USE OF THESES

Social identity and charismatic leadership attribution:

Why do they think he's fabulous

when we know he's not?

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Statement of sources

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original, except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

Signed: ... ...

Dated: ... ...

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Abstract

If charisma is a personal force, or a set of specific behaviours, used by the leader to recruit and influence followers, why have all the great charismatic leaders been embraced by some and reviled by others? Weber (1947; 1961) conceived the charismatic leader as one perceived to possess transcendent powers which set him or her apart from others. New leadership theories (e.g., Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993) have sought to catalogue these qualities and their effects on followers. However, neither of these schools of thought have clearly explained why polarised responses to charismatic leaders occur.

An initial study explored the similarities and differences in the way two renown charismatic leaders—one adored, the other reviled—were perceived. Taking a follower perspective, this thesis used a social identity analysis (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1987) to focus on the variation in the attribution of charismatic leader behaviours to the same target leader. Over four studies this variance was repeatedly shown to be associated with the level of a perceived shared social identity. Indeed, varying the content of the social identity varied the level of charismatic attribution; while reducing information about the leader's social identity reduced that association.

Three other major effects of the social identification process on the charismatic attribution process were explored. First, follower outcomes commonly theorised to be the result of charismatic leadership behaviours, were shown to be strongly associated with social identity. Second, social liking for the leader was shown to fully or partially mediate the effects of social identity on the attribution of charismatic leadership and on follower outcomes. Third, attributions about supporters and detractors of the charismatic leader were investigated. It was found

that those who shared a social identity with the leader viewed support for that leader as normal and positive, whereas they pathologised the responses of those who rejected the leader. Conversely, those who did not share a social identity with the leader viewed rejection of that leader as normal and positive, while pathologising follower support.

It was concluded that, rather than being a mysterious personal process, charisma is firmly rooted in normal social identification processes because leadership and followership operate largely within a social context. Social identity affects the way we perceive the leader and evaluate his or her leadership behaviours. Rather than recognising the powerful influence of social identity on us or others, we tend to make the fundamental error of attributing our responses to "charismatic" leadership.

CHAPTER 1

A CHARISMATIC CONUNDRUM

As Australia's most popular opposition leader in the 35-year history of the ACNielsen poll strolled the Westfield Garden City mall in Brisbane's working-class Upper Mount Gravatt, he was approached by a large woman with warm wishes. "Mr Rudd, I believe you are going to be our next prime minister", she told him. The Labor leader asked her why she thought so. "It's just your charisma," she replied. Rudd and some of his entourage of staff members laughed. "That's the least believable thing I've heard all day", was his rejoinder. He can be self-deprecating, but this time he was also being realistic. Rudd is not a charismatic figure. He does not radiate the personal magic, the captivating aura of a John F. Kennedy or a Mahatma Gandhi or even a Hawke in his political prime. He does not achieve the Harvard anthropologist Charles Lindholm's definition: "Charisma is, above all, a relationship, a mutual mingling of the inner selves of leader and follower" (Hartcher, 2007, p. 21).

This recent account encapsulates one of the conundrums that has surrounded the issue of charismatic leadership since sociologist Max Weber (1947) coined the term: what makes us think that someone is charismatic? It seems obvious that some leaders are more charismatic than others. Hartcher takes this for granted and presents a very common view of charismatic leadership: that some leaders have innate personal qualities that make them more attractive than others. This is not an uninformed view. It echoes Weber's original statements which mention the perception of exceptional personal qualities (see Weber, 1947, pp. 328, 358-359).

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Another common view is that some leaders are more charismatic than others because they have learned to display more of the behaviours associated with charisma than others:

> Can you be charismatic like President Clinton? Certainly you can. You already have some charisma, certain strengths and abilities that others find attractive. Develop these. Look people in the eye. Listen carefully when you are conversing. Take a genuine interest in their point of view. Be quick to forgive minor errors and sincerely issue compliments and polite gratitude where appropriate. You may not be able to do anything about your physical stature, but you can still have a commanding presence by means of your confidence level, your posture, your voice and your eye contact (Sitter, 2007).

A third but related common view is that leaders are charismatic because of the effects their behaviours have on others, that is, they produce "charismatic outcomes" (House, 1977). Weber attributes charismatic leadership status to those individuals responsible for the formation of new social movements (Weber, 1961). These individuals are described as hugely influential and highly attractive to followers, and thus able to command unquestioning obedience and devotion (Willner, 1968). Organisational psychologists have championed this view, training leaders to be more charismatic in order to increase organisational commitment and productivity, to produce "performance beyond expectations" (Bass, 1985).

However, there are two fundamental questions that these views fail to address: First, why do some attribute greater charisma to the same leader than others do? Perhaps the politician and advisers were being modest about his charisma, in the

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opening account of this chapter, but the writer of the article was in complete disagreement with the woman's assessment of the politician's level of charisma. Can they both be right? What may be the cause of this difference in perception? The short and obvious answer is that she has a different experience of the leader to the writer of the article, she sees the leader through different eyes. The longer and less obvious answer is the subject of this thesis.

The second question these three views fail to address is: if charismatic leadership is wholly explained by attractive personal qualities, displaying the right behaviours, or eliciting extraordinary performance outcomes, why has there been such strong hatred of, or extreme violence towards, many fêted charismatic leaders, such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, Adolf Hitler, or Jesus Christ? Current views of charismatic leadership have focussed on the feelings of strong attraction towards charismatic leaders but have failed to account for feelings of strong alienation and repulsion to these same leaders.

This thesis seeks to provide a social psychological explanation of the process of charismatic leadership attribution and influence, an explanation that accounts for variation in the attribution of charisma to the same leader, including feelings of strong attraction or repulsion. It examines not only the pride and joy we feel when a figure like Martin Luther King, Jr. inspires and mobilises people to protest against racial inequality, but also the deep mistrust and dismay that his opponents felt about his "dangerous" influence. This chapter raises the main issues and questions the thesis will deal with and includes a précis of subsequent chapters, a thumbnail sketch of the history of charismatic research, and explains the general tenor of the thesis.

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Major theoretical issues

Defining charisma and identifying charismatic leaders

The greatest challenge facing researchers of charisma has been to define the concept. As Sitter (2007) states, "One thing is for certain, it is more easily identified than defined" . In co-opting the word "charisma" to describe a certain type of leader around whom social movements appear to form spontaneously, Weber gave focus to the phenomenon of personal force and highlighted the immense influence leaders can enjoy. His conception launched an exciting new direction in sociological research. Frustratingly, however, his brief descriptions and a lack of psychological explanation have sparked vigorous debate because they leave two fundamental questions unanswered. First, where does charisma reside—is the leader charismatic or do the followers accord him charisma? Second, what are the criteria for being a charismatic leader?

Chapter 2 explores early attempts to answer these questions, by detailing Weber's original concept and the related social movement literature to date. The chapter also traces post-Weberian expansions of the concept, and discusses the critical issues that have occupied sociologists to date. These issues include the role of crisis, the problem of validating charisma, the situations that foster charismatic leadership, the common qualities charismatic leaders exhibit, the problem of "evil" leadership, and the difference between "real" and "manufactured" charisma. Some of these issues are explored further in the empirical chapters.

Quantifying charismatic leader behaviours and their effects

Apart from defining charisma, the other great challenge to charismatic researchers has been to measure its expression and effects. For decades, debate over

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many of the critical issues was hampered by a lack of empirical evidence and rigorous testing, thus maintaining an air of confusion and mystery about the phenomenon. In the last three decades, the attention of charismatic research has moved away from the context of the social movement to that of the personal relationship between leader and follower in the context of the organisation. Organisational researchers have introduced much rigor into the debate by focussing on three main questions. First, what syndrome of behaviours and qualities constitutes charismatic leadership? Second, what is the impact of this syndrome on followers? Third, how can the impact of charismatic leadership on follower outcomes be measured?

Chapter 3 outlines the three main theories of charismatic leadership, the transformational leadership model (Bass, 1985), the behavioural model of charismatic leadership (Conger & Kanungo, 1987), and the self-concept theory of charismatic leadership (Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). It also examines the use of psychometrics to provide empirical evidence for these theories.

The transformational and behavioural models both provide detailed descriptions of behaviours, outcomes, and steps in the processes of charismatic attribution and influence, but the models lack underlying psychological explanations (Yukl, 1999). In contrast, the self-concept theory argues that the behaviours of charismatic leaders tap into self-identities of the followers and these work as powerful intrinsic self-motivators to produce sustained and enhanced outcomes. This psychological explanation is compelling and its insights colour the explorations in this thesis in combination with the following theory.

Social identity and charismatic leadership attribution

One of the main criticisms of the organisational charismatic literature has been the overly narrow focus on the interpersonal relationship between leader and follower (Yukl, 1999). The fundamental goal of leadership is to unify and mobilise people to perform co-ordinated tasks that require collective agency (Simon & Oakes, 2006). To account comprehensively for the charismatic influence, collective, group-based processes must be taken into account. To do this, a set of social constructionist theories were used—the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1987).

Chapter 4 presents an account of social identification and its application to leadership in general, and to charismatic leadership in particular (e.g., Haslam & Platow, 2001; Hogg, 2001b). Empirical evidence from the social identity literature is presented which shows that social identification has a profound effect on all aspects of leadership and followership, including those areas traditionally associated with charismatic leadership: social influence and persuasion, social attraction and group cohesion, organisational commitment, and social action. The chapter also makes a distinction between the attributions of those who are undergoing the process of charismatic influence and those who are observing the process, thus raising the issue of intergroup bias and its application to charismatic influence.

The major empirical investigations

Can the findings of the organisational and social identity literature be reconciled?

On the one hand, the organisational literature implies that charismatic leadership is based on objectively-measured followers' responses to the type and

frequency of certain displayed leader behaviours. On the other hand, the social identity literature implies that charismatic leadership is a subjective attribution based on perceptions of the leader's social identity. Chapter 5 attempts a theoretical synthesis of these two viewpoints and reports the results of an empirical study which examines the relative contributions of each to charismatic attributions. The problem of "evil" charismatic leadership is explored further and the study compares two of the most famous charismatic leaders, one renowned as "good", Martin Luther King, Jr., and one renowned as "evil", Adolf Hitler. These highly charismatic leaders are also contrasted with the former Australian prime minister, John Howard, a leader widely regarded as low in charisma.

How can the same leader be attributed different levels of charisma?

The prime empirical focus of the thesis was to explore the association between social identification and charismatic attributions. Chapters Six through Eight detail three studies which are based on the same experimental paradigm. Participants' level of shared social identity was gauged at the start of each study. They were then exposed to the same stimulus, a speech written by the target, and asked to rate him for explicit and implicit charismatic leadership qualities on Likert ratings scales. The power of this method lay in the fact that the target remained the same in each study so any variance in charismatic leadership attributions could not be due to variation in the target.

In Chapter 6, social identification was measured as similarity in attitude to gay marriage. The target was real, but previously unknown to participants—an Australian gay activist advocating the legalisation of gay marriage. In Chapter 7, the social identity was the leader's group, the Australian Defence Force, and the target

was the Chief of the Defence Force, both real and previously known to participants. In Chapter 8, the social identity was a fictitious personality type. The target was also fictitious and therefore previously unknown to participants, a self-improvement expert—not a leader. The study in Chapter 9 was a continuation of the study in the previous chapter and measured the change in charismatic leadership attributions when the social identity was changed.

What type of followers are more likely to make charismatic attributions?

One of the recurring questions in the charismatic literature has been: what type of followers are more susceptible to charismatic influence? There is an inherent intergroup bias in asking this question. This thesis seeks to challenge the underlying assumptions by contrasting the reactions of those subject to the charismatic influence process with those observing the charismatic influence process. Examining responses to charismatic leadership from an insider or outsider perspective shed light on how we view the process of charismatic influence and the underlying psychological processes at play.

In Chapter 5, reactions to the followers of "good" and "evil" leaders are contrasted. In Chapter 7, this analysis is extended to include reactions to both followers and detractors of the same leader. The role of intergroup bias in charismatic attribution is explored in both chapters and an explanation for the confusion and mystery that surrounds the process of charismatic influence is offered.

What role does social attraction play in attributions of charisma?

Devotion to the leader has often been cited as one of the phenomena associated with charismatic leadership (e.g., Gerth & Mills, 1946a; Willner, 1968). Despite the fact that deep emotional responses to the leader are seen as one of the

hallmarks of the charismatic influence process, few studies have examined the role of attraction in charismatic attribution and influence (exceptions include Brown & Keeping, 2005; Gardner & Avolio, 1998; Lewter & Lord, 1992). The social identity perspective argues that the attraction given to charismatic leaders is social rather than personal (Hogg, 2001a); however, this has not been tested in the extant literature.

Chapters Six through Nine explore the associations between social identification, charismatic attributions, and social attraction (referred to in these chapters as "liking for the leader"). In Chapter 6 the results of mediational and pathway analyses are reported. In Chapter 7, a causality model involving liking is tested. In Chapter 8, links between liking and the halo effect are tested. In Chapter 9, the results of mediational analyses involving loss of charisma are reported.

Other investigated issues

The main focus of empirical investigations was the effect of social identification on attributions about charismatic leaders and their followers. Nonetheless, other themes in the charismatic literature were explored. Each empirical study contrasted the effect on charisma attributions of social identification and another factor associated with charismatic leadership. In Chapter 6, the role of crisis (Gerth & Mills, 1946b) is explored and the effect of manipulating the level of stress is reported. In Chapter 7, the problem of validation (Bryman, 1992; Schweitzer, 1974; Weber, 1947) is revisited and the effect of manipulating the level of success is described. In Chapter 8, the issue of "pseudocharisma" (Bensman & Givant, 1975) is raised when an attempt is made to manipulate the level of leader charisma by creating a fictitious shared social identity. In Chapter 9, the transience of charisma (Schneider, 1971; Weber, 1968) is explored when an attempt is made to induce lower attributions of leader charisma.

Conclusion

The central message of this thesis is that charisma is not a mysterious personal force, nor is it merely the display of a collection of certain behaviours and outcomes; rather, it is firmly rooted in well-established social identification processes. Charisma does not operate in a psychological "black hole", outside the boundaries of our understanding. Systematically applying and testing the social identity perspective on charismatic leadership has produced some important social psychological insights and re-affirmed the depth and usefulness of those theories. The work reported in this thesis demonstrates that social identification plays a fundamental role, not only in the way we attribute leader charisma and in the way we experience the leader's attractiveness and influence, but also in the way we form impressions about charismatic leaders and the way we characterise their influence over ourselves and others.

CHAPTER 2

ON WEBER'S CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY AND

SPONTANEOUS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The concept of charisma has been much maligned in academic circles and much embraced by popular culture since its introduction by Weber in the 1920s. Because of its excessive use Apter (1968) observes that getting a balanced definition has been extremely difficult: "The term charisma either means more than [superficial popularity] or is so flexible that it applies to virtually all leadership situations and cannot be taken seriously" (p. 763). Some authors (e.g., Dow, 1969; Etzioni, 1961; Runciman, 1963; Shils, 1958a; 1958b; 1960; 1961; 1965) have tried to flesh out or expand Weber's original concept, while others (e.g., Bensman & Givant, 1975; Blau, 1963; Willner, 1968, 1984; Willner & Willner, 1965) have been critical of such attempts, feeling that Weber's concept has been violated. A number of authors (e.g., Ake, 1966; Ratnam, 1964; Wolpe, 1968) have gone further, arguing that the whole concept is ultimately tautological, of little analytical use, and of little explanatory value. It is important to examine this literature in detail as the concepts, debates, and substantial insights strongly underpin all modern research on charisma including the research in this thesis. The aims of this chapter are to summarise this debate by (1) outlining Weber's concept of charisma; (2) examining early expansions of the concept; and (3) highlighting the critical issues raised in the sociological literature on charisma.

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The Weberian concept of charisma

A tripartite typology of authority

Charisma has its origins in the New Testament, literally meaning "gift of grace" and was used to describe the gifts that God gave to believers through the Holy Spirit to minister to others in the Church. Sohm (1892), a church historian, was the first to use the term to describe leadership in the offices of the early church. He states that "the charisma is from God ... and the service to which the charisma calls is a service imposed by God, and an office in the service of the church, and not of any local community" (p. 26). However, Max Weber (Bendix, 1966; Gerth & Mills, 1946a; Weber, 1947, 1948, 1961, 1968), one of the founders of modern sociology, co-opted the term in his writings on social movements and used it to describe a certain type of leader, religious or secular, and it is his writings that sparked the use of the term initially in academic, and ultimately in popular circles.

Weber (1947; 1961) presents charismatic leadership as part of a tripartite typology of authority. Legitimate authority could be based on firstly, rational grounds—where rulers had the right to reign because of people's belief in the legal, normative rules of a society. "Obedience is owed to the legally established impersonal order" (Weber, 1947, p. 328), and extends to the incumbents of office. Examples of this type of ruler include politicians and bureaucrats. Secondly, legitimate authority could be based on traditional grounds—where a ruler's right to rule is passed down from generation to generation. Obedience is a matter of personal loyalty owed to the person occupying the traditional post and that person is bound by traditional rules. Examples of this include royalty and chieftains. Finally, legitimate authority could be based on devotion to an exceptional or extraordinary individual

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and the normative order ordained by that person. Weber labelled this final type "charismatic authority". He states that:

> In the case of charismatic authority, it is the charismatically qualified leader as such who is obeyed by virtue of personal trust in him and his revelation, his heroism or his exemplary qualities so far as they fall within the scope of the individual's belief in his charisma (p. 328).

However, Weber's typology is not as clear cut as it appears at first glance. A number of writers (e.g., Bryman, 1992; Oommen, 1967; Willner & Willner, 1965) have pointed out that Weber qualified his typology by stating that it involved "ideal types". Weber explains that his three types are "pure types" and that, historically, none of them were found in their pure form (Weber, 1947, p. 329). Rather, in the empirical situation, they exist as mixed categories (Oommen, 1967). However, Weber (1947) confuses the issue with his tendency to isolate charisma from the other two types in attempts to specify the difference between the types:

> Charismatic authority is ... specifically outside the realm of everyday routine and the profane sphere. In this respect, it is sharply opposed both to rational, and particularly bureaucratic authority, and to traditional authority ... Both rational and traditional authority are specifically forms of everyday routine control of action; while the charismatic type is the direct antithesis of this (p. 361).

Some researchers (e.g., Bensman & Givant, 1975) have taken this passage to mean that charismatic authority cannot exist in a traditional or bureaucratic setting. However, there have been both bureaucratic and traditional leaders who have inspired fervent devotion in their followers despite being "bound to intellectually

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analysable rules ... [or] bound to the precedents handed down from the past"
(Weber, 1947, p. 361). Certainly most writers since Weber view the types as
overlapping to some degree. Oommen (1967) suggests that Weber failed to recognise
that charisma could be present in all three authority-types to varying degrees. Etzioni
(1961) proposes that charisma may even be found in complex organisations.

The effect on followers

In sociological terms Weber uses the rise of charismatic authority to explain
changes in fundamental social structures (Bensman & Givant, 1975). While the
antecedents of legal-rational and traditional authorities can be traced back through an
ordered rational history, the charismatic leader is a revolutionary who seemingly
appears out of nowhere. Followers are swept up in the irrationality of the moment—
there is no logical appeal to the followers for their obedience to their leader and his
or her message of change. Old regimes are discontinued and a new social structure is
formed from the pure charisma of the individual and the subsequent
institutionalisation of the new order.

