them to like you by agreeing with them, flattering them, etc."]). A 9 in any of the categorical variables indicates missing data. A dash indicates that the effect size was an integration of multiple effect sizes that collapsed over differences within a specific category.

Table 6. The findings for lateral influence were uniformly positive across each category and show that the least effective category was the combination category, which was significantly less effective than opinion conformity, self-presentation, and other enhancement ($ps < .009$). Contrary to predictions, the tactic of other enhancement produced the most positive evaluations in upward influence attempts. In fact, the mean effect size for this category was significantly greater than the average effect sizes from each of the other four categories ($ps < .03$).

Channel-stimulus. As indicated in Table 3, the type of channel-stimulus used was also significantly related to effect size ($Q_B = 19.24, p < .01$). Results of the contrast analyses on the channel-stimulus moderator variable revealed that written formats ($M d = 0.40$) produced marginally greater effects than the audiovisual format ($M d = 0.18; p < .10$) and significantly greater effects than the interaction format ($M d = 0.09; p < .0001$). In a similar manner, the audio-only format ($M d = 0.79$) produced significantly stronger effect sizes than either the audiovisual ($M d = 0.18$) or interaction ($M d = 0.09; ps < .02$) format. However, caution is warranted regarding the interpretation of these last two comparisons because the mean weighted effect size for the audio-only format was based on only two effect sizes.

Design. The methodologically based moderator of design was also shown to be significantly related to effect size ($Q_B = 75.34, p < .001$). Significantly stronger relationships were found between ingratiation and evaluation among experimental studies that involved manipulation of the independent variable ($M d = 0.40, p < .05$) than among correlational studies that examined this relationship without overt manipulation ($M d = 0.04, p > .05$). As indicated earlier, the average weighted effect size for the correlational studies failed to reach significance.

Setting. As expected, significantly stronger effect sizes were also found for research conducted in laboratory settings than

for research conducted in field settings ($Q_B = 109.17, p < .001$). In fact, the average effect size for laboratory research showed a significant positive effect for ingratiation ($M d = 0.38, p < .05$), whereas the average effect size for field settings revealed a significant negative effect ($M d = -0.07; p < .05$).

Type of dependent measure. Finally, effect sizes based on examining the likability of the ingratiation were significantly stronger ($M d = 0.51$) than effect sizes based on assessments of competency or performance ($M d = 0.11; Q_B = 101.38, p < .001$). However, both of these effect sizes were significant (both $ps < .05$). Given the relatively large mean effect size difference between these two classes of dependent measures, an additional series of moderator analyses, using the other seven categorical moderator variables, was conducted separately for the liking and the performance effect sizes. The results of these additional moderator evaluations matched the overall assessment for the setting, stimulus, and participant role variables. However, differences were found for the design, tactic, sex of participant, and direction of influence variables.

Consistent with the overall assessment, experimental studies ($M d = 0.28$) yielded stronger effects than did correlational studies ($M d = 0.02; Q_B = 28.59, p < .001$) when the dependent measure involved an evaluation of the ingratiation's performance. However, no difference was found between experimental studies ($M d = 0.47$) and correlational studies ($M d = 0.59; p > .05$) when the dependent measure was a likability rating.

The impact of the sex of participant moderator variable also differed as a function of the type of dependent measure. As was the case in the overall analysis, studies involving only female participants showed more positive performance evaluations ($M d = 0.44$) than studies involving both male and female participants ($M d = 0.08; p < .015$). Unlike the overall sex of participant results, the comparison between effect sizes based on female participants ($M d = 0.44$) and those based on only male