Debate has raged over whether this or that historical figure fits Weber's
description of charismatic authority. This task is harder than it appears for while
Weber's typology is a starting point, it is hardly a comprehensive prescription.
Weber gives very little depiction of the attributes that make up a charismatic leader.
Rather, he portrays the psychological process by which followers give their
allegiance to the leader. Weber defines the charismatic leader and his or her
relationship with the followers as follows: "The term 'charisma' will be applied to a
certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from
ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least
specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such as are not accessible to

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the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader" (Weber, 1947, pp. 358-359). To Weber the central points are that followers believe that the leader has been endowed with special gifts, that the leader has been called to perform a great task, and that they must give their allegiance to this person (Schweitzer, 1974). Dow (1968; 1969), Theobald (1978), and Wallis & Bruce (1986) all interpret Weber as saying that charisma is not something that resides in the individual leader. Rather, it abides in the social relationship between the leader and his or her followers. Charisma is the ability of a leader to inspire fervent devotion in the followers.

Weber very clearly emphasises that charisma is rooted in the followers' feelings for the leader. He states that charisma is "the absolute personal devotion and personal confidence in revelation, heroism, or other qualities of individual leadership" (Gerth & Mills, 1946a, p. 79). Willner (1968) develops this further when she describes an intense emotional attraction in the followers for the charismatic leader, above and beyond ordinary esteem, affection, admiration, and trust, involving "devotion, awe, reverence, and blind faith" (p. 6); there is an unqualified belief in the "man and his mission about what is, what should be, and what should not be done" (p. 9).

Weber places great importance on the fact that the followers believe the leader has been called:

> Devotion to the charisma of the prophet, or the leader in war, or to the great
>
> demagogue in the *ecclesia* or in parliament, means that the leader is
>
> personally recognized as the innerly called leader of men. Men do not obey
>
> him by virtue of tradition or statute, but because they believe in him. If he is
>
> more than a narrow and vain upstart of the movement, the leader lives for his

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cause and strives for his work. The devotion of his disciples, his followers, his personal party friends is oriented to his person and its qualities (Gerth & Mills, 1946a, p. 79).

There is some distinction to be made between the community of believers (Weber uses the word, Gemeinde) that surround the leader and those that join the movement because it has gathered momentum. The Gemeinde are deeply committed to the leader and only one group norm applies to them, obedience to the leader:

> There are no established administrative organs. In their place are agents who have been provided with charismatic authority by their chief or who possess charisma of their own. There is no system of formal rules, of abstract legal principles, and hence no process of judicial decision oriented to them (Weber, 1947, p. 361).

Charismatic leaders may appear in almost any area of social life—as religious prophets, political demagogues, or military heroes. Blau (1963) claims that an element of charisma is involved whenever a person inspires others to follow his or her lead, but Weber was more reluctant to associate charisma with legal-rational organisations, feeling that charisma was the antithesis of the rational processes of bureaucracy. However, it is possible to find some acknowledgement of charisma in the bureaucratic sphere. Weber (1968) writes that "in times of great public excitement, charismatic leaders may emerge even in solidly bureaucratic parties, as was demonstrated by Roosevelt's campaign in 1912" (p. 1132). He also identifies Gladstone as a charismatic leader within a party bureaucracy. Bryman (1992) suggests that Weber viewed the emergence of charismatic leaders from the party bureaucracy as unusual because he felt that the party machine would view the

charismatic leader as an untameable threat and party functionaries would worry about the loss of control and therefore try to inhibit the leader's emergence. Beetham (1974) proposes that Weber became more willing over time to accept the emergence of charismatic leaders from the party bureaucracy, viewing the leader as more likely to be supported if he or she proved to be electorally successful. Weber also came to the view that the party machine was a necessary evil of politics because it could help to promote the charismatic leader to the masses. Mommsen (1965; 1989) notes that Weber also came increasingly to the view that modern democracy could form the framework from which charismatic political leaders would arise. Politicians could create a following based on their personal charisma.

The role of crisis

According to Weber, the charismatic leader often emerges during times of social crisis when people are feeling distress. Weber made very little reference to the societal conditions under which charismatic leadership could occur, accounting for a wide range of situations by mentioning "times of psychic, physical, economic, ethical, religious, [or] political distress" (Gerth & Mills, 1946b, p. 245). Others have fleshed out the concept further. Bensman & Givant (1975) argue that crises promote the emergence of charismatic leadership because that is when fundamental building blocks of a society are under question:

> War, revolution, military defeat, foreign domination, natural disaster, or unexplained natural phenomena all shake the faith in the legitimacy of the established order and established belief system. The religious, political, and social hierarchies that sustain and are identified with these belief systems are similarly questioned (p. 573).

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The message that the charismatic leader brings is one of hope that, through him or her, the crisis can be alleviated. Tucker (1968) describes the psychological situation in the minds of the followers as a "special emotional intensity of the charismatic response ... The followers respond to the charismatic leader with passionate loyalty because the [promise of] salvation ... that he appears to embody represents the fulfilment of urgently felt needs" (p. 743). Bryman (1992) posits that the leader must present the mission as situationally relevant to those around him or her so that he or she can achieve a following. In short, the mission must be the answer to their perceived needs.

It would seem that the crisis situation calls for a charismatic leader to rise up and right the wrongs, but Oommen (1967) argues that this is not always the case. He distinguishes between two types of charismatic leader: (1) the leader who emerges because there is discontent within the existing social structure; or (2) the leader who makes people aware of problems within society and only then acquires charisma. Oommen details the charismatic leadership of Vinoba, who emerged from Indian society during a crisis of faith in the government's ability to deal with land issues. Vinoba is an example of the first type of leader—an existing problem required an emergent leader to articulate a solution. On the other hand, Oommen sees Gandhi as the second type of leader, someone who drew attention to the problems within the society and spawned a movement to solve these problems.

Barnes (1978) and Cell (1974), in overviews of a number of charismatic leaders, support the important role that crisis plays in the establishment of charismatic leaders. Barnes examined fifteen charismatic founders of religion and found that fourteen of them were influential during periods of social unrest. Stewart (1974) details the rise of a religious leader, Henry Alline, who had an impact during

the American Revolution. However, it is not only religious charismatic leaders who emerge during a time of crisis. Cell (1974) examined thirty-four twentieth-century heads of state. Social crisis played a major role in the attribution of charisma leadership to these leaders. Political charismatic leaders such as Hitler (Gerth, 1940), Peron (Madsen & Snow, 1983), Nkrumah (Apter, 1968), and Gandhi (Willner, 1984) were all seen as leaders who could deliver followers from the crisis at hand.

A revolutionary and irrational force

The charismatic leader makes amazing claims on his or her followers. Followers are asked to believe the message that there are wrongs to be righted, that the leader has been called to change this, that it is within the power of the leader to right these wrongs, and that followers should unquestioningly obey the leader to achieve these goals (Trice & Beyer, 1986). Marcus (1961) goes further, observing that "the essence of the charismatic hero lies in the belief he arouses that he can control the forces of history and achieve its transcendent objective" (p. 237). Weber termed this belief "irrational". However the term has less to do with a poorly organised state of mind, and more to do with faith. Bensman and Givant (1975) explain that:

> Charismatic leadership is not rational in the sense that it is based on rational argumentation, presentation, and defence. It is based primarily on the faith of the followers and the leader that the leader has access to the divine and therefore has unquestionable authority. The charismatic leader thus does not attempt in principle to argue logically the validity of his message, though he does attempt to claim for his message the authenticity of its divine source (p. 578).

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Marcus (1961) points out that Hitler, Churchill, and de Gaulle were all able to inspire a belief in their followers that they could change history, even though there was no rational likelihood of success. Rather, identification with the leader, a faith in his or her abilities and mission, allows the followers to transcend their normal lives and be part of a movement that is exciting and meaningful. The followers do not simply believe in their leader but devote or surrender themselves to him, thus legitimating the leader's authority.

Tucker (1968) and Theobald (1978) stress that Weber sees the leader and his or her message as inseparable. Charismatic domination involves a relationship between a group of followers and their leader to whom they attribute extraordinary qualities. The leader has a mission or message which places an obligation on his or her disciples to follow his call even though this will usually involve a radical break with established mores and beliefs. Weber (1968) stated that:

> The bearer of charisma enjoys loyalty and authority by virtue of a mission believed to be embodied in him; this mission has not necessarily and not always been revolutionary, but in its most charismatic forms it has inverted all value hierarchies and overthrown custom, law and tradition (p. 1117).

Thus the charismatic leader may be viewed as a maverick or an anarchist. Blau (1963) summarises this well: "For Weber, the innovating spirit of charisma is symbolized by Christ's words, 'It is written, ... but I say unto you ...'" (p. 308).

The problem of validation

Weber posits that the only proof of a leader's charismatic qualities is his or her recognition as genuine by the followers. Weber (1947) states that "what alone is important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic

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authority, by his 'followers' or 'disciples'" (p. 359). Gerth (1940) agrees, arguing that:

> It is not our task to decide whether the leader really has charismatic qualities. It is relevant only that the leader find sufficient followers who believe that he has those qualities and who acknowledge his claim for recognition. Charismatic domination exists as long as and in so far as the leader can successfully claim such acknowledgement by his followers (p. 519).

Weber (1947) also makes it clear that it is the duty of those followers who have been called by the charismatic leader to recognise the extraordinary qualities of the leader and to obey the message:

> Psychologically this 'recognition' is a matter of complete personal devotion to the possessor of the quality, arising out of enthusiasm, or of despair and hope. No prophet has ever regarded his quality as dependent on the attitudes of the masses toward him. No elective king or military leader has ever treated those who have resisted him or tried to ignore him otherwise than delinquent in duty. Failure to take part in a military expedition under such a leader, even though recruitment is formally voluntary, has universally been met with disdain (pp. 359-360).

Confusingly, Weber then goes on to describe the "proof" that followers can expect from a genuinely charismatic leader. Validity of charisma is guaranteed by a miraculous "sign":

> If proof of his charismatic qualifications fails him for long, the leader endowed with charisma tends to think his god or his magical or heroic

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powers have deserted him. If he is for long unsuccessful, above all if his leadership fails to benefit his followers, it is likely that his charismatic authority will disappear. This is the genuine charismatic meaning of the 'gift of grace' (Weber, 1947, p. 360).

Schweitzer (1974) theorises the process of charisma as follows. Initially the leader has a sense of calling and exudes a self-confidence in him- or herself that he or she can deliver. This self-confidence must then be backed up by extraordinary deeds before the followers will accept the claim of the leader. Weber (1968) states that "if those to whom he feels sent do not recognize him, his claim collapses; if they recognize him, he is their master as long as he 'proves' himself" (p. 1113). Once the followers accept the claim, a sense of devotion is formed which solidifies into a sense of duty, giving the leader charismatic authority. The devotion creates an inner urge to obey the wishes of the leader, even when the commands are not in the followers' own interests. To keep this fervent devotion primed the leader must continue to demonstrate extraordinariness through success with the mission and benefits for the followers. Schweitzer (1974) concludes that "if the exceptional capacity or the dutiful devotion is missing, an inner sense of calling cannot flower into charismatic leadership" (p. 154).

Thus there is a paradox. On the one hand, charismatic validity lies with the followers who give the leader their obedience and on the other hand, validity lies with the leader who must validate his/her position by "proving" him- or herself with signs and successes that profit the followers (Bryman, 1992). Both Schweitzer (1974) and Bryman (1992) try to unpack this validity paradox. Schweitzer posits that the extraordinariness of the leader bolsters his or her self-confidence and that this interacts with the devotion of the followers to reinforce each other. Bryman

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describes the leader and followers as being "locked together in a relationship of interdependence" (p. 50).

Ratnam (1964) questions whether followers would really leave if the leader failed to deliver successes or signs. He suggests that the persuasiveness of the leader's ideals might be enough to make them "keep the faith". Particularly in religious movements, where rewards are postponed until the hereafter in many cases, people might be prepared to forego tangible benefits for spiritual ones. He cites the example of people who, in an attempt to "purify the spirit", cause self-imposed pain and suffering, such as fasting and self-flagellation, without any proof of such purification. Certainly, feeling part of a social movement, with purpose and meaning may bring enough psychological rewards to many followers.

Loewenstein (1966) argues that many of the political so-called charismatic leaders of history such as Lincoln, Gandhi, Napoleon, Churchill and Kennedy may have had personal charm but were not actually charismatic. He suggests that their claims to charismatic authority have been invalidated by the historical events that ended their leadership tenures. However, Napoleon's exile or Churchill's election loss does not negate the charisma they exercised over their followers. Charisma is not a permanent feature. Charisma is shaped by the situational context of the time. Weber (1968) was quick to explain its transient quality: "Every charisma is on the road from a turbulent emotional life that knows no economic rationality to a slow death by suffocation under the weight of material interests; every hour of its existence brings it nearer to this end" (p. 1120).

Loewenstein also uses the assassinations of Lincoln, Gandhi and Kennedy to question their charismatic status. However, the fervent devotion of many followers is not counteracted by the dissent of some. Indeed, this thesis will argue that it is in the

very nature of charismatic leadership that it will not reach and influence everyone. Loewenstein also queries the claim that Hitler was charismatic. He states that although many spoke of Hitler's personal magnetism, others did not. Here again, he misses the point: those that the leader's message and deeds speak to will become followers while others may not fall under the leader's spell.

Situational context: how does a charismatic leader emerge?

The nature and the number of charismatic leaders differ from system to system depending upon the social forces at work. Other than a general statement about distress, Weber did not elaborate on this topic. However, other authors have explored this issue. Three examples illustrate that charisma is not a force independent of the situational context. First, Roberts (1985) recounts an example of a school superintendent who transformed both the workers and structure of the work place. She was charismatic and inspired her team to achieve great things. However, when she moved from that job to another, this leader was not viewed as charismatic and did not have the same impact (Roberts & Bradley, 1988).

Second, historical context was crucial to Churchill's charisma. He was seen as a charismatic leader during the Second World War but afterwards was not re-elected. He was no longer seen as charismatic. The situation had changed and the people required a different vision.

Third, the same society, at different times, may be impressed by different appeals. Oommen (1967) argues that:

In the crises facing new nations charismatic leaders emerge more frequently than in the industrialized and relatively stable West. Most of the charismatics of the new nations wage a persistent war on poverty and are wedded to the

values of modernization, whereas the charismatics of the industrial West are prophets of peace (p. 88).

When India needed a revolutionary they followed Gandhi, but when they needed a competent bureaucrat they followed Nehru. Both leaders were regarded as charismatic (Willner, 1984), but in totally different ways.

Different authors have suggested slightly different scenarios from which charisma may emerge. Friedland (1964) lists three prerequisites for the emergence of charismatic leadership: (1) the expression of inchoate sentiments in society; (2) the leader's mentioning of these sentiments is hazardous, thus the leader is taking a risk; and (3) recognised evidence of "success" in the leader's activities. Thus, there is discontent in the society and people are privately starting to express their dissatisfaction. The leader takes a risk by publicly expressing the dissatisfaction of the people and goes on to succeed in righting some of the wrongs.

Oommen (1967) diagnoses four societal conditions for the emergence of charisma: (1) eruption of crisis; (2) submerged discontent; (3) failure of current leadership to combat problem; and (4) patronage given to the movement by vested interests. While Oommen's first three points are similar to Friedland's, the fourth point is an interesting one. If vested interests view the leader as a threat they may act quickly to stifle the leader before the fledgling movement can gain momentum. Certainly the religious leaders of the day tried to do this with Jesus. If, however, vested interests do not stifle, but actively encourage the leader, then the movement is more likely to succeed. Oommen suggests that the leader who does one or more of the following will emerge as charismatic: (1) create awareness of some social need and champion that need; (2) create a new way of tackling the problem; (3) give

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commitment to a goal that the people raise; and (4) appeal to a substantial portion of the population through the message.

Post-Weberian conceptions

Positional charisma

Shils (1958a; 1958b; 1965) takes a much broader view of charisma than Weber. While Shils agrees that charisma may be strongly concentrated in unique individuals, he hypothesises that it may also be more weakly dispersed amongst the institutions of society. Weber's charisma is revolutionary, isolated, and disruptive, whereas the weakly dispersed charisma that Shils proposes is present in the ordinary, everyday operation of society, and it does not necessarily disrupt the status quo. Shils (1965) states that "there is, in society, a widespread disposition to attribute charismatic properties to ordinary secular roles, institutions, symbols, and strata or aggregates of persons. Charisma not only disrupts social order, it also maintains or conserves it" (p. 200). Shils uses the term "the sacred" to describe those things in society which help us to understand the nature of our social condition. Shils suggests these sacred objects of society are not necessarily only religious. Rather they include the things in which we most strongly believe and revere, the things which produce "awe and reverence", including our system of government, our sporting institutions, or our entertainment industry. Schweitzer (1974) argues that Weber limited charisma to supernatural powers, but in reality charisma should include any kind of human genius and creative activity.

According to Shils, the closer a person is to these sacred objects the more charisma they will have. Thus holders of traditional or bureaucratic office may be endowed with some charisma as a matter of course. As Shils (1965) describes it "the

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most fundamental laws of a country, its constitution, its most unchallengeable traditions and the institutions embodying or enunciating them, call forth awe in the minds of those in contact with them" (p. 205). For example, the very position of queen, president, or prime minister may endow the incumbent with charisma without the individual needing "personal" charisma. As the sacred includes our deeply held reverence for the systems of government, even public servants can have charisma.

Shils views charisma as involving our continuous yearning for order and the sacred in society which produces a respect for organisational leaders and cultural figures who help unite our communities (Butler, 1969). Charisma is thus positive, ever-present and a major component in social cohesion. Shils interprets democracy as the endowment of the whole population with ultimate charismatic authority. Etzioni (1961) contends charisma is involved to some degree in all organisations, especially those that transmit or create social values, such as churches and schools. Etzioni defines charisma as "the ability of an actor to exercise diffuse and intense influence over the normative orientation of other actors" (p. 203). Compared to Weber's definition of charisma involving a person with extraordinary abilities, this definition is extremely general and covers most situations in society.

That charisma inheres in the sacred things of society implies that it is transferable. Glassman (1975) suggests that close association with a charismatic leader often confers charisma onto others. The Gemeinde are more likely to be seen as charismatic because of their association with the leader, and are likely to gain status compared with the rest of the movement. Both Glassman and Weber point out that when a charismatic leader dies, one of the individuals closely associated with the leader will usually succeed them.

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This charisma by association is not just a modern phenomenon. Glassman (1975) suggests that early human societies often "charismatised" a whole family or clan because of some past association with a great charismatic leader. He posits that people born into a charismatic family possess a certain amount of charisma by association and that this eliminated the need for succession struggles. This is a similar idea to that of Weber's (1947) routinisation of charisma, the "charisma of office" where the charisma of an individual is institutionalised, structured into a legal-rational or traditional authority system, and passed from incumbent to incumbent. However, Weber viewed this charisma of office as inferior to the "genuine" charisma of the leader. Bryman (1992) suggests that Shils is adding to Weber's view of the charisma of office in that this charisma is just as valid and genuine as the revolutionary charisma that resides with the person of the leader. Both share the common component of evoking awe and reverence. However, Shils is saying more than that. He is suggesting that charisma does not have to originate from an extraordinary individual but can also originate from the sheer importance of an organisation to the central or core values of society.

Understandably, Shils has been criticised for his departure from Weber's concept of charisma. Bensman and Givant (1975) have two major criticisms of Shils work. Firstly, they argue that Shils has stretched the concept so far that it covers almost everything. If charisma is a component of every act of voluntary obedience to established authority, then, instead of being only one expression of legitimacy, it is now indistinguishable from legitimacy itself. Likewise they view the definition of Etzioni involving one actor influencing another as the concept of legitimacy rather than charisma. If charisma is anything in society that produces a sense of awe and reverence among the population, then it has lost conceptual and theoretical utility

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and has become tautological. Secondly, they argue that Shils has not identified any of the mechanisms by which such a diffusion of charisma takes place.

However, other authors have supported Shils' exposition. Geertz (1983) used Shils' theory to explore the relationship between the centres of social orders and the conferment of charisma. He focuses on Elizabeth I, a proponent of protestant values which she pronounced were ordained by God. Geertz suggests that she became associated with these transcendent moral values and this association conferred charisma upon her. Interestingly he does not suggest that she was imbued with charisma simply through her traditional office. Rather he points out that for the political leader to appear charismatic, he or she needs to establish in the minds of followers a direct connection between the leader and the central values of the society in question. Here he diverges slightly from Shils. Unlike Shils, he does not seem to be saying that the values themselves can produce charisma. Rather, like Weber, he implies that charisma resides with a person, but goes further by saying that charisma is conferred on a person by their active association with the values. He draws attention to the strategies that leaders can use to enhance charisma, thus making sure that followers connect the leader with the values.

Charismatic personality traits

Willner and Willner (1965) suggest that the misreading of Weber's most frequently cited definition of charisma has resulted in a search for the source of charisma amongst the personalities of charismatic leaders: "a certain quality of an individual personality by which he is set apart from ordinary men" (Weber, 1947, p. 358). This has led to the popular view that charisma is something that people either possess or do not possess. Bryman (1992) quotes a former English cricket captain as saying that "charisma is an effulgence of personal qualities, innate, or at

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any rate not capable of being acquired by study" (p. 44). Glassman (1975) talks of the "special gift that certain individuals possess" (p. 616). Contrasting this popular view with his own, Shils (1958a) mentions leaders who are "charismatic men in the conventional sociological sense—strikingly vivid personalities and extremely sensitive" (p. 4).

Many authors have detailed the personal qualities thought to be associated with charismatic leaders, including handsomeness and the voice, including its beauty and oratory skills (Apter, 1968), expressive behaviour (Bensman & Givant, 1975; Friedman, Prince, Riggio, & DiMatteo, 1980; Willner, 1968), the quality of the eyes (Lindholm, 1990; Willner, 1968, 1984), energy and endurance (Stone, 1982), an intuitive feeling about what people want (Lindholm, 1990; Schweitzer, 1984; Stone, 1982), self-confidence (Bass, 1985; Hill, 1999; Hoffman & Hoffman, 1970; Stone, 1982; Tucker, 1968), and insight (McClelland, 1975). Glassman (1975) also details oratory, body language, physical appearance, and the "blick", a certain look that can produce intense feelings and near-hypnotic states.

Ratnam (1964) argues against the idea that "personal charisma" is a matter of personality independent of the situational context, with the example of the reaction Hitler would get if it were suddenly known he was alive today and going to address a rally in Berlin. As leaders gain and lose charismatic authority, it would seem that personality traits on their own cannot explain the phenomenon. Willner (1984) adds empirical weight to the argument that there is little value in focusing on personal qualities of charismatic leaders with her finding that eleven political leaders shared no common personal qualities.

Despite the words "a certain quality of an individual personality" in his definition, Weber was at pains to stress the opposite view. The power of charisma resides with the followers:

> How the quality in question would be judged from any ethical, aesthetic, or other such point of view is naturally entirely indifferent for purposes of definition. What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his 'followers' or 'disciples'. For present purposes it will be necessary to treat a variety of different types as being endowed with charisma in this sense ... It is recognition on the part of those subject to authority which is decisive for the validity of charisma (Weber, 1947, p. 359).

Therefore outsiders' impressions of the charismatic leader are completely irrelevant. The strength of believers' commitment is the only test of charisma.

Charisma in organisations

Weber (1968) stressed a clear distinction between charismatic leaders and appointed leaders in organisations. He saw charisma as a revolutionary force completely disrupting the previous order. He argued that "charismatic domination transforms all values and breaks all traditional and rational norms" (p. 1115). Charismatic leaders are natural leaders, they have not been appointed by others or by ordered succession. He stated that charismatic authority rests "on personal devotion to, and personal authority of, 'natural' leaders, in contrast to the appointed leaders of the bureaucratic order" (p. 1117). Weber saw the natural charismatic leader as being completely independent of any hierarchy.

One of the lynch pins in Weber's argument that charismatic leaders are outside organised structures and rise up as wild and untamed "natural" leaders, was his view of the ancient Israelite prophets (Weber, 1968). Weber saw prophets as socially marginalised charismatic leaders who rose independently from the religious structures of the day. Weber contrasted priests, as part of the organisational structure, with prophets and their charisma, as antitheses of organisation :

> The [priest] lays claim to authority by virtue of his service in a sacred tradition, while the prophet's claim is based on personal revelation and charisma. It is no accident that almost no prophets have emerged from the priestly class. As a rule, the Indian teachers of salvation were not Brahmins, nor were the Israelite prophets priests (p. 440).

However, Weber's view of Israelite prophets was based on the scholarship of his time, and has since been questioned. Berger (1963) found that more recent scholarship has shown that prophets were not socially marginal but instead were integral parts of the organised religion of ancient Israel. Contrary to Weber's teachings, these prophets exercised their charismatic authority within the context of their offices. A number of authors (e.g., Bryman, 1992; Conger, 1988; Dow, 1969; Theobald, 1978) have attached great significance to this finding, claiming that this expands Weber's view of charismatic authority. Charisma may arise not only independently from established organisations but also from within them. Charisma need not be the antithesis of stable organisation.

Criticisms of Weber's concept

Secular vs. sacred charisma

Perhaps the most prominent critics of Weber's concept of charisma are Friedrich (1961) and Loewenstein (1966). They criticise Weber for broadening and secularising the charismatic concept on two grounds. Firstly, Weber drew heavily on Sohm's (1892) religious view of charisma and therefore this explicit meaning limits charisma to religious charismatic leaders only: Charismatic leadership is based on a transcendent call by a divine being in whom both leader and followers believe. Friedrich posits that when Weber uses the term charismatic leadership in a secular context, he is actually talking about "inspirational leadership". Secondly, resistance to secularising the concept arises when leaders like Hitler and Mussolini are lumped together with Jesus (see also Emmet, 1972; Schlesinger, 1960). It is not just that this lumping together may appear blasphemous, but rather that, while totalitarian leaders always concern themselves with secular power, religious leaders rarely do so.

In response to the first argument, Bryman (1992) points out that there is no good reason for limiting a concept to one particular field of research. Secular leaders have also felt called to a position of leadership, and have an inspired vision for the future (Dow, 1969; Schweitzer, 1974). The real test of charismatic leadership should always be the response of the followers—if they give their leader their fervent devotion, then the leader is charismatic, whether the context is secular or sacred. Dow (1969) states that:

> The appeal of a secular savior, whatever his personal integrity or intention, is fundamentally equivalent to that of a sacred prophet; in both cases one may observe a transcendent element, although it may not be theological in form.

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In this sense Weber's value-free extension of charisma, to include sacred and secular, "good" and "bad" movements, is quite consistent (p. 308).

But are secular and sacred that different? Shils (1958b) argues that the sacred things in a secular society include "certain standards of judgement, certain rules of conduct and thought, and certain arrangements of action" (p. 156). Shils insists that charisma can be dispersed among the core values of society and that this charisma rubs off on the people who hold the offices of certain secular positions in society. Thus religious leaders may not be more sacred than secular ones.

In response to the second argument, Dow (1969) and Gerth & Mills (1946b) argue Weber's typology is value-neutral and may be equally applied to the sacred and the secular. Although it may offend some sensibilities to lump good and evil people together in the same breath, what is of importance is the phenomenon of the social interaction between leader and followers. It has been the case both Jesus and Hitler inspired such fervent devotion in their followers that they lay down their lives for their leader and thus both leaders fulfil the requisites for charismatic leadership (Oommen, 1967). That one leader was good and one was evil is irrelevant to the phenomenon.

Manufactured charisma

One of the criticisms of Weber's theory of charisma is that it is not consonant with the modern world. Authors who take this stand (e.g., Bendix, 1971; Bensman & Givant, 1975; Glassman, 1975; Loewenstein, 1966) state that charisma is only genuine when there is personal contact between the leader and his or her followers. In these days of mass media the image of the leader that is communicated to the masses is a rationally created product rather than the intense personal

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communication with an extraordinary individual. Thus the image of the leader that is shown is a creation of the media and party machine.

The success of the image depends upon the talents of media experts, advertising executives, and spin doctors who attempt to manipulate the masses through their grooming of the leader. Charismatic leaders are manufactured by those that seek to train them in what to say, how to handle the media, and how to appear charismatic. This creates the aura of a charismatic person with extraordinary talents. Bensman and Givant propose that this produces a much weakened, false charisma, which they label "pseudocharisma" and which Glassman labels "manufactured charisma". Proponents of this view suggest that Weber (1968) contrasted the two charismas when he stated that charisma "may be produced artificially in an object or person through some extraordinary means" (p. 400).

This view does not stand much scrutiny. First, there are many situations where modern leaders have not used the mass media, but have relied on personal contact with their followers such as in religious sects and organisations. While image creation also occurs here to some degree, it seems unbelievable that no examples of personal charisma are operating.

Second, it seems naïve to imagine that image creation and the manufacture of charisma are modern inventions. Bensman and Givant (1975) seem to infer that the charismatic leaders of old were indifferent to the tactics and artifices of image creation. It seems likely that many of them and their followers knew exactly what words to utter and the required style for delivering them. They will have been aware (as Weber observed) that they must continually validate their charisma through further deeds and words, and it is difficult to believe that they were ignorant about how best to present these deeds and words.

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Glassman (1975) outlines the ways in which charisma may have been manufactured in the past. He suggests that in late tribal and early agricultural societies, the charismatic process was maintained through artificial attempts at stage-management. He details special clothing, masks, headdresses, and ornaments, which conferred a spectacular appearance and created mystery and fear. He lists stilts and padding to increase height and weight, and magical symbols using animal skins, carved objects or rare vegetation to evoke awe. Also myths, legends, stories, and religious systems have been used to justify a charismatic leader's right to succession lines. The modern charismatic leader simply has a far wider and more sophisticated range of tools with which to project an image.

Third, just because some of the characteristics of the concept of charisma have changed with modernity, that does not mean the concept is no longer relevant (Bryman, 1992). We are faced with different forms of the concept and consequently are required to be sensitive to the changes that have occurred. To do otherwise runs the risk that social scientific concepts like charisma will lose their continuity.

Fourth, Weber clearly viewed charisma as a legitimate notion in the context of the modern world. By applying the concept to Roosevelt and to Gladstone (Weber, 1948), he was clearly showing its relevance to modern times. Fifthly, as Runciman (1963) observes, even if charisma in the modern world is substantially different from that which existed in earlier times, the concept may still be useful in helping us to understand how a certain kind of authority comes to be seen as legitimate.

Loewenstein (1966) suggests that the repeated exposure of a leader in the mass media, rather than aiding the charisma of the leader, lessens the magic, the mystery, and the magnetism. However, this flies in the face of evidence. It is

opposition leaders who get very little media coverage and appear to have no policies. The more often a leader is exposed in the mass media, the more that leader is shown to be in touch with the issues and is shown to be a person whose opinion matters. Even film footage of the current Australian prime minister power-walking in the mornings provides an image of a purposeful and physically fit leader (Brett, 2005). None of these things can hurt a leader's image.

Ake (1966) suggests that the only validation of charisma is that followers perceive their leader as possessing it. It does not matter whether the image of the leader in a follower's mind comes from personal contact or the media. If fervent devotion exists, then the leader is charismatic. It is the empirical evidence of this that is missing from many studies of so-called charismatic leaders.

Further criticism of Weber's approach

Although we have covered some of the main criticisms of Weber's work on charisma, there remain a number of issues to be discussed. As has been noted, Weber's theory of charisma certainly has its inconsistencies. For instance, Bryman (1992) points out that although Weber specifies that charisma involves the relationship between leader and followers, he also, at times, describes the leader as innately extraordinary and special. His insistence that the leader validate his or her claims through signs also appears confusing, as does his change of tone when discussing the routinisation of charisma.

However, there are far more serious criticisms of Weber's concept. Worsley (1970) describes charisma as a "sponge word" that has poor utility. He argues that Weber has outlined two clear legitimate authority types, the legal-rational and the traditional, and one catch-all type to explain the rest, charismatic authority. Ratnam (1964) suggests that, upon being aware of the success of particular leaders, and

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finding this success in some ways extraordinary, many writers take the easy way out by attributing it to "charisma" without due consideration to the fact that their explanations follow no recognised criteria. For this reason at least, he argues that the whole notion of charisma may be largely valueless and in many cases inappropriate in providing explanations.

Wolpe (1968) argues that Weber's concept of charisma is not only analytically useless, but is contradictory and ambiguous. He points out that criticisms of Weber's theory of charisma generally fall into two main categories. Firstly, the empirical explorations into the attitudes of followers have found very little "fervent devotion" to, or belief in, the charismatic qualities of many so-called charismatic leaders (e.g., Ake, 1966; Fagen, 1965). Ake (1966) argues that there is a dearth of empirical evidence to support the claims of many researchers that certain charismatic leaders are in fact charismatic and suggests that the popularity of some leaders is probably exaggerated (Apter, 1968) and calls for specific quantitative research into whether or not people think their leaders are charismatic:

> One must insist on operational indices for identifying and measuring the extent of charismatic appeal because the minimal requirement for the validation of the theory of charismatic legitimation in any historical instance is that the leader be perceived as endowed with charisma by enough people to make charisma a critical instrument of 'social mobilization' (p. 6).

In a footnote he adds, "This will have to be an empirical survey geared to determining the masses' images of their leader" (Ake, 1966, p. 6). Ake cites two examples where proper empirical research has been conducted. Firstly, Davies (1954) used data from the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan to

determine the charisma of Eisenhower. Secondly, Free (1960) surveyed urban and semi-urban Cubans to evaluate their perceptions of Castro. Trice and Beyer (1986, pp. 116-117) list five studies undertaken up to 1966 and 14 more undertaken between 1966 and 1984, however they only single out an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Smith (1982, as cited in Trice & Beyer, 1986) and studies by Yukl and van Fleet (1982) as using quantitative measures.

A second criticism of Weber's analysis of charisma is that it has not taken into account the historical conditions and social processes that give rise to the charismatic eruptions in the social structure (Blau, 1963; Friedland, 1964). Blau (1963) criticises Weber's theory of charismatic legitimation for showing little sense of history. He states that Weber's theory "encompasses only the historical processes that lead from charismatic movements to increasing rationalization and does not include an analysis of the historical conditions that give rise to charismatic eruptions in the social structure" (p. 309). There is no theory of revolution. There may be many reasons for the rise of a leader that have little to do with charisma. However these are never explored.

A number of authors have questioned whether Weber's approach actually says anything about leadership. Ake (1966) argues that the term is not a meaningful analytic distinction, agreeing with Friedrich (1961) that charismatic leadership is a contradiction in terms. They argue that leadership of any sort presupposes the existence of structured or institutionalised power. If, as Weber suggests, charisma is independent of, or even the antithesis of, structured power, then the term charismatic leadership makes no sense. Friedrich suggests that charisma involves power but not leadership.

In Emmet's (1972) discussion of power and leadership, she argues that Weber has defined charisma too narrowly as a personal and irrational kind of authority. She distinguishes between (1) inspirational leadership, where the leader inspires strength and confidence in the followers, and even though they train other people's wills, the leader leaves them free to work constructively on their own account, and (2) hypnotic leadership, where the leader attempts to dominate followers by the sheer force of his or her will (see also Schlesinger, 1960). Ake suggests that those proponents of charismatic leadership have not assisted the debate because there has been no forming and exploring of a clear definition.

Theobald (1978) goes further, arguing that the term charisma is too versatile, "explaining everything in general and nothing in particular" (p. 192). He suggests that charismatic leadership involves a circular argument: "Cohesion exists or is assumed to exist within a social movement or a society; the source of this cohesion is simply assumed to be the charisma of this or that political or religious leader" (pp. 192-193). The leader is assumed to be charismatic because of the cohesion and the cohesion is assumed to exist because of the charisma. However, while the Gemeinde join the group purely because of the leader, it seems unlikely that the vast majority would join for that reason. Theobald suggests that people may join for prestige or material rewards, or for ideological reasons with little or no regard for the leader's charisma (see also Wolpe, 1968).

Ratnam (1964) makes perhaps one of the most insightful comments about the sociological literature on charisma. He points out that the literature exists largely in fragments. He states that there has been no systematic analysis of the subject and very little empirical research. Ratnam points out that there has been a reluctance to pursue the subject more critically and suggests that the reason for this is that

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charismatic leaders are treated rather like phenomena which "just occur". He argues that no leader just occurs; there are good reasons why a particular leader has come to power and not someone else. Ratnam suggests that a leader's popularity could be explained in terms of historical circumstances; the use of propaganda; the reluctance or elimination of opponents; personality; the power of oratory; skilful management; and so on. By simply attributing their success to "charisma" nothing is gained and a great deal is lost.

Conclusion

Weber has provided a stimulating and intriguing account of charismatic leadership, which he anchored firmly in the context of social movements. Trice and Beyer (1986) summarise Weber's concept as involving an "extraordinarily gifted" person who, faced with some social or natural crisis, provides a novel and successful solution which followers embrace due to their attraction to the unique and transcendent qualities of the person and to the continued success of the solution. While some have focused on charismatic traits, Weber's definition appears to be far more about followers' perceptions and their reactions to those perceptions. Although Weber's charismatic leader is a very romantic and revolutionary figure, flying in the face of the establishment, this is ultimately an extreme and narrow view as many charismatic leaders have been firmly anchored in their societies and as such the views of those who have widened the context to incorporate any social grouping are appealing. If charisma is about follower perceptions and reactions in any social context, then the issues of whether a leader is truly charismatic or merely "pseudocharismatic" and whether they can validate their claim become irrelevant. If it can be shown that followers perceive charisma as genuine and validated and react

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to it with devotion then that influence relationship should be deemed charismatic for the purposes of scientific research.

In the sociological literature, robust debate about what charisma is and who is a charismatic leader continued strongly until the 1970-1980s as more sociological theorists became disenchanted with the inconsistencies, the lack of quantitative empirical research, and the lack of usefulness (Andreski, 1984; Spinrad, 1991). At that point the focus shifted from social movements in general to organisations in particular as organisational psychologists increasingly entered the debate and conducted vast amounts of quantitative research in the context of leadership studies. This will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

ON THE 'NEW LEADERSHIP' VIEW OF CHARISMATIC

LEADERS IN ORGANISATIONS

If the influence and attraction surrounding charismatic leaders flow from their special qualities or powers, then this influence and attraction are beyond the grasp of the average person. On the other hand, if charisma involves exhibiting certain behaviours, then maybe there are steps people can take to become more charismatic, and maybe that increased charisma can be used in social influence relationships. The latter theory has formed the basis of many self-help book titles such as "Operation Charisma: How to get Charisma and Wind Up at the Top" (Curtis, 1999), "Executive Charisma: Six Steps to Mastering the Art of Leadership" (Benton, 2003), and "Charisma: Seven Keys to Managing the Magnetism that Leads to Success" (Alessandra, 2000).

Whereas the sociological literature was concerned with theorising and describing the phenomenon of existing charismatic leadership and the social movements surrounding those leaders, the organisational literature has been fundamentally concerned with the measurement of charismatic behaviours, the measurement of charismatic outcomes, and with using charismatic leadership to improve organisational outcomes (Bryman, 1992). This required a huge leap in thinking. Rather than charisma just being something that exists in the relationship between leaders and their followers, leaders could actively seek to *increase* their charisma by talking and acting in certain ways and this increase would benefit the organization through enhanced follower performance (e.g., Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1988c; House, Woycke, & Fodor, 1988; Kouzes & Posner, 1995).