Table 3
Tests of Categorical Models for Ingratiation Effect Sizes

Variable and class	Between-class effect (Q_B)	<i>n</i>	Weighted effect size (d_{i+})	95% confidence interval for d_{i+}		Homogeneity within each class (Q_{w_i}) ^a
				Lower	Upper	
Tactic	20.48*****					
Opinion conformity		11	0.23	0.13	0.32	130.77*****
Other enhancement		13	0.31	0.23	0.40	104.30*****
Rendering favors		4	0.05	-0.08	0.19	30.81*****
Self-presentation		23	0.15	0.09	0.23	188.11*****
Combination		26	0.10	0.05	0.16	378.64*****
Role of participants	76.30*****					
Interactant		39	0.36	0.30	0.41	305.75*****
Bystander-observer		30	-0.01	-0.08	0.05	318.13*****
Sex of participants ^b	19.24*****					
Male		16	0.34	0.21	0.47	122.69*****
Female		11	0.45	0.30	0.59	32.17*****
Both		41	0.16	0.11	0.20	516.66*****
Direction of influence	35.37*****					
Upward		34	0.08	0.02	0.13	359.42*****
Lateral		32	0.33	0.26	0.39	233.27*****
Downward		6	0.28	0.14	0.41	95.22*****
Channel-stimulus	55.68*****					
Audio		2	0.79	0.47	1.10	.65
Audio visual		9	0.18	0.04	0.32	68.52*****
Written		31	0.40	0.33	0.48	259.98*****
Interaction		26	0.09	0.04	0.15	315.35*****
Design	75.34*****					
Experimental		54	0.40	0.34	0.46	380.73*****
Correlational		15	0.04	-0.02	0.09	244.11*****
Setting	109.17*****					
University		54	0.38	0.33	0.43	439.97*****
Field		15	-0.07	-0.13	-0.00	151.05*****
Type of dependent measure	101.38*****					
Liking		39	0.51	0.45	0.57	380.45*****
Performance		49	0.11	0.07	0.16	482.17*****

Note. Positive effect sizes indicate that ingratiation had a positive effect on evaluations.

^a Significance indicates rejection of the homogeneity hypothesis. ^b One study did not provide a description of participants' gender.

***** $p < .001$.

participants ($Md = 0.08$) was also significant ($p < .015$). Conversely, the results of a similar assessment among effect sizes for liking revealed no significant differences across these three sex of participant categories ($ps > .20$).

A comparison of the direction of influence variable at both levels of the dependent variable moderator revealed findings consistent with the hypothesized differences, but only when the dependent measure was liking. For these cases, downward influence attempts produced greater liking ($Md = 1.28$) than did lateral influence attempts ($Md = 0.54$; $p < .0001$), which, in turn, produced greater liking than upward influence attempts ($Md = 0.19$; $p < .0001$). The same assessment of effect sizes based on performance evaluations failed to reveal any significant differences across the three influence attempt directions ($Q_B = 4.33$, $p > .12$).

Finally, the results of the type of tactic moderator analysis for effect sizes based on liking were the same as those listed in the type of tactic section. However, restricting the analysis to effect sizes based on performance evaluations provided results that were more consistent with predictions of which tactic would be

more effective for upward influence attempts. For this group of effect sizes, opinion conformity ($Md = 0.76$) produced significantly stronger effects than other enhancement ($Md = 0.14$; $p < .005$) and the combination category ($Md = 0.04$; $p < .0005$) and marginally stronger effects than the self-presentation category ($Md = 0.32$; $p < .08$).

Continuous Variable Moderator Analyses

An examination of the relations among the four continuous moderator variables (transparency of ingratiation, ingratiation status, target status, and ingratiation dependency) was conducted, and the correlations between these variables are listed in Table 7. As expected, there were significant relationships between each of the continuous moderator variables. Significant positive relations were found between perceived transparency of the ingratiation and the variables of target status and ingratiation dependency ($ps < .05$), and a negative correlation was found between transparency and ingratiation status ($p < .05$). The cor-

Table 4
Tests of Categorical Models for Specific Self-Presentational Tactic and the Combination Ingratiation Tactic Category

Variable and class	Between-class effect (Q_B)	n	Weighted effect size (d_{i+})	95% confidence interval for d_{i+}		Homogeneity within each class (Q_{wi}) ^a
				Lower	Upper	
Specific self-presentation tactic	73.53*****					
Nonverbal behavior and name usage		4	-0.14	-0.39	0.11	15.97*****
Self-promotion		5	-0.17	-0.30	-0.05	21.01*****
Generic		1	0.28	0.06	0.51	0.00
Apology		6	0.59	0.44	0.75	5.33
Modesty		1	0.77	0.38	1.16	0.00
Combination	61.05*****					
Generic measures		8	-0.09	-0.17	-0.01	144.15*****
Generic instructions		10	0.31	0.18	0.42	57.64*****
Multiple tactics		7	0.43	0.30	0.56	112.89*****

Note. Positive effect sizes indicate that ingratiation had a positive effect on evaluations.

^a Significance indicates rejection of the homogeneity hypothesis.