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Sociologists have argued that this view of charisma is a trivialisation or taming of Weber's conceptualisation (e.g., Beyer, 1999a; 1999b), while organisational researchers have defended the change as merely an extension of Weber's ideas (e.g., Bass, 1999a; House, 1999; Shamir, 1999b). Thus, over seventy years after its conception, the definition of charisma remains unclear and the focus has largely shifted from overarching theory to psychometric issues. As we shall see throughout this chapter, the question "What is charisma?" has been eclipsed by "How can we measure charisma?".

The theories involving charismatic leadership in organizations come under the umbrella of the "new leadership" theories because they ostensibly focus more on the role of the followers in the leadership process than the "old leadership" theories (Bryman, 1992). To measure charisma and improvements in organisational outcomes, some useful measurement instruments have been devised; however, their usefulness, validity, and reliability remain hotly debated. The aim of this chapter is to: (1) outline the major charismatic new leadership theories—their commonalities and differences; (2) examine the main evidence for their theories; and (3) explicate the debate about the measurement of charisma.

While many writers have researched aspects of charismatic leadership and there are many similar new leadership theories involving charismatic and transformational leaders (e.g., Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Kouzes & Posner, 1987; Locke et al., 1991; Tichy & Devanna, 1986), three ways of looking at charisma are most relevant to this thesis: (a) as leader behaviours which produce follower effects; (b) as follower attributions; and (c) as intrinsic motivations. These conceptualisations and their empirical strengths and weaknesses will be outlined below.

Charisma as behaviours and effects

The transformational leadership model

The predominant view of charisma in the organisational literature has come from the transformational/transactional leadership model (Bass, 1985). Whereas the transactional leadership style does not engage followers other than in a contractual sense, leaders using a transformational leadership style change the intrinsic motivations of followers so that enhanced organisational outcomes result. Founding father of the model Burns (1978) suggests that "... the genius of leadership is the manner in which leaders see and act on their own and their followers' values and motivations" (p. 19).

Whereas in Burns' (1978) model transactional and transforming leadership styles were at opposite ends of a spectrum and lacking in specifics (Conger & Kanungo, 1998), contemporary proponents of the model conceive them as two separate dimensions (e.g., Bass, 1985). The latter style has been expanded and renamed as "transformational leadership", and precise behaviours associated with each style have been catalogued (Bass, 1985, 1990, 1995, 1999b).

Put simply, the transformational leader "motivates us to do more than we originally expected to do" (Bass, 1985, p. 20). This is achieved by one or more of the following: (1) increasing follower understanding of the value of collective outcomes and the methods for achieving them; (2) focussing follower attention on collective rather than individual needs; (3) creating a desire for fulfilment of higher needs (Maslow, 1943). Bass's greatest contribution to the field of charismatic research has been to operationalise and measure his conception of charisma.

The multifactor leadership questionnaire (MLQ; Avolio, Bass, & Jung, 1999;

Bass & Avolio, 1991) was created by Bass to measure the constructs of

transformational and transactional leadership. Items were initially generated from the

literature and from the responses of a qualitative pilot study. Final items for each

style were formed into subscales as informed by factor analysis of 142 leadership

items with 104 participants most of whom were male U.S. Army officers (Bass,

1985). Under the transformational leadership style, charisma is theorised to be one of

three factors which leaders use to transform followers, along with intellectual

stimulation, and individualised consideration:

> ... the deep emotional attachment which characterizes the relationship of the
>
> charismatic leader to his followers may be present when transformational
>
> leadership occurs ... charisma is a necessary ingredient of transformational
>
> leadership, but by itself is not sufficient to account for the transformational
>
> process (Bass, 1985, p. 31).

Thus, in this model, the ultimate conceptions of transformational and

transactional leadership styles, and therefore, of charisma, have been defined through

the application of psychometric principles.

The original charismatic leadership behaviour factor was concerned with "the

faith and respect in the leader and the inspiration and encouragement provided by his

(or her) presence" (Bass, 1985, p. 209), and included a strong inspirational sub-

factor. The final charismatic subscale has been labelled "idealized influence" to

distinguish it from the usage of other researchers (e.g., Conger & Kanungo, 1988c;

House, 1977), and to avoid the problems of popular over usage (Bass, 1999b).

In contrast to the theological endowment of charisma, where powers are perceived to be divinely bestowed on the person, in the secular charismatic relationship charisma is described as "an endowment of an extremely high degree of esteem, value, popularity, and/or celebrity-status attributed by others. This engenders in these other people strong emotional responses of love or hate. The leader with charisma attains a generalized influence which is transformational" (Bass, 1985, p. 39). Thus it appears that the leader's charisma transforms the followers.

However, there are a number of paradoxes which have been inherited from Weber. For example, charisma is viewed on the one hand as an attribution made by followers, "charisma is in the eye of the beholder. Therefore it is relative to the beholder" (Bass, 1985, p. 40). On the other hand it is a characteristic able to be wielded by the user, "charismatics actively shape and enlarge audiences through their own energy, self-confidence, assertiveness, ambition, and seizing of opportunities" (p. 40). Bass also states, "success as a leader flows from one's charisma. But equally so, the charismatic must continue to demonstrate effectiveness as a leader, that is, that the actions which can be attributed to him are continuing to benefit the community of followers" (p. 40).

Bass (1985) suggests some universal charismatic traits including self-confidence; self-determination; freedom from internal conflict; insight into the needs, values, and hopes of followers; and the ability to articulate and act on these. Followers are profoundly affected when confronted by these "larger-than-life" figures (p. 57) because charismatics raise enthusiasm and self-esteem; arouse achievement, affiliation, and power motives; shape frames of reference and follower images of reality; lower resistance to attitude change; engender a sense of excitement; and cause critical judgement about the leader to be suspended.

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In the MLQ, charisma and inspiration were subsequently split into separate factors (Bass, 1990). Under the idealised influence (charisma) factor the leader "provides vision and sense of mission, instills pride, gains respect and trust" while under the inspirational motivation factor the leader "communicates high expectations, uses symbols to focus efforts, expresses important purposes in simple ways" (Bass, 1990, p. 22). The two factors are said to overlap "depending on how much followers seek to identify with the leader" (Bass & Avolio, 1990, p. 250). Those with charisma are necessarily inspirational, but inspirational leaders are not necessarily charismatic.

Empirical work

The amount of empirical research using the MLQ has been very extensive (Bryman, 1992). A comprehensive literature search between the years 1985 to 1994 alone found 75 studies using the MLQ and, of these, 39 published and 17 unpublished studies were included in a meta-analysis involving leader effectiveness (Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996). Results of the meta-analysis revealed a strong mean corrected correlation between the charisma subscale (encompassing idealised influence and inspirational motivation, mean Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$) and leader effectiveness ($r = .713$, $CI_{.95} = [.69, .74]$). Across the studies, charisma was consistently more strongly related to leader effectiveness than any other transformational or transactional factors. Charismatic leader behaviours were more common in the public sector ($M = 2.61$) than in the private sector ($M = 2.37$, $z = 8.69$, $p < .001$) and correlated more strongly with leader effectiveness in the public sector (public: $r = .74$; private: $r = .59$, $z = 2.22$, $p < .05$). Low level leaders exhibited significantly more charismatic behaviours ($M = 2.60$) than high level

leaders ($M = 2.50$, $z = 3.39$, $p < .001$), however there was no difference in correlation with leader effectiveness (high: $r = .69$; low: $r = .70$, $z = 0.12$, $p > .05$).

The meta-analysis also highlighted a recurring result in the psychometric testing of charismatic leadership models: the difference in effect size for subjective and objective measures. The mean correlational effect sizes for charisma and leader effectiveness differed significantly between subordinate perceptions of effectiveness ($r = .81$) and organisational measures, such as profit, meeting targets, and supervisor performance appraisals ($r = .35$, $z = 16.01$, $p < .001$). This difference was consistent for all transformational *and transactional* scales. The difference between subjective and objective outcome measures is typified by findings that perceptions of CEO charisma affected share price under high uncertainty and CEO compensation packages, but had little effect on other firm performance measures (Tosi, Misangyi, Fanelli, Waldman, & Yammarino, 2004), and that the perceptions of CEO charisma at a specific time predicted subsequent firm performance, but was unrelated to prior performance (Waldman, Javidan, & Varella, 2004).

Some writers have expressed concern over this disparity (e.g., DeGroot, Kiker, & Cross, 2000; MacKenzie, Podsakoff, & Rich, 2001); however, this concern may be misplaced. While this difference is most likely due to common method bias and the different aspects of effectiveness being measured, organisational measures may also have a narrow performance measure focus, and may not take into account such things as increasing corporate knowledge, worker morale and development, and organisational citizenship behaviours (Lowe et al., 1996).

Studies have also found positive correlations between the charisma factor and other follower effects including satisfaction (e.g., Hater & Bass, 1988; Yammarino & Bass, 1990a, 1990b), extra effort (e.g., Bass, 1985; Yammarino & Bass, 1990a,

1990b), organisational commitment (Barling, Weber, & Kelloway, 1996; Bycio, Hackett, & Allen, 1995), sales performance (Barling et al., 1996; Bycio et al., 1995), financial performance (Yammarino & Dublinsky, 1994), academic and military performance (e.g., Avolio, Waldman, & Einstein, 1988; Barling et al., 1996; Waldman et al., 2004), and perceptions of leader charismatic behaviours (e.g., Barling et al., 1996; Howell & Frost, 1989; Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1996). The charisma factor, furthermore, has been found to negatively correlate with intention to leave one's job and profession (Bycio et al., 1995). The charisma subscale has also been used to evaluate influences on the perception of charisma such as speech delivery (Awamleh & Gardner, 1999), speech content and communication style (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1996), and group-oriented rhetoric (Platow, van Knippenberg, Haslam, van Knippenberg, & Spears, 2006).

Finally, research using the charismatic factor of the MLQ has begun on transformational leader correlates including moral reasoning (e.g., Sivanathan & Fekken, 2002; Turner, Barling, Epitropaki, Butcher, & Milner, 2002), schemata and scripts (Wofford, Goodwin, & Whittington, 1998), and emotional intelligence (e.g., Barling, Slater, & Kelloway, 2000; L. Gardner & Stough, 2002; Palmer, Walls, Burgess, & Stough, 2001; Sosik & Megerian, 1999). There is also significant interest in the universality of charismatic and transformational leadership in different cultures (Den Hartog, Dorfman, Hanges, House, & Ruiz-Quintanilla, 2000; Walumbwa & Lawler, 2003). However, meta-analyses have shown that, despite the evidence that some personality traits are consistently linked to leadership in general (Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002), the link between transformational and charismatic leadership and personality is weak (Bono & Judge, 2004). Avolio and

Yammarino (2002a; 2002b) provide recent summaries of the findings, impact, and future directions of the transformational leadership model.

Criticisms and problems

While both Bass's model and measurement tool, the MLQ, are the most popular and influential in the new leadership field (Bass, 1998; Bass & Avolio, 1994), they have not escaped criticism (e.g., Antonakis & House, 2002; Conger, 1999; Hunt, 1999; Hunt & Conger, 1999; Yukl, 1999). The fundamental problem with the conception of charisma in the transformational leadership model is that it is defined as both cause and effect, that is, a syndrome of both leader behaviours and follower reactions (Yukl, 1999). This is reflected in the idealised influence (charisma) subscale containing leader behaviour items such as "Communicates a strong sense of mission", follower reaction items such as "Makes me proud to be associated with him or her", and some items which mix the two, such as "Has my trust in his or her ability to overcome any obstacle". The inspirational motivation subscale suffers similarly, for example, "Uses symbols and images to focus our efforts".

In answer to this criticism, a version of the MLQ was developed and tested in which all items were framed in terms of behaviours; however, the factor structure only supported three of the four factors (Howell & Avolio, 1993). Bass and Avolio (1993) state openly that "charisma is undoubtedly both a behavior and an attribution for it requires particular follower emotional reactions to the leader to be identified as such. We have no quarrel with this operational definition of charisma" (p. 58). Like House and colleagues (1991), they argue for a distinction between "attributed" and "behavioral" charisma. In the recent version of the MLQ (Form 5X, Bass & Avolio, 1991), charisma is measured using separate subscales for attributed charisma,

charismatic behaviours (idealised influence), and inspirational motivation. Although confirmatory factor analysis supported this distinction, the original three factor structure was found to be more parsimonious (Bass & Avolio, 1997). However, some items still capture attributions rather than observable behaviours leading to suggestions that there is still no valid conventional measure of charismatic behaviour (Shamir, Zakay, Brainin, & Popper, 1998). For Bass and Avolio (1993), the convergence or divergence of different leadership behaviours continues to point to distinct concepts—they argue that there is obviously more to leadership than simply being liked or disliked, and being effective or ineffective; and they call for the further unravelling of the roles of behaviours, attributions, and implicit leadership theories (Lord, Foti, & De Vader, 1984).

A second problem with the conception of charisma has been the distinction between idealised influence (charisma) and inspirational motivation. Both the original factor analysis (Bass, 1985), and subsequent factor analyses have not supported a fourth transformational factor (Bass, 1999b). Furthermore, while the vast amount of the literature firmly associates vision with charisma (Conger, 1999), it has been allocated to the inspirational motivation subscale of the MLQ. However, arguments for the fourth factor include: (a) the existence of separate literatures for inspirational and charismatic leadership which document different behaviours for each; (b) that different attributions are made about these behaviours; and (c) that follower effects also differ (Bass, 1999b).

Extensive research has failed to resolve the issue. Large-scale confirmatory factor analyses have supported the three-factor structure (Avolio et al., 1999); a single transformational factor (Bycio et al., 1995; Howell & Avolio, 1993); and a six-factor structure (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990). In the latter

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study the charisma-inspiration variance could be divided into factors entailing: (a) vision; (b) role-modelling; (c) high performance standards; and (d) collective goals.

Recent meta-analysis, showing recurrent high correlations between the transformational leadership factors and contingent reward (traditionally conceptualised as a transactional factor), has cast further doubt on the original transformational-transactional factor structure (Judge & Piccolo, 2004). Adding to the confusion, multicollinearity may produce a single transformational factor when shorter versions of the subscales are used to sample homogenous populations (Bass, 1999b). However, psychometric testing has also shown that reduced item versions provide better model fit than the full version (Tejeda, Scandura, & Pillai, 2001).

A related issue has been whether transformational leadership is synonymous with charisma, that is, whether individualised consideration and intellectual stimulation should also be subsumed into one general factor. Some researchers suggest the similarity between them confounds the issue, while others have treated the concepts as equivalent because of the large overlap with other theories of charismatic leadership (Conger, 1999; Conger & Kanungo, 1994). Bass and Avolio (Bass, 1999b; Bass & Avolio, 1993, 1997) have always resisted this because of the consistent three-factor structure. However this distinction is still unclear as idealised influence invariably makes up the bulk of transformational variance (64.9% out of 89.5% in the original sample, Bass, 1985) and the other factors usually correlate more with idealised influence than with each other, providing further support for a more overarching factor (Bass, 1985, 1995, 1999b; Bass & Avolio, 1993).

Ultimately, arguments for distinguishing between idealised influence (charisma) and inspirational motivation have been dismissed because the overwhelming majority of studies support the three-factor structure, because it is

more parsimonious, and because all transformational factors are consistently highly intercorrelated. As such, researchers should individually confirm the factor structure for their specific populations and theoretical interests. However, there is a far more important point. The whole search for the underlying factors appears to be psychometrically-driven rather than theory-driven and as a result of this emphasis, research into charismatic theory has suffered from a dearth of theoretical depth.

A final criticism has been the failure of the model to take into account factors other than the dyadic ones, such as group or organizational level dimensions and situational variables (Conger & Kanungo, 1994; Meindl, 1998a; Pillai & Meindl, 1998). Bass has championed the focus on individual level processes suggesting that charisma may be about individual differences in the followers (Yammarino & Bass, 1990b) and interpersonal interactions:

> The charismatic leader may inspire opposition or even hatred in those who strongly favor the old order of things (Tucker, 1970). This argues strongly for dyadic rather than group analyses of charismatic leader-follower relationships. One can see the subordinates of a single charismatic superior divided in the extent to which they love, fear, or hate him or her (Bass, 1988, p. 45).

While the issue of levels of analysis, that is, whether particular studies are targeting individual, dyadic, team or organisational issues, has become an issue of importance lately (Conger, 1998; Klein & House, 1995; Waldman & Yammarino, 1999) the focus of investigations has largely been descriptive rather than explanatory. This theme will be explored further in the section below covering *romance of leadership* theory, and in the next chapter.

Charisma as attributions

An attributional focus

One of the constant themes throughout the different conceptions of charisma from Weber to the new leadership theories has been the attributional nature of charisma (Bryman, 1992). Weber (1961) states that the charismatic leader is given obedience "only as long as people ascribe [non-routine] qualities" (p. 10), while Shils (1968) describes charisma as a "quality which is imputed to persons, actions, roles, institutions, symbols and material objects" (p. 386). Thus Oberg (1972) claims "it is generally accepted that charisma is not possessed so much as it is granted. Personal charisma, like authority, must be given to the leader by the follower" (p. 20) and "charisma is ... attached or attributed to the leader by the follower, who can remove it at will" (p. 21).

Although this theme of implicit causal thinking runs through Weber's analyses of charisma, it was systematised much later as attribution theory (Heider, 1958) which distinguishes between explanatory factors located within the object of interest (internal attributions) versus those in the environment (external attributions). Leadership has generally been viewed as involving attributional elements (Pfeffer, 1977) or even as consisting entirely of our perceptions as naïve psychologists (Calder, 1977). Charismatic leadership in particular lends itself to the theorising of attributional behaviour (Bryman, 1992). In its simplest, most Weberian incarnation, followers are described as observing both leader behaviours and the success of those behaviours and attributing the cause of these to special qualities in the leader (Weber, 1947). A slightly more detailed view involves followers observing their own perceptions and reactions to leader behaviour and unconsciously attributing those to

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the person of the leader, an example of fundamental attribution error (Popper, 2005).

Thus Oberg (1972) suggests that, to the follower:

> The test for charisma ... is the degree of devotion and trust the object
> inspires and the degree to which it enables the individual to transcend his
> own finiteness and alienation and feel made whole ... Does it do for the
> individual what he needs to have done? If not, it is a false god. If it does, he
> is justified in following it at least until a new and more fulfilling object of
> devotion rushes to replace it (p. 22).

Two attributional theories are outlined below. The first, the behavioural

model of charismatic leadership, is closest to the Weberian view of charismatic

attribution. The second, the romance of leadership theory, is a far more social

constructionist interpretation of both leadership and charisma.

The behavioural model of charismatic leadership

1. Leader behaviours

Like the transformational leadership model, Conger and Kanungo's (1987;

1992; 1988c) behavioural model of charismatic leadership also describes behaviours

by which leaders are said to bring about follower change. However, while the

transformational leadership model focuses on the leader behaviours which increase

follower performance, systematically describing and measuring the impact the

former has on the latter, the model is almost Skinnerian in the way it fails to include

the psychological mechanisms which bring about these changes (Bryman, 1992). By

contrast this behavioural model suggests that attribution plays more of a role in this

process:

Like other kinds of leadership, charisma must be viewed as an attribution made by followers who observe certain behaviors on the part of the leader within organizational contexts. The roles played by a person not only make the person, in the eyes of the followers, a task leader or a social leader, but they also make him or her a charismatic leader or a noncharismatic leader. The leader's observed behavior within the organization can be interpreted by his/her followers as expressions of charismatic qualities. Such dispositional attributes are inferred from the leader's observed behaviour in the same way that many personal styles of leadership have been observed previously ... In this sense, charisma can be considered to be an additional inferred dimension of leadership behaviour (Conger & Kanungo, 1987, pp. 639-640).

In other words, in the attributional process followers look for clues to the leader's personality, values, and leadership characteristics by examining the behaviours the leader exhibits, through displays of affect, action, and spoken statements, and based on these, they make judgements about the leader's attributes. These judgements are also said to include assessments of the leader's charisma. Followers then respond to the conclusions they have formed. Followers are hypothesised to make attributions of charisma based on the inspiration of the vision and the extraordinariness of the leader and his or her mission, and they choose to follow leaders based on the perception of that extraordinariness, "such qualities are seen as part of the leader's inner disposition or personal style of interacting with followers" (Conger & Kanungo, 1987, p. 4).

The behavioural model involves three clusters of leadership behaviours conceived as stages (Conger & Kanungo, 1988a). In stage one, the leader critically evaluates the situational factors by examining the current organisational

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environment. The leader takes stock of the resources at hand, the problems and deficiencies, and the state of the followers, including their needs and satisfaction levels. This requires social skill and sensitivity, experience, and expertise. In this stage charismatic leaders are largely distinguished from noncharismatic leaders by their ability to clearly perceive both present and potential systemic shortcomings—an ability to see that things need changing and the difficulty of the task. This stage incorporates but is not exclusive to Weber's (1968) notion of crisis.

In stage two, the leader forms and disseminates the goals for the organisation in the form of an inspirational and radical vision. This vision is an "idealized goal [which] represents a perspective shared by the followers and promises to meet their hopes and aspirations" (Conger & Kanungo, 1988a, p. 85). To achieve greatest attitude change, the optimum radical position is conjectured to be as far from the status quo as possible, while still being within the bounds of acceptability (Petty, Wegener, & Fabrigar, 1997). Thus the vision is breathtaking in its innovation and extraordinariness while still tapping the shared perspective of the followers.

Effective articulation of the vision involves: (a) reframing the status quo as negative, disenchanting, and unacceptable; (b) painting the future vision and the method of achievement as the most favourable option; and (c) expressing the leader's own desire and pledge to see the goal realised (Conger, 1999). Charismatic leaders are distinguished from noncharismatic leaders for the optimal position of the shared vision, and their skills in articulation and rhetoric, and in impression management.

In stage three, the leader enacts the vision through expert, risky, and committed role modelling and through the empowerment of followers—which manifests as self-trust and self-motivation—to achieve the vision (Conger, 1989;

Conger & Kanungo, 1988b). Charismatic leaders are distinguished from noncharismatic leaders by their creative and radical methods of achieving the vision and by their ability to influence followers. Movement from stage to stage is not conceived as necessarily linear because organisational environments are in constant flux (Conger & Kanungo, 1988b). The leader who wishes to remain charismatic must move freely between all three stages revising assessments, goals, and methods to meet each new challenge (Conger & Kanungo, 1988a).

Under the behavioural model the charismatic leader performs a balancing act, on the one hand exhibiting revolutionary and extraordinary qualities which set him or her apart from others, while at the same time staying within the bounds of organisational acceptability by maintaining the link to the shared values of the followers:

> Leaders who engage in excessive unconventional behavior may be viewed more as deviants than as charismatic figures. Similarly, a leader whose vision fails to incorporate important values lacks relevance for the organizational context is unlikely to be perceived as charismatic. Certain behavioral components are more critical and effective sources of charisma in some organisational or cultural contexts, but not in others (Conger & Kanungo, 1988a, pp. 91-92).

2. Follower effects

Importantly, internal changes in the followers are posited. Stage two involves connection with the followers through the articulation of the vision and this generates an attraction to the person of the leader:

It is the shared perspective of the vision and its potential for satisfying followers' needs that make leaders 'likeable' persons. Both the perceived similarity and the need satisfaction potential of the leaders form the basis of the attraction (Byrne, 1971; Rubin, 1973). However, the idealized (and therefore discrepant) vision also makes the leaders adorable persons deserving of respect and worthy of identification and imitation by the followers. It is this idealized aspect of the vision that makes them charismatic. Charismatic leaders are not just similar others who are generally liked (as popular consensus-seeking leaders) but similar others who are also distinct because of their idealized vision (Conger & Kanungo, 1988a, pp. 85-86).

Furthermore, in stage three the leaders' empowerment of followers produces personal identification with the leader, and an internalisation of the leader's values and vision results (Conger & Kanungo, 1998). Overall, outcomes for the organisation or group include low intragroup conflict and high intragroup cohesion, value congruence, and consensus. Outcomes for the individual follower involve high task performance and empowerment plus positive attitudes and affect towards the leader in the form of reverence, trust, and satisfaction.

3. Empirical work

A test of convergent validity of the charismatic leadership construct espoused in the behavioural model was conducted with 105 M.B.A. students (Butala, 1987, as cited in Conger & Kanungo, 1988a). From a checklist of 300 adjectives, participants describe charismatic leaders more frequently with words relating to radicality and

excitement, such as "daring" and "energetic". Noncharismatic leaders were more frequently described by stolid words, such as "conventional" and "serious".

Strong support for the attributional nature of charisma has been found in an experimental study which measured the effect of decision style, decision outcome, and organisational position of the rater on attributions of leadership, charisma, expertise, and risk taking (Puffer, 1990). In written scenarios, leaders were portrayed as having either an analytical or intuitive decision making style which led to either a successful or unsuccessful outcome.

In the intuitive decision style condition the leader went against marketing research advice, while under the analytical style condition the leader followed the advice. Regardless of outcome, Puffer (1990) found that the intuitive style produced higher ratings of risk taking, charisma, and leadership. A successful outcome also produced higher ratings of charisma and leadership. Managers rated the leaders in the scenarios higher on charisma and leadership than non-managers. The unsuccessful intuitive decision style produced lowers ratings of expertise than the other three conditions. Finally, managers appeared to relate more than non-managers to those in similar positions in the scenarios and their charisma and leadership ratings were a positive reflection of this, again confirming the attributional nature of the judgements.

Thus Conger and Kanungo's (1987) model of the charismatic leader as risky and as defying conventional wisdom was supported. Also, successful outcomes lead to attributions of greater expertise and charismatic leadership. Puffer concludes that:

> Whether deserved or not, this positive halo can be used by leaders to create
> an illusion of control over uncontrollable events (Meindl, Ehrlich, &

Dukerich, 1985). Leaders may find it possible to enhance their image in the eyes of followers by emphasizing successful outcomes (Puffer, 1990, p. 187).

The testability of the model has been aided by the creation of the Conger-Kanungo scale of charismatic leadership (Conger & Kanungo, 1994; Conger, Kanungo, Menon, & Mathur, 1997) containing the following five subscales: (1) strategic vision and articulation; (2) sensitivity to the environment; (3) personal risk; (4) unconventional behaviour; and (6) sensitivity to member needs (Conger, 1999). The subscales produced much lower intercorrelations compared to those of the MLQ, indicating more distinctly defined and operationalised behavioural clusters (Conger & Kanungo, 1994; Yukl, 1999).

The major study evaluating the Conger-Kanungo model used structural equation modelling with their scale (Conger, Kanungo, & Menon, 2000). Charismatic leadership behaviour was strongly associated with reverence for the leader, and reverence mediated the relationships between charismatic leadership behaviour and trust in the leader and between charismatic leadership behaviour and satisfaction with the leader. Charismatic leadership behaviour was also strongly associated with follower collective identity, perceptions of group performance, and these mediated the relationship between charismatic leadership behaviour and feeling empowered. Subscale analysis showed that strategic vision, and sensitivity to member needs and the environment were related to most follower outcomes. However, unconventional behaviour and personal risk were unrelated to almost all follower outcomes. Overall, the scale has not been widely utilised and further validation is required.

The romance of leadership

1. Theory

A broader and more encompassing attributional view is that societal attitudes to leadership in general, to charismatic leadership as a case in point, *and to the study of them*, give too much credence to the leader and leader behaviours in the leader-follower process (Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987). It is posited that many of the organisational effects we perceive as caused by leaders are actually unrelated and that follower perceptions and outcomes are internal processes that can occur in spite of, rather than because of, leader behaviours (Meindl, 1990, 1993). This "romance of leadership" theory (Meindl et al., 1985) suggests that, as naïve psychologists, we are all enamoured with the effects of leadership and erroneously rely on our implicit leadership theories to explain events and internal reactions. This view is echoed in Beyer's (1999a) criticism that the new leadership theories are too leader-centred: "it makes no sense to assume that all or even most of people's behaviours are caused by something some kind of leader does" (p. 311).

An extension of this idea is that the study of leadership itself is misplaced and that followership, as a totally attributional process, should be the focus of study, because follower processes such as perception, interpersonal relations and group dynamics are the key to organisational and group accomplishment (Meindl, 1998a). Romance of leadership theory further suggests that charismatic leadership involves social contagion such that followers observe other follower behaviours such as swooning, emotional outbursts, spontaneous applause, and unconditional obedience, and "catch" them (Meindl, 1990, 1993, 1998a). Over time follower conceptions of the leader are "confirmed" and disseminated throughout social networks.

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2. Empirical support

Basic support for romance of leadership theory has been found. Media and academic interest in leadership and the attribution of leadership credit or blame has been shown to increase with organisational performance extremes (Meindl et al., 1985). Also, the causal nature of our implicit theories of leadership has been explored. The attribution of outcomes to leadership (rather than to employees, the market, or the government), predicted organisational performance evaluations of higher profitability and lower risk (Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987). Shamir (1992) found that group performance outcomes affected not only attributions of leader influence, but also leader charisma. However, belief in the importance of leadership correlated with charismatic attributions only when performance outcomes were low. Further studies have found that charisma explanations are used more frequently in crisis situations (Pillai & Meindl, 1998) and that varying organisational performance information, while holding leader descriptions constant, affected charismatic attributions (Meindl, 1998a).

Meindl (1990) developed the romance of leadership scale (RLS) to measure the prominence of leadership in individuals' implicit organisational theories, and found that RLS scores correlated with the tendency to attribute charisma to high profile leaders. However, other studies have reported mixed results with the RLS. For example, Bligh, Kohles, & Pillai (2005) found no main effect with charisma. Instead, RLS scores were strongly related to crisis perceptions and this moderated the effect between the RLS and perceptions of leader charisma amongst election candidates. Similarly, Gardner (2003) found that RLS was unrelated to charisma ratings. However, for high RLS participants, strength of speech delivery correlated with perceptions of leader effectiveness, while these were unrelated for low RLS

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participants. Finally, Shamir (1994) did not find any correlation between the RLS and perceived charisma of eight election candidates, nor was the relationship moderated by congruence between leader and voter ideology, except for one aberrant result.

Romance of leadership theory is important for a number of reasons. First, the use of the concept of charisma as an explanation in its own right can stifle further thought and exploration, as if defining leaders and their behaviours as charismatic is the end point rather than the starting point of psychological study into this type of social influence relationship (e.g., Spinrad, 1991).

Second, it redresses the leader-heavy imbalance that has dogged the study of charisma by stressing the importance of the study of followership through attributions and perceptions and the role that interpersonal and intra-group dynamics play amongst followers (Haslam et al., 2001; Yukl, 1999). For far too long studies have overlooked "leadership processes that are not tied directly to the variable aspects of the leader's persona and behaviours" (Meindl, 1998b, p. 322).

Third, the transformational and behavioural leadership models outlined above largely envisage charismatic behaviours and effects as two syndromes which occur together (Shamir, 1991) with behaviours causing effects (Bass, 1985). This syndromic conception lacks psychological explanation as to the internal processes within followers which are responsible for both charismatic perception and effects, whereas romance of leadership theory and the self-concept theory outlined in the section below advance accounts of how and why followers are internally influenced.

Charisma as intrinsic motivations

Assumptions and theory

The third major new leadership theory is self-concept theory (Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). As Bass (1999b) stated recently, its authors "have begun to 'get to the bottom of things'" (p. 23) because the theory provides a motivational explanation for the charisma phenomena involving follower self-concepts and self-motivations as the driving forces behind the change in "followers' values, goals, needs and aspirations" (Shamir et al., 1993, p. 579).

Self-concept theory makes a number of assumptions. It is suggested that: (a) people are driven to act because this establishes and affirms their self-identities in accordance with perceived self-consistencies and self-esteem; (b) these identities are structured in a salience hierarchy such that more salient identities provide stronger motivations (Stryker, 1980); and (c) people act to improve their futures even when these actions may not be linked to specific cost/benefit outcomes (House & Shamir, 1993; Shamir et al., 1993).

The theory suggests that charismatic leaders use two general types of behaviour: role modelling and frame alignment. Role modelling not only facilitates vicarious learning but also confirms the leader's own commitment. The leader becomes a symbol to the followers of how to live the mission—"representative character" (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985). Frame alignment (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986) involves linking current attitudes, values, beliefs, identities, and interpretations of the world to the mission and then reinterpreting as necessary so that follower goals align with the leader's goals. To gain new adherents it is important that framing and modelling are congruent with

potential followers' existing values and identities. The way these types of behaviours affect internal follower motivations is outlined below.

By framing both the goal and the effort to reach the goal in terms of personal and collective follower identities, important values, and moral imperatives, followers are given internal reasons for increased and sustained effort in striving to bring about the goal. They are exhorted and encouraged to work towards the goal because of who they are, rather than for personal gain. Leaders also model their own commitment by their own effort and self-sacrifice for the sake of the goal.

By setting high expectations and expressing confidence in followers to meet those expectations, charismatic leaders increase both self- and collective worth and esteem which empowers followers at a personal and collective level to accomplish the goal. By framing the effort and goal in terms of important values, the tasks take on more meaning and carrying them out also generates self-worth. Furthermore, by framing in terms of moral rightness, confidence and conviction are bolstered. Thus self- and collective efficacy are generated (Bandura, 1995). By not only expressing these high expectations and confidence but also by acting in ways that confirm them, the charismatic leader also reinforces the efficacy felt by followers.

Rather than focussing on specific and tangible rewards, the goal is framed in distal more generalised terms. By couching the pay off for striving and achieving in terms of hope for a better future, even menial or difficult tasks can be cast in more intrinsically motivating terms. Again effort and goal are linked to worth, efficacy, values, and morals, so that motivation comes from within.

At the heart of the theory is the assimilation by followers of the transcendent goal as a defining feature of their self-concept. Commitment to the leader, to the

goal, and to the method of achieving of the goal as outlined by the leader, come to encapsulate how followers view themselves:

> By recruiting the self-concept of followers, increasing the salience of certain identities and values, and linking behaviors and goals to those identities and values and to a mission that reflects them, charismatic leadership motivates followers through the creation of personal commitments (Shamir et al., 1993, p. 584).

Thus, followers increasingly reinforce their personal commitment as their actions constantly affirm their view of themselves. The greatest intrinsic motivator must be a commitment to one's own standards and to the perception of one's very being. To think and act in favour of this commitment is to affirm oneself and to think or act in a contrary or even less committed way, is to act against oneself.

It is important to stress that, under this conception, identities are not rigidly fixed and the group(s) with which the individual identifies may have shifting or undefined boundaries, they exist only as psychological states (Shamir, 1999a). As such the identification described in this theory is more about the process of identifying as opposed to the identities a person has.

Leader behaviours

The behaviours of charismatic leaders can be differentiated from noncharismatic leaders because they contain more references to values and moral justifications, to the collective and identities shared by leader and followers, to history and continuity with the past, to high expectations and follower personal- and collective worth and efficacy, and to vaguer more utopian distal goals.

In a case study involving an acknowledged charismatic leader, Jesse Jackson, thematic content analysis on one of his speeches found support for many of these behaviours (Shamir, Arthur, & House, 1994). At the 1998 National Convention of the Democratic Party, Jackson made collective historical references to civil rights activists and past Democratic presidents and framed his own leadership as part of that history. He invoked collective identity by initially emphasising his black identity and then common shared identity as Americans, repeatedly using the phrase "common ground". He highlighted the similarities in background, experience, and values to bolster his position as role model and "representative character", including "a non-obvious identity" (i.e., people with a disadvantaged background, p. 35). He made reference to moral justifications to link follower values and actions, made repeated vague utopian references involving faith, hope, and dreams, and he stressed high expectations and follower efficacy.

Follower effects

The theory predicts that these behaviours manifest in: (a) followers' higher levels of collective identity salience, perceived collective efficacy, self-esteem, and self-worth; (b) greater congruence between follower self-concept and leader- and collective-related actions; and (c) greater congruence between perceptions of self and the leader. Products of the engagement of self-concept include greater meaning in work and life in general, and enhanced personal commitment to leader and mission, including organisational citizenship behaviours, a willingness to forgo personal gain for the collective good of the mission, and higher levels of motivation and performance.

Empirical support

This theory forms a critical part of the theoretical foundation for the current thesis so a thorough examination of the only major piece of research into the theory is set out in this section. To test the self-concept theory, Shamir et al. (1998) conducted a large scale study ($N = 1,642$) involving the Israeli Army. The primary aim of this research was to show that the theory's charismatic leader behaviours and followers effects were correlated at both individual and group levels.

To avoid common method bias, the behaviours of fifty company leaders were assessed by subordinate commanders, and compared with individual- and company-level effects as reported by each company leader's soldiers. Shamir et al. (1998) took care to avoid the mix of attribution and behaviour which plague the MLQ, by developing specific and separate leader behaviour and follow effect measures. Leader behaviours were also assessed using immediate superiors' appraisals taken from military records.

The leaders behaviours assessed by subordinate commanders were subjected to factor analysis and four leader behaviour scales were created. These were: (1) supportive behaviours (showing consideration and breaking down social distance); (2) exemplary behaviours (displaying commitment and high standards of leader behaviour); (3) emphasis of ideology (exhibiting ideological conviction and attempts to educate and connect group tasks with national goals, geography, and history, and with the values and history of the brigade/battalion); and (4) emphasising collective identity (fostering a distinctive group identity and its uniqueness).

Follower measures were self-reported by each leader's soldiers and also formed into scales using factor analysis. Individual-level measures were: (1) identification with and trust in the leader; (2) motivation and willingness to sacrifice;

(3) identification with the group; (4) attachment to the group; and (5) self-efficacy. Group-level measures were unit discipline (morale and self-discipline), unit culture (the presence of group symbols and artefacts), and unit potency (perceptions of collective efficacy).

The study provided support for the self-concept theory in a few areas. At the individual level, some of the leader behaviours assessed by subordinates, were correlated with follower outcomes. Importantly, Shamir et al. (1998) found that leader supportive behaviour (viewed as a control variable rather than as a charismatic behaviour) and emphasis on collective identity predicted follower identification with and trust in the leader, heightened motivation and sacrifice, identification with and attachment to the group, but not self-efficacy. Exemplary behaviour did not predict any follower effects while ideological emphasis had negative effects on self-efficacy, and on identification with, and attachment to, the group.

Of greater significance, Shamir et al. (1998) found that leader behaviours were generally more strongly related to group-level follower effects with supportive behaviours predicting group culture, group discipline and group potency. Emphasising collective identity predicted group culture and discipline but not potency, while exemplary behaviour related negatively to group culture and emphasising ideology related negatively to discipline and potency.

Interestingly, Shamir et al. (1998) found that leader performance appraisals by superiors were almost the reverse of those of the subordinate commanders reported above. Favourable appraisals of leaders were positively correlated with emphasising ideology and displaying exemplary behaviour, negatively correlated with exhibiting supportive behaviours, and unrelated to emphasising collective

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identity. Thus there was little consistency between the leader behaviours superiors and subordinate commanders valued.

There are four important points to be made about the study. First, emphasising collective identity predicted all individual- and group-level follower effects except self-efficacy and group-potency. Since the collective identity scale did not contain items measuring the expression of confidence in the individual or group or the giving of praise, its failure to predict the latter effects should not be surprising. Items only measured the accentuation of group difference and uniqueness, and the use of distinctive nicknames or symbols. Raising the salience of a collective identity is fundamental to the research in this thesis, and is discussed further in the next chapter on social identity processes.