***** $p < .01$. ***** $p < .001$.

relations among ingratiation dependency, ingratiation status, and target status were also significant ($ps < .01$).

As a means of assessing the relations between each of these moderators and effect size, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted in which all of the effect sizes ($n = 106$) were regressed on the four continuous moderator variables and, subsequently, on the three categorical moderators shown to have the strongest relations to effect size. On the basis of information provided in Hedges and Olkin (1985), this least squares regression involved weighting each effect size by the reciprocal of its variance. Because of the inclusion of effect sizes based on between-subjects and within-subject studies, a correction factor listed in Johnson (1989) was used to provide appropriate

weights for individual sample sizes. Tests of the least squares regression model provide a significance test for each predictor variable and a test for specification of the overall model indicating the extent of unexplained criterion variance. This latter test is based on the error sum of squares statistic, Q_E , which has an approximate chi-square distribution with $k - p - 1$ degrees of freedom, where k represents the number of effect sizes and p represents the number of predictors (minus the intercept). The standardized regression coefficients for the regression analysis and their corresponding standard errors are listed in Table 8. The four continuous moderators accounted for 21% of the variance in effect size, $F(4, 101) = 6.57$, $p < .0001$, and the standardized regression coefficients for each of the moderators, with

Table 5
Tests of Categorical Models for Ingratiation Effect Sizes Based on Participant Sex and Role of Participant

Variable and class	Between-class effect (Q_B)	n	Weighted effect size (d_{i+})	95% confidence interval for d_{i+}		Homogeneity within each class (Q_{w_i}) ^a
				Lower	Upper	
Target role						
Sex of participants	12.54*****					
Male		11	0.61	0.45	0.78	39.68*****
Female		5	0.41	0.23	0.60	20.58*****
Both		22	0.31	0.25	0.37	225.75*****
Observer role						
Sex of participants	21.84*****					
Male		5	-0.18	-0.40	0.05	51.47*****
Female		6	0.49	0.27	0.72	11.30
Both		19	-0.04	-0.11	0.03	233.52*****

Note. Positive effect sizes indicate that ingratiation had a positive effect on evaluations.

^a Significance indicates rejection of the homogeneity hypothesis.

***** $p < .01$. ***** $p < .001$.

Table 6
Tests of Categorical Models for Ingratiation Effect Sizes Based on Direction of Influence and Type of Ingratiation Tactic

Variable and class	Between-class effect (Q_B)	n	Weighted effect size (d_{it})	95% confidence interval for d_{it}		Homogeneity within each class (Q_{wi}) ^a
				Lower	Upper	
Lateral influence						
Tactic	54.70*****					
Opinion conformity		7	0.67	0.50	0.84	51.72*****
Other enhancement		4	0.76	0.55	0.97	9.14**
Rendering favors		2	0.44	0.10	0.77	5.17
Self-presentation		14	0.41	0.28	0.53	45.10*****
Combination		6	0.12	0.03	0.21	62.73*****
Upward influence						
Tactic	35.63*****					
Opinion conformity		4	0.05	-0.07	0.15	42.69*****
Other enhancement		8	0.31	0.22	0.41	44.21*****
Rendering favors		2	-0.02	-0.16	0.13	19.83*****
Self-presentation		12	-0.06	-0.14	0.02	115.64*****
Combination		21	0.11	0.04	0.18	315.55*****

Note. Positive effect sizes indicate that ingratiation had a positive effect on evaluations.

^a Significance indicates rejection of the homogeneity hypothesis.

** $p < .06$. ***** $p < .001$.

the exception of target status, were significant ($ps < .05$). However, the model specification test revealed that the model was not correctly specified ($Q_E = 418.85$, $p < .001$). A subsequent regression that involved the addition of the three categorical moderators shown to have the strongest impact on effect size, based on between-classes effect tests (role of participant, setting, and type of dependent variable), accounted for an additional 11% of the variance in effect size, $F_{\text{change}}(7, 98) = 6.50$, $p_{\text{change}} < .0001$. The standardized regression coefficients for type of dependent variable and role of participant were both significant ($ps < .05$); the regression coefficient for setting was not ($p > .20$). However, the model specification test for the addition of these three predictors also revealed that the model was not correctly specified ($Q_E = 369.63$, $p < .001$).