Second, correlations between leader behaviours and follower effects may have been greater if the leader behaviour items captured more charismatic leader behaviours. Items were chosen by experienced and respected social scientists but were not canvassed empirically from a pool of items that soldiers generated (as was done with the MLQ) and therefore may not have been as relevant as expected. In an attempt to describe only non-attribution leader behaviours, a number of key charismatic behaviours of the theory do not appear to have been captured at all. No items test the linking of values and morals to tasks or goals—the items "talks about 'Zionism'" and "refers to values frequently" are unlikely to capture these behaviours. Items did not adequately test affirmation and encouragement of the group or of individuals. There were no items testing the use of expressions of hope and faith. The 'displaying exemplary behavior' scale mentions energy and sacrifice but does not measure the demonstration of best practice, competence, nor the linking of leader role modelling to tasks or goals.

On a more subjective level, the poetry and romance of the charismatic leader behaviours evoked in the self-concept theory have not been translated in its operationalisation. For example, "sacrifices his private life to do his job well" conjures a picture of poor work-life balance rather than an inspirational behaviour, while "during trips and navigation exercises devotes a lot of time to teaching the history and geography of the land" and "devotes much time and attention to the education of soldiers" may suggest a learned and impractical quality. Reading through the list of leader behaviour items does not evoke an image of charismatic leadership in this author.

While Shamir et al. (1998) attempted to separate out leader behaviours from attributions, it would be a mistake to imagine that these leader items did not evoke and measure attributions. Items such as "maintains distance from the soldiers", "sensitive to soldiers' needs and feelings", "demonstrates courage", "demonstrates high self-confidence", and "shows patience toward failures if they are not caused by lack of effort" all require causal assessments of disposition based on observed behaviours (for further comment on this issue see Calder, 1977). The link between charismatic behaviours and attributions will be explored extensively in subsequent chapters.

Third, it is clear that Shamir et al. (1998) desire to explore charismatic leadership at different levels of analysis, but they have mixed different levels in the hierarchy of identity salience. The leader behaviours encompassed in emphasising collective identity specifically related to the company of soldiers. Likewise, the follower effects specifically testing for identification, attachment, discipline, culture, and potency also related to the company. In contrast, ideological emphasis encompassed larger groupings: the nation ("national history", "Zionism", "the

land"), the battalion, and brigade. While it is useful for a leader to contextualise the place of the team within the larger organisational or societal structures, these may not be the level of salient identity and loyalty at which the group operates.

When focussing on the values, beliefs, goals, tasks, and history of the soldiers, individuals may often identify strongly with their own company but not often with the more encompassing identities of battalion or nation. The strong image of the charismatic leader as the maverick or revolutionary, operating within the organisational structure but not beholden to it (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Weber, 1961), may be operating within many of these groups.

For conscripted soldiers, someone who speaks at this higher level may actually cause resentment and alienation; they may be seen as caring more about the larger organisation than about the team. This is evidenced by the subordinate commander and soldier results showing strongly negative relationships between ideological emphasis and: (i) attachment with the group; (ii) identification with the group; (iii) group discipline; (iv) self-efficacy; and (v) group potency. Similarly the fact that the exemplary behaviour items were unrelated to identification and trust in the leader, and were negatively related to group culture amongst the companies, suggests that the hard work these leaders exhibited set them apart from their companies and their company cultures. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that there are no universal charismatic leader attitudes or behaviours, rather they must be tailored to established group norms, a point which Shamir et al. (1998) allude to strongly in their original theoretical conception:

> The theory presented here implies that the leader, in order to have the transformational effects specified in the theory, must appeal to existing elements of the followers' self-concepts—namely, their values and identities.

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In most cases, charismatic leaders do not instill totally new values and identities in the followers' self-concepts; rather they raise their salience and connect them with goals and required behaviors. In this sense, charismatic leaders must respond to their potential followers, no less than the followers respond to them. Furthermore, our theory gives followers a central place in implying that followers may actively choose a leader and decide to follow him or not, based on the extent to which the leader is perceived to represent their values and identities (Shamir et al., 1993, pp. 587-588).

More democratic group structures will allow for potential followers to reject a leader who they feel is not a representative character, however the Israeli Army is not one of those structures. So, when army leaders are not accepted "as one of us" by their companies, those subordinate commanders and soldiers can be dragged along by the leader, but they are certainly not "followers" in the charismatic sense. The issue of identifying with one's group and leader is the core of this thesis and will be explored more deeply in the next chapter.

Fourth, the risk of inflated associations through common method bias prompted the authors to use superiors and subordinate commanders assessments of leader behaviour while testing company soldiers for follower effects. However, there was a generally reversed superior to subordinate assessments of leader behaviour, as evidenced by the positive relationship of superiors' performance appraisals with ideological emphasis and with the displaying of exemplary behaviour compared with the negative relationships outlined above. Leaders who displayed these behaviours were seen by all as "towing the organisational line", a positive characteristic to superiors and a negative one to subordinates.

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This underscores the point stated clearly throughout the literature and this thesis, that the test of charisma must be whether *followers* find the leader charismatic—it is *their* perception of special qualities that counts (e.g., Oberg, 1972; Shils, 1968; Weber, 1961). There are three points to be made about Shamir et al's (1998) attempts to overcome common method bias. First, superiors' appraisals of leader behaviours are as subjective as subordinate commanders and as we have seen, may be totally unrelated as the two group's identities and values may differ markedly.

Second, even asking the subordinate commanders' to assess the leaders is not the same as asking the soldiers themselves. There will be times when the subordinate commanders identify as followers and times when they too operate as part of the management team, different from "the men". This may be the reason for the low intercorrelations.

Third, with full sympathy about how hard it is to gain access to participants and to reign in the length of questionnaires, only getting assessments of both leader behaviours and follower effects from all three groups may have shown whether common method bias had occurred and whether it needed to be accounted for. In general it may not be possible to triangulate in this way and the uncertainty about the strength of results may need to be accepted as part of the problems associated with organisational outcome research. This also taps into the attribution question: Is charisma produced by the leader behaviours themselves, or is charisma produced by follower perceptions of those behaviours? Attempting to control common method bias assumes the former, whereas the strong attributional nature of leadership study (Calder, 1977) and the fundamental role of attribution in charismatic theory (Conger & Kanungo, 1994; Oberg, 1972) point to the latter.

Since reporting the mixed results, the social identification aspects of the study have been published without reference to charisma (Shamir, Zakay, Brainin, & Popper, 2000). Meanwhile the self-concept theory has been referred to in theoretical papers (Howell & Shamir, 2005; Shamir, 1999a; Shamir & Howell, 1999) and transformational leadership studies (Dvir, Eden, Avolio, & Shamir, 2002; Dvir & Shamir, 2003; Kark & Shamir, 2002; Kark, Shamir, & Chen, 2003), but has received little further systematic testing.

Conclusion

While the Weberian romantic notion of the untamed and superhuman charismatic leader who attracts awe, reverence, and unquestioning obedience of followers appears to be somewhat diminished in stature in the organisational context, it is likely that Weber was conceptualising the extreme end of the charisma scale and that the same psychological processes apply. As with any trait or perception of a trait, there is a continuum with some leaders evoking perceptions of low levels of charisma and others appearing larger-than-life and evoking perceptions of high levels of charisma.

The transformational leadership model and the MLQ have proved extremely popular and useful for providing more standardised ways of measuring many of the leader behaviours and follower reactions associated with charisma. In general, it is clear that certain charismatic behaviours are associated with better follower and organisational performance, job and leader satisfaction, and with leader effectiveness, despite the ambiguity of the size of the effects. However, because charisma is an umbrella term for such a wide range of social influence situations and phenomena, the tool must be adapted to suit each situation individually and the

model's theorised subscale structure will necessarily not fit some or even many of leader/follower relationships studied.

While the Conger-Kanungo behavioural model has not provided much in the way of explanatory power, the model gives important focus to the attributional nature of the charismatic influence process by linking it to the stages a charismatic leader may follow which may prompt the perception of unconventionality and risk within the organisational context. Yukl (1999) suggests that defining charisma in terms of charismatic attributions is the most useful approach. How large a role attribution plays and how small a role the actual observed leader behaviours play is still ripe for study as the romance of leadership research has made clear. The effect of each may also differ with social context. In any case, the generally accepted model is that certain leader and follower behaviours are observed and attributions about the person of the leader are formed which then inform follower responses.

Despite the lack of supportive evidence for the self-concept theory in the organisational literature, it appears to make intuitive sense and provide a good explanation of how followers can be so motivated as to forego personal gain for the good of the mission and leader. One of the theory's strengths lies in leader behaviour descriptions not being too prescriptive—any role modelling and framing behaviours which tap into the self-concept should produce charismatic attribution and follower effects. Another strength is its explanatory power for how people become adherents. The leader, through role modelling and framing, must be aligned with current self-concepts and the associated values and beliefs before any realignment can occur. Perhaps its greatest strength is its explanation for the deep emotive response and the extreme devotion to the person or the cause that charisma can engender. Resonance

with, and the tapping of, one's personal and group identities, and attendant beliefs and values, must produce strong intrinsic drive and affect.

The fundamental and overriding issue for explaining the phenomenon of charisma must be the focus on the psychological state of the followers—how followers perceive and relate to the leader, how perceptions of charisma develop, and how they can be lost. However, despite theoretically nodding to the importance of the group and some forays into research into identity, the roles that personal and group identification play in charisma have not been systematically studied. By and large the influences on followers are assumed to be top-down from the leader (Yukl, 1999). However, leader-follower interactions occur within the context of social groups, from organisational down to team levels, or in the case of politicians, at a national or state level. The vision is a set of collective goals, and the coordinated effort to achieve them is social action—no matter how small a single person's role in that may be. The followers are a social group and, as the next chapter will outline, effective leaders are, in fact, also group members. As such intra- and intergroup processes will affect both leader and followers, and depending on where we stand as naïve and not so naïve psychologists of the relationship, *our* perceptions and theories will also be affected by these group processes.

The next chapter will examine the role of group identification in the leader-follower relationship and the benefits to the leader of being perceived as a group member. The effects of group identification on self-concept, on attributions about leader behaviours, on follower outcomes, and on perceptions of the social influence process from within and without the group will provide an alternative to the purely dyadic and personality foci which underpin much charismatic leadership thought.

CHAPTER 4

ON SOCIAL IDENTITY PROCESSES

Charismatic leadership, like all types of leadership, is by its very nature a social process. It is about leading a *group*, rather than an *individual*, because agency often requires cooperative effort (Simon & Oakes, 2006). It operates within an intergroup context: "us" in comparison to "them". It is not by chance that charismatic leaders are found in such intergroup contexts as the competitive business market, the political adversarial system, and the international stage; or in social movements which promote or resist change, and religious groups which distinguish believers from unbelievers. While some new leadership theories acknowledge social identity (e.g., Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993), its fundamental role in charismatic leadership processes has not been comprehensively accounted for by these theories. Chemers (1997) states that "leadership is a social phenomenon. Its roots and its purposes are in the nature of group activity, and its full understanding is most possible when based in an understanding of social processes and their psychological underpinnings" (p. 376). The same could be said for charismatic leadership.

Referring to competing definitions of charisma, Yukl (1999) suggests that "the most useful definition seems to be in terms of attributions of charisma to a leader by followers who identify strongly with the leader" (p. 294). The effects of social identification on the leader-follower relationship have been theorised and researched by social identity theorists. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1987) both posit that, under the operation of a salient social identity, people will categorise others as sharing or not sharing that identity; and that this has a profound effect on all aspects of leadership and

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followership. This chapter focuses on social identity processes and their relevance to charismatic leadership and followership using this social identity perspective. The perspective and its application to leadership, leader charisma, follower outcomes, and intergroup bias are detailed below.

The social identity mechanism

Fundamentally, the social identity perspective is an explanation of "how individuals are able to act as a group at all" (Turner, 1987, p. 42) and as such it provides a basis for detailing and explaining intragroup processes. Under self-categorisation theory, the psychological group is defined as a cognitive category and the self-concept is theorised as comprising many differing cognitive representations of the self involving both personal ("I" and "me") and social ("we" and "us") categories. These two types of categories are defined as follows:

> Personal identity refers to self-categories that define the individual as a unique person in terms of his or her individual differences from other (in-group) persons. Social identity refers to social categorizations of self and others, self-categories that define the individual in terms of his or her shared similarities with members of certain social categories in contrast to other social categories (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994, p. 454).

The self-concept is reflexively responsive to the perceived context, and differing social situations will trigger or make salient a particular self-image (Oakes, 1987). Salient self-categorisations are formed by contrasting perceived similarities between the self and some class (i.e., the ingroup), and the differences between the self and the comparison class (i.e., the outgroup; Bruner, 1957; Tajfel & Wilkes,

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1963). These self-categorisations are hierarchically structured by their levels of inclusiveness (Turner, 1987).

Of great importance to this conception of the self is the inverse relationship of personal and social identities. Personal and social identity are viewed as two ends of a continuum such that, the more the self is categorised by a personal identity, the less salient a group identity will be and vice versa. For most of the time the self-concept will hover around the middle of the continuum with personal and social identities rising and falling in prominence (Turner & Oakes, 1989; Turner et al., 1994). However, in response to the social context, there are times when a particular social identity is more strongly salient and in that case current personal identity will recede; that is, *depersonalisation* occurs. Also, when a particular social category comes to prominence, other social categories in the hierarchy of inclusiveness will also fade in prominence. Adolf Hitler illustrates the rise in prominence of the social identity during depersonalisation in this description of his followers: "[The overwhelming power of the collective] burned into the small, wretched individual the proud conviction that, paltry worm that he was, he was nevertheless a part of a great dragon" (Lindholm, 1990, p. 103).

Social environments are in a continual state of change and as such, social identities are conceived as dynamic rather than fixed attributes (Turner, 1987). Two examples illustrate this conception. First, during a dinner party, a political discussion may arise which causes the salient social comparison to be political persuasion. Throughout this discussion, someone with a more left-wing perspective will perceive those with similar views as sharing a social identity and those with a more right-wing perspective as not sharing that identity. However, if the discussion moved on to

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the topic of child-rearing, those with children may be perceived to share a different social identity to those who are not parents.

Second, during a science faculty meeting about funding allocations, physicists may view themselves as different from psychologists. However, over heated discussions about merging with another faculty, physicists may perceive psychologists as sharing the more general social category of "scientist" with them, in comparison to the arts faculty.

This conception of social identity accounts for different levels of analysis. An individual's self-concept may encompass any salient level of identity from personal to small groups (such as a person's work team) to more inclusive groups (such as the organisation a person works for or a nationality). Because the group is psychological and the context dynamic, the person may at times view themselves at any of these levels. For instance, in the workplace there will be times when people do not identify with their organisation as a whole but may still identify with their team, as was the case with the Israeli Army soldiers study discussed in Shamir, Zakay, Brainin, & Popper (1998). The social identity perspective accounts for how people can psychologically embrace or opt out of some sociological or actual physically manifested social grouping (Oakes, 2002).

It should be noted that psychological group membership is not based on the need to belong to a group. As part of making meaning within their environment, individuals are constantly confronted with differing intergroup contexts, and they "cannot help but know" which salient psychological group they belong to in each situation (Turner, 1985). Thus one reason the harnessing of self-concept in the charismatic influence process (Shamir et al., 1993) is so powerful is because the

group-based values, beliefs, and identities evoked resonate intuitively with followers—they "know them to be true".

The remainder of this chapter examines the impact of social identification on areas related to charismatic leadership: leadership, attributions of charisma, follower outcomes, and intergroup bias. Research from the extant literature will be reviewed.

Applications to leadership

Do leaders benefit from being perceived as sharing a social identity with their followers and/or subordinates? Under the social identity perspective, leadership is viewed as a product of social identification processes. Leadership is bound to social identity in two ways:

(a) Leadership is a relational property; that is, leaders and followers are interdependent roles embedded within a social system bounded by common group or category membership; and (b) leadership is a process of influence that enlists and mobilizes others in the attainment of collective goals; that is, it imbues people with the group's attitudes and goals and inspires them to work towards achieving them (Hogg, 2001a, p. 200).

At the core of this view is a fundamental tenet that for true leadership influence to occur, leader and followers share a social identity. In situations where the person in a position of power over them is not viewed as an ingroup member by the followers, followers may be coerced into action with rewards and punishments but leadership associated with social influence and conformity is not taking place.

As depersonalisation occurs, members of the group will be increasingly aware of the group prototype and sensitive to the prototypicality of other members in contrast to the outgroup (Haslam, Oakes, McGarty, Turner, & Onorato, 1995). The

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social identity perspective theorises that leadership springs from prototypicality. This is extremely similar to the concept of the leader as the "representative character" (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985) as espoused in self-concept theory (Shamir et al., 1993)—the leader symbolises the group, embodies the group mission, and therefore influences the group through his or her behaviours. Within the social identity perspective, the most prototypical group member provides the greatest leadership:

> Within a salient group ... people who are perceived to occupy the most prototypical position are perceived to best embody the behaviours to which other, less prototypical, members are conforming. There is a perception of differential influence within the group, with the most prototypical member appearing to exercise influence over less prototypical members (Hogg, 2001a, p. 202).

The process of explaining this differential influence—of explaining member obedience, loyalty, and persuasion—is a process of making meaning of the situation by stereotyping the most prototypical member as possessing greater leadership qualities than other members. Thus group processes act, not only to facilitate leadership, but also to legitimise and sustain it. These perceptions and attributions should not be read as a distortion of reality by the perceiver:

> ... it is not so much that [stereotyping] constitutes some information processing error, which then produces false beliefs (or 'false consciousness'). If there is 'bias' here this is handed down from the social level, reflecting the group interests and perspectives involved. ... Stereotypes are not simply dependent variables or outcomes, but independent variables or vehicles to

achieve social or systemic ends. They function to rationalize and justify,

forming a sort of 'social cement' that holds group and group relations in place

(Spears, Oakes, Ellemers, & Haslam, 1997, pp. 6-7; see also Yzerbyt,

Rocher, & Schadron, 1997).

Many experimental and field studies have investigated the disparity in

benefits to the leader due to differences in prototypicality, and by definition, to

differences in group membership. More representative leaders may benefit from

increased perceived leader effectiveness and endorsement (e.g., Fielding & Hogg,

1997; Hains, Hogg, & Duck, 1997; Hogg, Hains, & Mason, 1998; for a

comprehensive review see Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; Platow & van

Knippenberg, 2001); from being more socially attractive (e.g., Hains et al., 1997;

Hogg et al., 1998); and from greater compliance and support (Duck & Fielding,

1999, 2003; van Vugt & de Cremer, 1999).

A field study (Fielding & Hogg, 1997) typifies the above results. Leaders

emerged naturally from small groups over a three-week period. Over time, the

groups became more cohesive and group identification, perceived leadership

effectiveness, and social attraction for the leader also increased. Prototypicality and

social attraction generally predicted perceptions of leader effectiveness, and this

effect was greater as identification increased.

While differences in prototypicality between ingroup members may be mere

gradations apart compared to the outgroup, by definition, an outgroup leader is vastly

less prototypical. Any benefits from psychological group membership enjoyed by an

ingroup leader, will be unlikely to be enjoyed by an outgroup leader. When a leader

is imposed from outside the group rather than emerging from within, the leader

suffers from the perception that he or she does not share the salient social identity.

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This is typically the case for those who did not vote for their incumbent political leaders or during company mergers. Studies have found that leaders elected from within the group were more strongly endorsed and received greater cooperation than imposed leaders, especially by highly identifying ingroup members (de Cremer & van Vugt, 2002; Haslam et al., 1998; van Vugt & de Cremer, 1999).

In summary, prototypicality lies at the heart of the social identity perspective on leadership. When the comparison is intergroup, the ingroup leader benefits over the outgroup leader. When the comparison is intragroup, the leader who typifies the group the most, benefits the most. These benefits may manifest as increased leader influence, persuasiveness, and attractiveness; and increased leader effectiveness in the form of member endorsement, support, and cooperation.

Applications to leader charisma

Social identity theorists have extended their analysis of leadership in general to charismatic leadership in particular. The benefits to leaders of high prototypicality outlined in the previous section, are all areas of leadership strongly associated with charismatic leadership. Most leadership theories attribute comparative differences between leaders to personal leader qualities rather than to social identification processes. This goes against the social identity perspective on charismatic leadership: that leader charisma is not only an attribution by ingroup members; but, like other follower responses, it is also the product of social identification processes.

Hogg (2001a) conceives leader charisma to be a socially constructed perception of the leader's personality encompassing the social attraction and influence surrounding that person; a set of attributions to the person of the leader made as a result of the social identification processes acting on group members. In seeking to explain the influence the leader wields in the group which is due to his or

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her higher levels of prototypicality, group members attribute their own and others' conformity and obedience to the person of the leader, and this empowers the leader and confirms their position.

Ingroup members experience a stronger attachment to the leader than outgroup members. As part of using charismatic leadership to explain the leader's differential influence over them, group members explain their obedience, social attraction, and other responses (including the strength of their emotional feelings, the strength of their willingness to obey, their devotion, and awe) to the most prototypical member as due to that member's personality and abilities. Their experience of the leader's charismatic attributes is enhanced, according to the level of the leader's relative ingroup prototypicality. They understand the results of the leader's actions and speech as reflecting the powerful influence and attractiveness of his or her internal characteristics and personality. Hogg (2001a) states:

> In salient groups, people are depersonalised in terms of the ingroup prototype, and thus those who are most prototypical appear to have exercised disproportionate influence. Highly prototypical members are consensually social liked and are thus able actively to secure compliance. Highly prototypical members are figural against the background of the group, and thus their behaviour (which includes popularity and perceived ability to influence) is likely to be internally attributed to stable attributes; that is, they appear charismatic. Together, these processes gradually instantiate a consensual status-based differentiation between the leader and the followers. Charisma, popularity, consensual status, and perceived ability to influence work in conjunction to provide a firm basis for effective leadership that involves other attributes such as innovation (p. 211).

The leader "figural against the background of the group" stands out. Apart from the social attraction and social influence attributions, the personality of the leader may be viewed as "set apart from ordinary men" (Weber, 1947, p. 358) because it attracts more attention from other group members. Firstly, the leader as the ultimate group member, is starkly contrasted with other group members (Taylor & Fiske, 1978) and is therefore "something special". Secondly, there is a perceived status and power difference between the leader and the followers which followers attempt to rectify by generating dispositional knowledge about the leader (Fiske, 1993).

The construction of a leader's charismatic personality through attribution is not only at the heart of the social identity perspective on charisma but also forms the basis of other theories. As reviewed in Chapter 3, Conger and Kanungo's (1987; 1988c) behavioural model of charismatic leadership argues that followers observe leader behaviours, especially those involving innovation, vision, and risk taking, and interpret these as expressions of the leader's charismatic disposition. The romance of leadership model (Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985; Pillai & Meindl, 1998) argues that charisma is the attribution of influence on outcomes to the person of the leader when in fact these outcomes are mostly unrelated to their actual leadership behaviours.

In summary, the more prototypical a member is, the more charismatic he or she should be viewed (Hogg, 2001c). Therefore, ingroup members by definition should be attributed more charisma than outgroup members and this difference should be even stronger for ingroup and outgroup leaders. Thus charisma does not reside in the leader, but rather is a set of dispositional attributions made by others to explain that leader's influence over, and attractiveness to, other group members.

Three propositions follow from this analysis. First, it is not being suggested that leader behaviours or personality traits are irrelevant. Leaders, through their behaviours and speech, affirm or deny their shared social identity status with perceivers and can therefore also affect charismatic attributions.

Second, there are no specific charismatic leader behaviours or personality traits. In the previous chapter the failure to find specific personality variables related to charismatic leadership was noted (Bono & Judge, 2004). For instance, Mahatma Gandhi was attributed charisma without possessing a winning personality or the rhetorical abilities of Adolf Hitler or Martin Luther King, Jr. Rather than specific personality traits or specific "charismatic" behaviours, it is argued that any trait or behaviour exhibited by the leader which is norm-based, group-oriented, and relevant can increase attributed charisma because they contribute to one or both of the following: They affirm that the leader is an ingroup member (i.e., is "one of us", Haslam, 2001) and that he or she has the group's interests at heart (i.e., is "doing it for us", Haslam et al., 2001). In other words, they draw attention to or increase relative ingroup prototypicality thereby increasing levels of attributed charisma.

Third, just as there are no specifically "charisma-inducing" leader behaviours, it is further argued that there are no specific follower traits that make followers more susceptible to "charismatic influence" or to making charismatic attributions. Any person operating under a salient group identity, will attribute more charisma to the most prototypical group member than to others.

Rather than specific situations, any situation which clarifies the intergroup context giving a clear distinction between ingroup and outgroup(s) will aid identity salience. While crises in particular delineate groups and offer an ambiguous situation which may require the emergence of leadership to achieve positive group outcomes,

the conception that the anxiety and panic they produce in people which makes them weak-minded, needy, and willing to follow "a saviour" is rejected.

Extant social identity studies in charismatic leadership

Only three sets of studies have tested the social identity perspective on charismatic leadership, and these have all focussed on ingroup reactions to leader prototypicality. In the first of two studies involving leader prototypicality and group-oriented rhetoric, Platow et al. (2006, Study 1) found that greater identification with the ingroup, and great perceived leader prototypically, both produced higher persuasiveness and charisma ratings; whereas, greater group-oriented rhetoric produced lower persuasiveness ratings and did not affect charisma perceptions at all. In their follow-up study (Platow et al., 2006, study 2), there were no effects for prototypicality or social identification on persuasiveness. However, while non-prototypical leaders were perceived as more charismatic only when their rhetoric was group-oriented, prototypical leaders were rated relatively high in charisma regardless of group-oriented rhetoric. Taken together these results show that in a group context, perceptions of charisma are at least partly related to how closely the leader is seen to be "one of us" (Haslam, 2001)

In two laboratory experiments van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg (2005, studies 1-2) varied prototypicality and self-sacrificial leader behaviours and found similar results to Platow et al. (2006). In the first study, self-sacrificial behaviours produced greater attributions of charisma than non-self-sacrificial behaviours. Prototypicality also interacted with self-sacrificial behaviours for charisma. When prototypicality was low, self-sacrificial behaviours produced greater charismatic attribution than non-self-sacrificial behaviours. When prototypicality was high, the difference in charisma for self-sacrificial behaviours and non-self-sacrificial

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behaviours was smaller. The same pattern was found for perceived group-orientedness. Similar results were found in the second study.

Across three correlational field studies (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005, studies 3-5), prototypicality and self-sacrificial behaviours both predicted leadership effectiveness, willingness to engage in social action, perceived charisma, and perceived group-orientedness. However, consistent interactions showed that self-sacrifice played a stronger role when prototypicality was low than when it was high. The authors concluded that:

> The leader's prototypicality of the collective moderates the effects of leader self-sacrifice on leader effectiveness because leader prototypicality raises trust in leader's group-orientedness and should therefore render leadership endorsement and effectiveness less contingent on the display of group-oriented behaviour like leader self-sacrifice (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005, p. 33).

Haslam et al. (2001) conducted a study in which group-oriented behaviours and organisational success were varied. This was a follow-up to Meindl et al's. (1985) study on the attributional nature of charisma which found that CEOs of more successful companies were perceived to have greater charisma than those running less successful companies. The major finding of Haslam et al's study was that organisational performance correlated strongly with perceived charisma when the leader was even-handed or exhibited group-negating behaviours, but correlated poorly when the leader exhibited group-affirming behaviours. This correlational difference was significant. The authors concluded that:

Followers must believe that leaders are 'doing it for us'. This can be signalled either by behaviour that affirms a shared social identity ... or by the group's achievements, and the mix of these elements helps determine whether leadership is seen as charismatic or mundane (Haslam et al., 2001, p. 202).

Taken together, these three sets of studies provide some support for the centrality of relative ingroup prototypically and prototypicality substitutes in the attribution of charismatic leadership. Increased prototypicality predicted attributions of leader charisma, persuasiveness, and effectiveness, as well as group support and the willingness to take social action. If an ingroup leader's prototypicality was low, followers required group-oriented leader behaviours to reassure them that the leader was "one of us" and "doing it for us". High relative prototypicality assuaged this need for reassurance.

Applications to follower outcomes

Are the outcomes traditionally associated with charismatic leadership really the product of the leader's charismatic behaviours or personal force? The new leadership theories attribute the following outcomes to charismatic leadership behaviours: group cohesion, social attraction, and organisational commitment; perceived persuasiveness and social influence; and leader effectiveness, involving the willingness to engage in social action and enhanced group performance. Romance of leadership theory (Meindl et al., 1985) posits that many of the outcomes attributed to leadership may be due to situational factors such as group processes. The social identity perspective argues that social identification processes are the driving force behind most follower/subordinate outcomes.

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With the categorisation of oneself as part of a shared social identity and increasing depersonalisation, "individuals tend to define and see themselves less as differing individual persons and see themselves more as the interchangeable representatives of some shared social category membership" (Turner et al., 1994, p. 455). Thus attributions about others shift and social stereotypes start to come into play as similarities between ingroup members are perceived to be greater, individual differences are perceived to be smaller, and differences between ingroup and outgroup are perceptually inflated. The perception of member interchangeability has profound effects on those sharing a social identity and some of these effects, often associated with charismatic leadership, are detailed below.

1. Group cohesion and social attraction

While attraction and the sense of belonging that underpins group cohesiveness has traditionally been viewed as interpersonal attraction between the individuals (Lott & Lott, 1965), it has been shown that interpersonal attraction is not necessary or sufficient for group behaviour (e.g., Hogg & Turner, 1985; Turner, Sachdev, & Hogg, 1983). Under a shared social self-categorisation, intragroup attraction and cohesion are based on being attracted to similar others. This *social attraction* is distinguishable from non-group processes such as interpersonal attraction.

The basis for social attraction is "that self-categorization depersonalizes the basis of inter-individual attraction, such that ingroup individuals (and self) are liked in proportion to their perceived group prototypically" (Hogg, 1992, p. 125). In other words, rather than being attracted to each other for their individual characteristics, social attraction and cohesiveness within the group are based on how similar members' characteristics are to those characteristics which best represent the group.

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Thus a cohesive group is defined as "one in which the process of self-categorization has produced, through depersonalization, a constellation of effects that includes intragroup conformity, intergroup differentiation, stereotypic perception, ethnocentrism, and positive intermember attitude" (Hogg & Hains, 1996, p. 295).

Consistent empirical evidence for this impetus for group cohesion and social attraction has been found (for reviews see Hogg, 1992; 1993; 1996). Two studies were conducted involving small interactive work groups rating for attraction under varying levels of group membership salience (Hogg, Cooper-Shaw, & Holzworth, 1993). Social attraction was found to be positively associated with the level of prototypicality of self and others, and with perceptions of the clarity of the group prototype and group cohesiveness. Interpersonal attraction was found to be independent of social attraction and unrelated or inversely related to prototypically and the other perceptions. In a field study of an Australian football team (Hogg & Hardie, 1991), there was a clear consensus about the team's defining features (i.e., relative prototypicality). In the high salience condition, social attraction was more strongly related to this prototypicality than interpersonal attraction. This effect was greatest for those who viewed themselves as most strongly identifying with, and most prototypical of, the team. Similarly, social popularity was also more strongly related to prototypicality than personal popularity.

In an experimental study (Hogg, Hardie, & Reynolds, 1995), participants were randomly allocated to one of two groups, based on a fictitious similarity or difference, and rated either a group member or a partner for prototypicality and attraction. Social attraction was positively related to group identification and to group prototypically, and the latter mediated the relationship between the former two. Prototypical members were viewed as more attractive than interpersonal

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partners or prototypically dissimilar members and group-based effects were unrelated to perceptions of overall similarity.

In another field study involving Australian amateur netball teams (Hogg & Hains, 1996), structural equation modelling confirmed the direct impact of self-categorisation on social attraction, and demonstrated that beliefs about the intergroup context involving group status and stability influenced social attraction indirectly through self-categorization. Once again, interpersonal attraction was unrelated.

In summary, group cohesion and social attraction are emergent products of depersonalisation during the group identification process. Whereas interpersonal attraction has been shown to be associated with individual similarities, social attraction has been shown to be related to how similar both perceiver and target are to the salient prototype of the group to which both are members. Ingroup members are seen as far more attractive than outgroup members, and within the group itself, the higher the prototypicality of members, the more the social attraction and ingroup cohesion. As discussed earlier, the leader is a specific case in point. As the most prototypical group member, the leader enjoys the most social attraction.

2. Persuasion and social influence

Depersonalisation also affects social influence and persuasion. Rather than being a precursor to social identification, the social identity perspective argues that persuasion is partly due to the perceived social identity of the source:

> The social context is influential in this process because when people's social identity is salient and they see themselves as interchangeable with other ingroup members, they regard those others as valid sources of information about those conditions. Here they both expect, and are actively motivated to

engage in processes of mutual influence so as to achieve, agreement with other ingroup members (Haslam, McGarty, & Turner, 1996, p. 37).

Empirical studies have borne this out. Attitude change was greater when the same message was attributed to an ingroup source versus an outgroup source; but only when this message was germane to ingroup membership (Mackie, Worth, & Asuncion, 1990). When knowledge of the social identity of the source was given prior to the message, persuasion and attitude change were predicted by that knowledge rather than by argument strength (Mackie, Gastardo-Conaco, & Skelly, 1992). Messages were equally persuasive when they came from a number of ingroup and outgroup members who were perceived as individuals. However, the same outgroup members were less persuasive than the ingroup members when members were viewed as part of a homogenous group (Wilder, 1990).

In a study designed to test the social identity perspective on persuasion, the social identity of the source and the level of salience were manipulated (McGarty, Haslam, Hutchinson, & Turner, 1994). Agreement with the message was lower when perceived to have came from an outgroup source than from an ingroup source but only under high salience. Under no salience or indirect salience (where participants were merely aware of the group distinction but not asked to commit to a position) there was no difference. The source was also viewed as more objective and more pleasant when perceived as an ingroup member. They conclude that "because ingroup members *are* informative about a relevant social consensus (which is believed to match objective reality), their arguments will be seen as persuasive and will therefore be attended to" (Haslam et al., 1996, p. 46).

Thus social identification sets up an expectation and a motivation to agree with other group members. Ingroup members are viewed as more valid sources of

information than outgroup members. As such, individuals will perceive other

ingroup members to be more persuasive and greater social influence between group

members will occur. Again, the leader is a specific case in point. As the most

prototypical group member, the leader should benefit from being perceived as the

most persuasive, and should therefore wield the most social influence.

3. Willingness to engage in social action

For Weber the impetus to define and theorise about charismatic leadership

lay in explaining the seemingly spontaneous formation of social movements (Weber,

1961). In comparison, Tajfel (1981) defined social movements as:

> Efforts by large numbers of people, who define themselves and are also often
>
> defined by others as a group, to solve collectively a problem they feel they
>
> have in common, and which is perceived to arise from their relations with
>
> other groups (p. 244).

Compared to Weber's leader-centric explanation for the almost "spontaneous

birth" of some social movements, the social identity perspective places the emphasis

on the self-defining nature of the group and its perceived need. Social identity theory

research has investigated many aspects of the willingness of people to engage in

collective action and some relevant results are reported below.

In a correlational study involving an older people's movement in Germany,

the Gray Panthers (Simon et al., 1998, study 1), willingness to participate in social

action was related to identification with the social category of older people and even

more strongly related to identification with the Gray Panther movement. Regression

analysis showed that identification with the Gray Panthers still predicted willingness

to participate after cost-benefit calculations were accounted for while the more inclusive identity of older people did not.

In a second study involving the gay movement in the United States, identity salience was manipulated by asking the high-salience condition to recall a gay-related threatening incident (Simon et al., 1998, study 2). Similar results to the Gray Panther study were found. Willingness to participate in social action was related to identification with gay people in general but more strongly with identification with the gay movement. Regression analysis showed that only identification with the gay movement was a significant predictor. Strength of identification with the gay movement and willingness to participate increased with the salience manipulation, whereas identification with gay people in general was unaffected. Mediational analysis showed that the effect of recalling a threatening incident on willingness to participate was partially mediated by identification with the gay movement.

Simon, Stürmer, & Steffens (2000) studied willingness to participate in AIDS volunteer work. Gay volunteers viewed the recipients of their work (other gay men) as ingroup members, while heterosexual volunteers viewed them as outgroup members. Results showed that gay people were more willing to volunteer when identification with other gay people was high; whereas, the opposite was true when heterosexual identification with other heterosexuals was high. On the other hand, gay people were less willing to volunteer when individual identification was high. These studies show that mere demographic status is not a sufficient impetus for social action. Rather, actively categorising oneself as a member of salient psychological group is a strong impetus for joining a related social movement, and acting to achieve the movement's goals.

4. "Performance beyond expectations"

Although people are expected to work for the organisation that employs them in exchange for rewards, people also participate in other forms of social action for the collective good for which they receive no individual reward. Furthermore, even within the exchange system of the work environment there are those who put in extra effort, who demonstrate organisational citizenship behaviours, or put group interests before individual ones. The social identity perspective posits that as individuals we are motivated to act in ways that meet our individual needs, but as depersonalisation takes place, we are motivated to act in ways that meet our collective needs and the stronger the group identification, the stronger the motivation to act to benefit that psychological group (Turner, 1987).

Organisational citizenship behaviours, where individuals participate in extra-role behaviours for no personal gain (Organ, 1988), have been shown to be related to group identification (in the form of team-oriented affective commitment) and unrelated to career commitment (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999). On the other hand, individual improvement strategies were related to career commitment and unrelated to team-oriented affective commitment. Affective team commitment has also been shown to predict prosocial behaviours directed at the work group (Becker & Billings, 1993) and the organisation (beyond the contribution of organisational commitment, Becker, 1992).

A meta-analysis on social loafing has shown that it is more likely to occur in groups which are a random aggregation of individuals and are therefore psychologically trivial to the loafer (Karau & Williams, 1993). Social loafing is more prevalent when working with strangers while the opposite to loafing, social labouring, is more prevalent in friendship groups or with psychologically meaningful

groups such as work-mates (Williams, Karau, & Bourgeois, 1993). Intergroup comparisons can also increase work motivation and performance on behalf of the ingroup (James & Cropanzano, 1994; Karau & Williams, 1993).

In sum, as the perceiver depersonalises, individual interests and motivations fade and the good of the collective beings to take precedence. Under high salience, group identification is a good predictor of motivation and performance on behalf of the group as well as willingness to take social action (for reviews see Ouwerkerk, Ellemers, & de Gilder, 1999a, 1999b).

These results support the position that social identity processes, rather than leadership, are responsible for social attraction and group cohesion; social influence and perceived persuasiveness; and willingness to engage in social action and "performance beyond expectations". Charismatic leadership may emerge as a product of group processes but it is argued that the leader's charisma is not the driving force behind people's identification with a social group, nor the fundamental reason for their actions within the group.

Applications to intergroup bias

It is often thought that followers of charismatic leaders must have some specific personality attributes (e.g., Ehrhart & Klein, 2001; House, 1977; Howell & Shamir, 2005), or even failings (e.g., Aberbach, 1995; Abse & Ulman, 1977; Downton, 1973; Kets de Vries, 1988, 1989), which cause them to be so strongly influenced and exhibit such strong or even extreme emotional and behavioural responses. However, this view is rejected under the social identity perspective.