A listing of the zero-order and higher order partial correlations between moderator variables included in the hierarchical regression analysis, along with effect size, can be found in Table 9. The significant relation between the perceived transparency of the ingratiation attempt and the impact of ingratia-

tion suggests the pivotal role of this variable. Indeed, this moderator accounted for a greater portion of variance in effect size (14.4%) than any other continuous or categorical moderator variable. Partialing out the effects of the other six predictor variables produced two additional significant relations but also had the effect of changing two relations from significant to nonsignificant.

As a means of examining the hypothesis that the relation between perceived transparency and evaluations might be nonlinear, an additional polynomial regression analysis was conducted in which quadratic and cubic effects were entered after the untransformed transparency variable. As predicted, the addition of the quadratic predictor produced a significant increase in explained variability, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 103) = 4.39$, $p_{\text{change}} < .038$. Adding the cubic effect did not explain a significant amount of additional variation in effect size, $F_{\text{change}}(3, 102) = 0.40$, $p_{\text{change}} > .53$. A curve based on the results of the polynomial regression analysis was plotted to provide a graphic representation of the quadratic relation between transparency and effect size. This

Table 7
Means, Standard Deviations, and Zero-Order Correlations Between Continuous Moderator Variables

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. Transparency	10.42	3.78	—				
2. Dependency	9.61	3.87	.33*****	—			
3. Ingratiator status	10.23	2.23	-.18***	-.63*****	—		
4. Target status	13.69	2.25	.21***	.70*****	-.79*****	—	
5. Status difference	4.38	3.50	.21***	.82*****	-.66*****	.74*****	—

Note. Data are based on a sample size of 106.

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

Table 8
Standardized Regression Coefficients and Standard Errors for the Regression of Effect Size on Subsets of Continuous and Categorical Moderator Variables

Step and variable	Standardized regression coefficient	SE	t
Step 1			
Transparency	-.32	.09	-3.40*****
Dependency	-.32	.13	-2.43****
Ingratiator status	-.31	.15	-2.05***
Target status	.07	.16	0.46
Step 2			
Type of dependent variable	-.28	.09	-3.21*****
Role of participant	.19	.09	2.01***
Setting	-.13	.11	-1.19

Note. For the variables entered in Step 1, $df = 97$; for the variables entered in step 2, $df = 91$. SE = standard error.

*** $p < .05$. **** $p < .02$. ***** $p < .01$.

representation can be found in Figure 1. On the basis of the data represented in Figure 1, it would appear that low to moderate levels of transparency produce the most positive evaluations.

Discussion

Cohen's (1969) general guidelines for the interpretation of effect size strength describe effect sizes (d s) ranging from 0 to 0.40 as small. On the basis of studies included in the present review, the data reveal that ingratiation tactics have a relatively small but positive impact on judgments and evaluations. The findings also suggest that, across each of the moderator evaluations, a significant amount of variance in effect sizes remains unexplained. The hypothesis of homogeneity was rejected across each of the categorical moderator analyses and the two regression assessments that were conducted. The relatively small overall positive effect size and the inability to correctly specify a model suggest that the impact of ingratiation is quite variable and subject to a wide variety of moderator variables. In short, the findings suggest that additional factors, or possibly higher order interactions between the present moderator variables, may play a significant role in determining the impact of ingratiation.

Categorical Moderator Variables

Even though considerable unexplained variability in effect size remained after each of the moderator assessments, a number of informative findings emerged from these analyses, many of them consistent with hypotheses stated at the outset of this article. The strongest predictor of effect size among the categorical moderator variables was role of participant (target vs. observer). Nearly 30 years ago, Jones (1964) suggested that the target of an ingratiation attempt would be more likely to be positively affected by the ingratiation than would a bystander who observed an exchange between an ingratiation and target. Summary data from this meta-analytic investigation provide strong empirical support for that supposition. On the basis of the effect sizes reported here, it appears that people find it difficult remaining neutral when another has flattered them or agreed with them on some issue. On the other hand, when witnessing similar exchanges between an ingratiation and a target, perceivers are more likely to question the motive behind the flattery or opinion conformity.

This latter finding was qualified, however, by the sex of the perceiver. The sex of participant analysis showed that effect sizes based on studies that involved only female participants, and

Table 9
Correlations Among Continuous Moderator Variables, Categorical Moderator Variables, and Effect Size

Variable	Zero-order correlation coefficient	Partial correlation coefficient ^a
Transparency	-.36***	-.38**
Dependency	-.18*	-.12
Ingratiator status	-.11	-.18*
Target status	.02	.03
Type of dependent variable	.17	.20**
Role of participant	-.25***	-.31***
Setting	-.18*	-.12

^a Partial correlations controlled for each of the remaining six variables.

* $p < .08$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$.

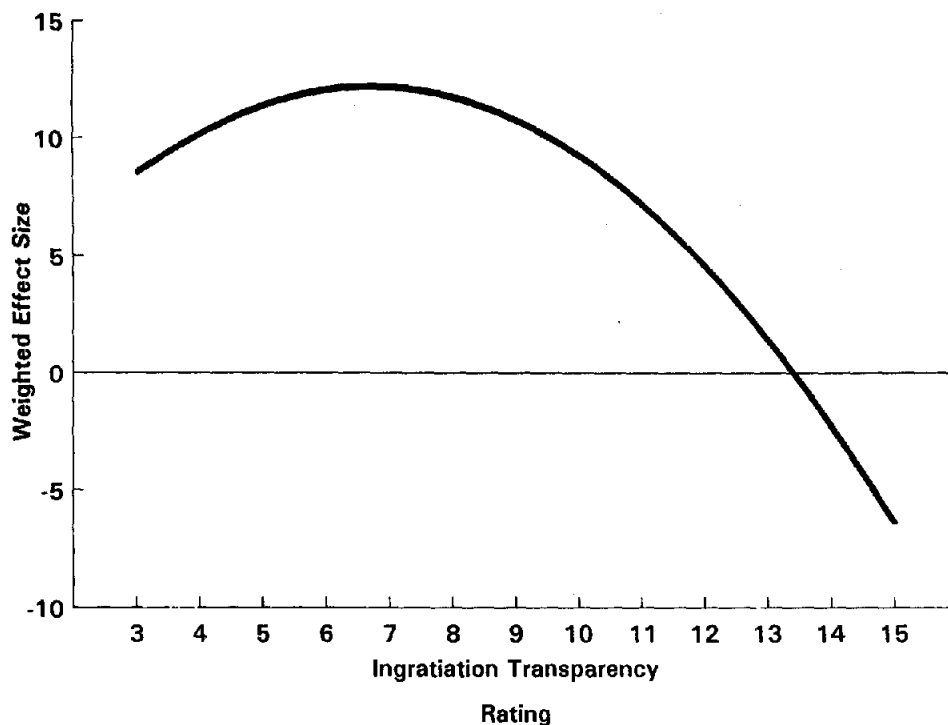


Figure 1. Relation between ingratiation transparency and weighted effect size.

studies that involved only male participants, were significantly more positive than studies that included both male and female targets-perceivers. The stronger findings from studies that involved only one gender may have been due, in part, to a reduction in error variance. However, further examination showed that female perceivers formed positive evaluations regardless of the role they played (target or observer). On the other hand, evaluations of the ingratiation made by male participants varied as a function of the role they played. When male participants played a target role, their evaluations were significantly positive; when they played an observational role, their evaluations were marginally significant in the negative direction. Although this gender comparison was based on a subset of studies (those including only male or only female participants), the results do suggest that the judgments and evaluations of male perceivers differ significantly as a function of role. The consistency of judgments for female participants across the two role categories might imply a greater tendency to take a potential ingratiation's remarks at face value or, perhaps, an unwillingness to publicly acknowledge the ingratiation, even when the veracity of the ingratiation's behavior is perceived as questionable.

Two additional factors that might have contributed to the perceiver sex differences found in the present data were examined in a recent self-presentation study by Leary et al. (1994). Findings from this study, which assessed self-presentational motives (including ingratiation) in unstructured everyday social interactions, revealed an interaction between target gender and target familiarity in terms of the extent to which ingratiation was used as a self-presentational motive. Participants were less likely to use ingratiation with highly familiar same-sex others

than with less familiar same-sex others or opposite-sex others of high or low familiarity. Although these differences were found for the encoding of ingratiation, they may also be linked to decoding differences based on the gender composition of the ingratiation-target dyad and the familiarity of ingratiation and target.

The comparison of specific ingratiation tactics revealed results that were consistent with numerous points made by Jones and Wortman (1973). It is possible that the relative scarcity of ingratiation studies that involve rendering favors as a form of ingratiation might be due, in part, to statements made by Jones and Wortman (1973) regarding the transparency of this specific tactic. In any case, other enhancement, opinion conformity, and the self-presentational tactics of apologies and modesty appear to have the most positive impact on judgments and evaluations. The data also suggest that the use of multiple tactics might be a less successful choice for the ingratiation in lateral influence exchanges. In addition, an examination of the specific self-presentation category that involved self-promotion supports the distinction made by Jones and Pittman (1982) regarding the differentiation of this form of impression management based on its specific attribution goal (competency vs. liking). Self-promotion produced significant negative effects, whereas apologies produced significant positive effects.

As expected, the direction of the influence attempt also had a significant effect on judgments and evaluations. Downward and lateral influence attempts produced significantly more positive evaluations than did upward influence attempts. Because of the limited number of effect sizes based on downward influence attempts, tests of the predicted interaction between type of tactic

and direction of influence could be conducted only for upward and lateral influence directions. Contrary to predictions, other enhancement, rather than opinion conformity, produced the most positive effects among upward influence attempts. On the basis of the relation between transparency and effect size, it is possible that opinion conformity in such exchanges was interpreted as a normative response and, thus, had little effect on evaluations. As mentioned earlier, the combination category produced the least positive effect sizes among lateral influence attempts. It is possible that most forms of ingratiation are interpreted positively when ingratiation and target are of relatively equal status. This finding suggests that too much ingratiation in such exchanges may produce a smaller effect.

An additional meaningful finding involves the significant difference shown between mean effect sizes for studies conducted in laboratory versus field settings. The significantly more positive judgments and evaluations found in laboratory studies are perhaps best explained by the degree of control exercised and the brief duration of interactions in the laboratory setting. This general finding is similar to that revealed in Tubbs's (1986) meta-analytic investigation of goal-setting effects in which significantly stronger effects were also found in laboratory settings than in field settings.

Turning to the issue of channel, more positive judgments and evaluations were made when the communication channel involved less mundane realism (audio only and written). The more natural communication channels (audiovisual and face-to-face interaction) produced significantly lower mean effect sizes. However, only 2 of the 33 effect sizes based on the audio-only and written channel studies were from research conducted in field settings. This overlap between channel and setting might also have contributed to the observed differences (i.e., more positive effects for the lower involvement channels as a function of these effect sizes coming from laboratory studies).

Finally, the type of dependent variable moderator analysis showed that ingratiation has a weak but positive impact on performance-related judgments or evaluations and a significantly stronger positive effect on ratings of likability. Given that the primary attributional goal of ingratiation is that of increased liking, this finding is not surprising. However, on the basis of the extent to which ingratiation may be used in organizational settings in an attempt to secure preferential treatment (pay raises or advancement, or both), it is interesting to note that the results of this and other moderator analyses do not support a strong positive relationship between ingratiation and various forms of performance appraisal. This specific meta-analytic finding is, however, consistent with the results of Kipnis and Vanderveer's (1971) study, in which an ingratiating worker performing at an average level was liked significantly more than a noningratiating average worker but "was only marginally effective in receiving more pay raises" (p. 283).

The sex of participant moderator was also shown to interact with the type of dependent variable used to compute the effect size. The overall gender differences would appear to be a function of situations in which the perceiver was involved in assessing the performance of the ingratiation. Effect sizes based on likability ratings failed to reveal any sex of participant differences. Once again, it would appear that ingratiation has a fairly robust

effect when it is geared toward the attributional goal of increased liking. An attempt was made to evaluate the interactions among role of participant, sex of participant, and the type of dependent measure moderator. However, this analysis included cells with only one effect and, therefore, could not be interpreted.

A similar finding was discovered for the interaction between type of dependent variable and the design used. Effect sizes based on some form of performance-based or competency-based evaluation were significantly stronger in experimental studies. However, when the dependent measure was likability, no effect size differences were found between experimental and correlational designs.

Finally, a similar assessment for the type of tactic variable revealed findings consistent with the direction of influence and type of tactic hypotheses. Restricting the type of tactic assessment to effect sizes based on liking ratings did not affect the overall findings. However, the same analysis based on performance effect sizes showed opinion conformity to produce significantly more positive effects than other enhancement and the combination category.

Although two of the interactions described earlier showed differences only when the dependent measure was performance or competency based, an additional analysis revealed interactions based on liking ratings. A comparison of effect sizes for the various directions of influence failed to reveal any differences when the dependent variable was performance. However, the results of this assessment among studies that used liking as a dependent measure revealed the predicted pattern of differences in which downward influence produced the most positive liking ratings, followed by lateral and, finally, upward influence attempts.

Continuous Moderator Variables

The continuous moderators of ingratiation dependency, ingratiation status, target status, and ingratiation transparency were all shown to be significantly correlated. As suggested at the outset of this article, ingratiation status was negatively correlated with transparency, and target status was positively correlated with transparency. The perceived status of the ingratiation was also shown to be a significant predictor of effect size.

Although magnitude of status differences was positively correlated with transparency, this relation was not as strong as might be expected, nor was it a significant predictor of effect size. The lack of significant predictive validity might have been due to some of the effect sizes being based on downward influence attempts. In these cases, one might expect a positive relation between status difference and effect size, whereas, among upward influence attempts, one would expect a negative relation between the two variables. The large number of effect sizes that were based on lateral influence attempts might have also played a role in reducing this relation.

The positive correlation between ingratiation dependency and the perceived transparency of the ingratiation is consistent with early statements by Jones (1964). This relation is also congruent with comparisons between effect sizes from studies that actively manipulated status and, consequently, the direction of the

influence attempt (Jones, Gergen, & Jones, 1963; Yukl & Tracey, 1992).

Perhaps the most informative finding was the strength and curvilinear nature of the relation between ingratiation transparency and effect size. This result parallels comments by both Jones (1964) and Jones and Wortman (1973). These authors believed that transparent ingratiation would tend to produce negative effects but that ingratiation interpreted as normative behavior (nontransparent) would be unlikely to produce any positive effects. The curvilinear relation depicted in Figure 1 is congruent with both of these predictions and sheds additional light on what Jones referred to as the "ingratiator's dilemma."

The "dilemma," as summarized by Jones and Wortman (1973), refers to the relation between ingratiator dependency and the success of ingratiation. As it becomes more obvious that the ingratiator has much to gain by impressing the target (i.e., as the perceived dependency of the ingratiator increases), the likelihood of any tactic's success is reduced. The data in the present review demonstrate that the perceived dependency of the ingratiator on the target is positively related to the perceived transparency of the ingratiation, which, in turn, has a curvilinear relation to the impact of ingratiation.

Conclusions

The overall findings from the meta-analysis and corresponding moderational analyses provide clarification of previous ambiguities in the research on ingratiation. The strong moderational effect found for the role of participant variable highlights the importance of one's perspective on the judgment of ingratiation overtures. The results of the type of dependent variable assessment further clarify the most typical attributional outcome of ingratiation (increased likability, not increased competency). Findings from the type of tactic analysis demonstrate that, at least in terms of a main effect, other enhancement (flattery) may be a more effective tactic than rendering favors or the use of multiple tactics. However, the most informative data come from the higher order moderational assessments.

Findings from these assessments demonstrate the extent to which a large number of factors are likely to affect the outcome of an ingratiation attempt and suggest that future research on the impact of ingratiation would benefit from a focus on a number of the significant categorical moderators described here (e.g., role of participant, sex of participant, and specific tactic). For example, a study involving systematic variation of participant role, sex of ingratiator, and sex of target should provide additional insight into the nature of the sex differences found in the present review. Additional field studies that examine relations between self-reports of ingratiation by employees and judgments of supervisors might also benefit from an assessment of sex differences and a comparison of specific ingratiation tactics as found in Ferris, Judge, Rowland, and Fitzgibbons (1994). In addition, field studies that use an observational methodology similar to that of Luthans and his colleagues (Luthans, Hodgetts, & Rosenkrantz, 1988; Luthans, Rosenkrantz, & Hennessey, 1985) to quantify the type and amount of ingratiating behavior emitted by employees could play an important role in helping to discern whether the nonsignificant relationship found in field settings is an artifact of social desir-

ability bias on scales such as the Profile of Organizational Influence Strategies (POIS, Form M [POIS-M]; Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980) or represents an accurate judgment from field study research.

In any event, a clear conclusion to be drawn from the data, given the large number of significant moderator variables in the present study, is that forthcoming investigations will need to involve a more comprehensive assessment of factors related to the success of ingratiation tactics. Future research in this area will also benefit from attempts to identify the appropriate causal paths between various types of ingratiation tactics, perceived transparency of the ingratiation, attributions of likability, and evaluations of competency and performance.

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