In pilot studies for this thesis, it was found that support for Hitler, an outgroup leader, was pathologised as lacking common sense, and as emotional rather than rational. On the other hand, support for King, an ingroup leader, was viewed as

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positive or normal. The ingroup favouritism and outgroup derogation outlined above comprise the more general syndrome of intergroup bias (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). Intergroup bias is defined as "the systematic tendency to evaluate one's own membership group (the in-group) or its members more favorably than a nonmembership group (the out-group) or its members" (Hewstone et al., 2002, p. 576). This tendency can manifest as discriminatory behaviours, prejudiced attitudes, and negative stereotypes (Mackie & Smith, 1998).

The social identity perspective argues that the more individuals identify with a salient ingroup, the more they will view their ingroup as positively distinct from the outgroup along relevant dimensions for comparison (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This will not only be manifested in normative positive and negative attitudes, stereotypes, and affect, but also in behaviours designed to favour the ingroup over the outgroup. This explains why discriminatory behaviours between groups will occur; why members of one group will malign another group; and why beliefs abound about the superiority of one group over another.

This has great application to the attribution of leader charisma. Those perceiving themselves or similar others to be submitting to a ingroup leader, their submission should appear normal and the influence of the leader's charisma should appear benign. In contrast, to those perceiving dissimilar others to be submitting to an outgroup leader, submission to that leader should appear unnatural and the product of faulty thought and affect. Furthermore, the influence of the leader's charisma should appear pernicious and baleful.

Explorations in the current thesis

Charismatic leader attributions

Many of the hypotheses developed from the social identity perspective on charisma have not been fully explored. As detailed previously, there have been three sets of studies on charismatic leadership and these explored the effects of relative ingroup prototypicality using only ingroups. The scope for exploration is still broad and rather than focus on one particular issue in detail, the scope of the empirical research in this thesis also has a broad rather than detailed focus.

While it has been important to establish the fundamental place of prototypicality in charismatic leadership processes, charismatic leadership sits within an intergroup context, "us" against "them". This thesis will encompass the full range of social identification, from those who embrace the leader as an ingroup leader to those who firmly reject the leader as outgroup, including those who are ambivalent or uncommitted. Just as much can be learned from those who reject a charismatic leader as from those who adore them. The driving question for this research is: If charisma depends largely on leader personality or behaviours, why do outgroups such as the Klu Klux Klan actively revile charismatic leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr.? Rather than comparing leaders and measuring reactions to their behaviours, the main methodological approach will be to focus on one leader at a time and hold leader behaviours constant so that variance in charismatic attribution can only be due to psychological processes in the perceiver.

Just as the ingroup are posited to construct a positive charismatic personality to explain influence within the group, it is argued that an outgroup may also construct a charismatic personality for the leader to explain the compliance,

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attraction, and persuasion responses they observe in the other group. The more

polarised they are from the ingroup the more strongly they should dislike the leader

and the more negatively they should view the charismatic influence process.

Therefore their constructed personality may range from fairly neutral judgements to

the taking advantage of others' good intentions by way of intentional manipulation,

machiavellianism, deceit, and cynicism.

Follower response attributions

This thesis will also use the social identity perspective to examine

attributions about followers of charismatic leaders. No previous research has been

undertaken in this area. If the same leader can be stereotyped as having either

positive or negative personality traits, this also has consequences for the way support

for the leader is construed and holding leader behaviours constant should also give

clearer insight into how the intergroup bias works in attributions about follower

responses.

Charismatic leaders have always attracted attention for their "ability" to

inspire and mobilise a group of people. The puzzle for those outside the charismatic

influence process has always been to work out why followers submit in such

heartfelt and selfless ways. Klein and House (1998) ask, "What characteristics

distinguish followers who are most open or susceptible to charisma?" (p. 5), but this

very question implies that charismatic followership is outside normal group

processes and/or that it is a pathological response. Rather, this thesis asks: How does

intergroup bias affect our perceptions of the influence of charismatic leaders on

followers, and what are the implications of this for charismatic leadership?

CHAPTER 5

WORLD LEADER STUDY

Comparing reactions to two leaders

According to new leadership theorists, attributions of charismatic leadership rest largely on the frequency and type of demonstrated leader behaviours and associated follower outcomes. For instance, the famed charisma of the leaders like Adolf Hitler or Martin Luther King, Jr., appears to rest largely on their rhetorical abilities, their vision for their people, the number of people they mobilised, and the extreme actions those people were willing to perform for their leader (House, 1977; Lepsius, 1986; Lindholm, 1990).

One of the most fascinating aspects of the study of charismatic leadership is that history has designated some of the world's greatest leaders as both highly charismatic while at the same time rating them as either truly "good" or truly "evil". Leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, and Jesus Christ are revered as having been highly moral, noble and self-sacrificing—even saintly or god-like. Other leaders like Adolf Hitler, Saddam Hussein, and Jim Jones have also been labelled as highly charismatic while simultaneously being strongly reviled as evil, manipulative, or "half-mad" ("Speeches that Changed the World, 2005).

In thinking about these famous charismatic leaders, a number of questions arise: Are there commonly-agreed upon charismatic characteristics? What do the positive and negative characterisations mentioned above, tell us about the process of charismatic attribution and influence? Do these characterisations of good and evil affect charismatic leadership attributions? One of the two primary aims of the study described in this chapter was to answer these questions by comparing charismatic

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attributions to two of the world's most famous charismatic leaders: one characterised as quintessentially "good", King[1]; the other quintessentially "evil", Hitler.

Comparing reactions to one leader

Given the obvious differences between these archetypal charismatic leaders, some differences in charismatic attribution may be expected. Some have postulated that charismatic leadership can involve beneficial or detrimental styles (Conger, 1990; Howell, 1988; Howell & Avolio, 1992; Howell & Shamir, 2005; Popper, 2000, 2002; Strange & Mumford, 2002; Weierter, 1997). However, is charisma really about people responding to the innate "goodness" or "evilness" in a leader? Most current leaders are not so uniformly canonised or demonised as King and Hitler are today. Certainly, in their day, both were lauded by some and despised by others. As the following quotes show, this is certainly the case for the recent[2] Australian prime minister, John Howard.

> Now [that he has been re-elected again] we all have to pay for the comfortable idiocy of the manipulated minority. I thought we had more brains, more self-respect. I was wrong in thinking enough voters 'just might' see through the confidence trickery of John Howard, master illusionist and toad of a human being. I apologise for nothing (Ramsey, 2004).

> John Howard has been the finest prime minister Australia has had. He has overseen extraordinary economic success, created the conditions for a whole new class of aspirational Australians to prosper from the inevitable forces of globalisation, confronted the scourge of terrorism and has fundamentally realigned the political landscape in this country on so many fronts. Under

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[1] For brevity and clarity: once introduced, leaders will henceforth be referred to only by surname.

[2] Howard was the current prime minister during testing and when all quoted opinions were written.

Howard it became cool to be a conservative ... He has been a leader in the true sense of the word (Albrechtsen, 2007).

These two journalists do not view Howard in the same way and this must surely create differences in their charismatic leadership attributions about him and in their attributions about those who support him. The other primary aim of this study was to examine the question, "If charismatic attribution is solely based on demonstrated charismatic behaviours, how can the same leader be regarded as charismatic by some and not others?" In answer to this question, it is suggested that there may be two processes at work in charismatic attributions: one process that has been thoroughly explored in the new leadership literature, the other which has started to be explored in the social identity literature. Using comparisons of Howard with Hitler and King, the other primary aim of this study was to explore and contrast the influences of these two processes and to show that the same attribution patterns displayed towards two archetypal "good" and "evil" leaders would also be manifested towards one leader when social identification differed. To compare these patterns, this study asked participants to consider one of three leaders—Hitler, Howard or King—and rate them on charismatic leader and personality trait dimensions. They were then asked to consider the supporters of the leader in question and rate their emotional reactions and rational thought processes. The two processes are detailed below.

The charismatic-norm comparison process

We may not agree exactly on what constitutes charismatic leadership, but we appear to be able to put people into one of two relative general categories: "has charisma" or "has little charisma". For the purposes of this study, this will be

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referred to as a leader's "charismatic stature". Some readers may wonder why

Howard is even the subject of a study on charismatic leadership considering his

"awesome ordinariness" (Wainwright & Stephens, 2004, p. 25). No matter how

much people adulate Howard, it is unlikely that they would accord him the same

charismatic stature as a leader like King or Hitler. One might almost expect the

statement, "He's good, but he's no Martin Luther King". It would be harder to argue

definitively whether King was more charismatic than Hitler, or vice versa; however,

Howard's level of charisma has always been viewed as comparatively low, as the

following radio interview exchange and two letters to the editor show:

> MITCHELL: George Bush ... said that he hadn't yet retained your popularity
>
> post-war, that he hadn't and he said that that was because of your charisma.
>
> Has he learnt the art of the Aussie send up?
>
> PRIME MINISTER: Well, he's improving.... got a sense of humour. You'd
>
> have to have a sense of humour to describe me as having a lot of charisma!
>
> (Interview with Neil Mitchell, Radio 3AW, 17 October 2003).
>
> *Meet Mr Charisma*
>
> 'John Howard' and 'charisma' ... now there are three words I never expected
>
> to see linked in the same sentence ("Beazley up against PM's charisma",
>
> SMH, February 18). Clive Archer, Cammeray.
>
> "Peter Hartcher should start a career in stand-up comedy. John Howard has
>
> charisma—I nearly choked on my muesli". Brian Johnstone, Leura.
>
> (Letters, Sydney Morning Herald, February 19, 2005).

It appears that there is a general consensus that the stature of Howard's charisma is low in comparison to that of charismatic icons like Hitler and King. What could be behind these commonly-held categories? The next two sections present theoretical explanations for charismatic stature judgements.

Comparing leaders against a charismatic prototype

Despite differences in personality trait impressions, in two pilot studies, many of the charismatic leadership attributions about King and Hitler were similar— both were viewed as gifted orators, as having strong personalties, as promulgating their vision attractively, and as being explicitly charismatic leaders. Both the sociological and new leadership literatures have been at pains to theorise, document, and test behaviours commonly associated with charismatic leadership. However, one of the criticisms of most theories of charisma is that they could be said to be based on a circular argument. A leader is more charismatic than another because he or she acts in a way that fits more with our conceptions of a charismatic leader; and yet, our conceptions about what constitutes a charismatic leader are defined by the behaviours that charismatic leaders exhibit. This circularity does not matter if charisma is acknowledged as a social construction; indeed, the circularity demonstrates that this is exactly the case. Therefore, social-constructionist psychological theories about charisma are needed to underpin the new leadership theories and explain the process.

Leader categorisation theory (Lord, Foti, & Phillips, 1982) argues that we develop implicit leadership theories of a general leader prototype based on leader behaviours. We store these theories and measure other potential leaders against them. We are thus able to decide who is "leadership material". This is exemplified by organisations such the military, which have a tradition of explicitly testing for

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"leadership material" using behaviourally-based selection processes (Eaton, 1947; Zaccaro, 1996). Gardner and Avolio (1998) have extended this to suggest that we also create a charismatic leader subtype. To the degree the leader's behaviours match the subtype, internal attributions about the leader's charismatic personality are made (Lord & Emrich, 2000; Yorges, Weiss, & Strickland, 1999).

This method of determining charisma by measuring the person against the behaviours is clearly present in pilot study descriptions of Hitler and King given in answer to the question "Why do you think people say that [Martin Luther King, Jr./Adolf Hitler] was charismatic?"

"He was passionate, he expressed his vision clearly. He believed what he said, he connected with people. He couldn't have achieved what he did if he wasn't charismatic."

"He had strong convictions/beliefs, was confident & persuasive; a good public speaker".

"Because he showed a strong sense of self, he was confident + forward in his views".

Interestingly, these were all comments made about Hitler but could easily have been comments about King. This gives an indication of some of the commonly-agreed content in the charismatic leader subtype.

Comparing leader influence

Another facet of the charismatic leader subtype may be outcomes-based. It could be argued that the level of influence that some leaders wield over their groups, and the outcomes that result from that influence, demonstrate that these leaders have

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more charisma than others. This conception of charisma underlies much of the sociological charismatic thinking outlined in Chapter 2. For example, certain leaders of new African states were deemed not to be charismatic because they garnered few votes, or because their movements collapse in a short space of time (Dow, 1968). This conception also underlies the new leadership triangulation used to compare subjective follower ratings of charisma and leader effectiveness with objective organisational outcomes (e.g., DeGroot, Kiker, & Cross, 2000; Dumdum, Lowe, & Avolio, 2002; Towler, 2003). Under this reasoning King and Hitler would be viewed as more charismatic than Howard because they have elicited more extreme behaviours in people or have simply influenced more people.

This justification of charismatic attributions was another common theme in pilot study responses about King:

"Because he managed to inspire so many people and make them believe that they could make a difference."

"Because a lot of people were drawn to him. He was articulating what many people were feeling. He gave leadership."

"Because he managed to start a whole movement practically from scratch, to motivate and drive people towards a better future."

The theme was also strong for those explaining Hitler's charisma:

"Because he was able to influence so many people & got that high number to do/agree with many horrifying & terrible ideas and/or actions that he had/did."

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"He was easily able to bend the general population to his will. He built
rapport easily."

"Hitler was considered charismatic due to the fact he was able to influence
many people so easily."

"He convinced a country that a race of people were inferior. They believed
him without question."

In summary, as explained by leader categorisation theory, and in accordance
with new leadership theories, there appears to be a general consensus in our implicit
theories about charismatic leadership which involves the frequency of certain types
of leadership behaviours and associated follower outcomes. Thus a norm-comparison
process operates. The behaviours of the leader in question are held up against these
commonly-agreed upon charismatic criteria, the charismatic leadership subtype.

The charismatic leadership subtype was operationalised as ratings of the
leader on dimensions theorised to be implicitly associated with charismatic
leadership: rhetorical ability (e.g., Emrich, Brower, Feldman, & Garland, 2001);
personality strength (e.g., House, Spangler, & Woycke, 1991); articulating a vision
(e.g., Avolio, Waldman, & Einstein, 1988; Bass, 1985; Bennis & Nanus, 1985;
Bryman, 1992; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; House, 1977; House et al., 1991; Weber,
1968), and passion for the cause (e.g., Blasi, 1991; Lenard, 1988; Marques, 2007;
Schweitzer, 1974, 1986). For comparison purposes, an explicit dimension of
charismatic leadership was also used. The perceived "goodness" and "evilness" of
leaders was operationalised as impressions of the following personality traits:
manipulativeness; trickiness; and attractiveness.

In two pilot studies ($N = 47$ and $N = 52$) which used the above dimensions, Hitler and King were rated similarly high on all charismatic leadership subtype behaviours. However, strong disparity occurred on the personality dimensions. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the charismatic statures of King and Hitler, although not perfectly equivalent, were conceived to be the high benchmark by which to compare the relatively low charisma of Howard. The study sought to account for the effect of charismatic stature on attributions of charisma so that the effect of the social identification comparison process on those attributions could be examined. It was hypothesised that the charismatic leader subtype would be more related to qualities and behaviours related to leadership rather than personality. It was therefore predicted that:

P5.1. Leaders with a reputation for higher charismatic stature would be rated more highly than the leader with lower reputed charismatic stature for charismatic leadership qualities because those behaviours are specifically associated with the charismatic leader subtype.

P5.2. There would be little or no effect for charismatic stature on attributed personality traits because they are not specifically associated with the charismatic leader subtype.

The social identity comparison process

The second process affecting charismatic attribution involves a comparison of self to the leader to determine the level of similarity or difference, as detailed in the social identity literature (see Chapter 5). When a social situation evokes a salient social comparison (Oakes, 1987), the observer will use the perceived level of

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similarity or difference to categorise the leader as sharing (ingroup), or not sharing

(outgroup), a salient social identity (Turner, 1987). The greater the perceived

similarity, the greater the level of social identification.

As the introductory journalistic quotes about Howard showed, political

figures, through their espoused views and enacted legislation, can delight or enrage

sections of society depending on their level of agreement. As the repeatedly-elected

national leader, Howard has strong supporters in Australian society. These

supporters perceive similarities with him through their agreement with his values and

beliefs. They therefore, perceive a shared social identity with him and feel

positively-disposed towards him.

Howard also has strong detractors in Australian society. These detractors

perceive him to be different from them because they abhor his values and beliefs.

They therefore perceive a lack of shared social identity and feel alienated from him,

and negatively-disposed towards him (Turner, 1987). In the passage below it is clear

that Howard himself recognises that these positive or negative feelings, and the level

of identification are not based on the person, but rather on a social identity—as

connoted by the use of the terms "politically" and "political":

> Howard understands that there is a significant group of Australians—
>
> colloquially, the "Howard-haters"—who intensely dislike him. "Oh, yes," he
>
> says. "Loathe me. Yes. Intensely dislike me, politically. Yes. Yes, of course.
>
> They don't start off loathing you, hating you as a person, but they transfer
>
> their political hatred of you to you as an individual." (Overington, 2007,
>
> p. 18).

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Using this social identity analysis, the "goodness" and "evilness" seen in leaders is a clear indication of the underlying level of social identification with those leaders. In the pilot studies, King was rated far more positively than Hitler for personality traits, because he was perceived as sharing a social identity based on a belief in racial equality with observers, while Hitler was not. King was also rated slightly higher than Hitler, but not significantly so, on the charismatic leadership dimensions and this pointed to the possibility of some social identification effect. In other words, King was perceived to be an ingroup leader whereas Hitler was perceived to be an outgroup leader and this difference in the level of shared social identity coloured evaluations of each leader, even influencing some attributions of charismatic leadership.

Not only does this social identity analysis of charismatic leadership partly explain why one leader may be judged as less charismatic than another, but it may also provide a full explanation for why charismatic attributions about the same leader may differ between perceivers. The same leader may be attributed greater charismatic qualities by those who perceive him or her to be an ingroup leader, but may be attributed less charismatic qualities by those who perceive him or her to be an outgroup leader. It is theorised that if people express agreement with Howard's values and beliefs, they will categorise him as an ingroup-elected leader; whereas, those who disagree will categorise him as an imposed outgroup leader (Duck & Fielding, 1999; Haslam et al., 1998). In this study, identification with the leader as ingroup or outgroup was operationalised as the level of indicated agreement with the leader's values and beliefs. Therefore, to confirm ingroup or outgroup leader status, participants were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the leader's values and beliefs.

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It is hypothesised that the effect of social identification on the differential pattern of attributions of charismatic leadership and personality traits for King (as quintessential ingroup leader) and Hitler (as quintessential outgroup leader) should also be evinced when Howard is perceived to be an ingroup, versus an outgroup, leader. In other words, the same social identification process that affect two opposing leaders would also produce the same pattern of difference in attributed charisma for a single leader, depending on whether you supported that leader or not. It was therefore predicted that:

> **P5.3. The personality profiles of King as ingroup leader, will be more positive than the profile of Hitler as outgroup leader.**

> **P5.4. The charismatic leadership qualities of King as ingroup leader, will be equal to or more positive than the qualities of Hitler as outgroup leader.**

It was also predicted that:

> **P5.5. The personality profile of Howard as an ingroup leader, will be more positive than his profile as an outgroup leader.**

> **P5.6. The charismatic leadership qualities of Howard as an ingroup leader, will be equal to or more positive than his qualities as an outgroup leader. In particular, Howard as an ingroup leader will be rated as more charismatic than as an outgroup leader.**

Follower predictions

As argued in Chapter 4, one of the keys to understanding the charismatic leadership attribution process is the intergroup context, so it stands to reason that attributions about those who submit to the leader will also be affected by social identification. In the afore-mentioned pilot studies, attributions about follower thought processes were operationalised as ratings on dimensions of persuadability, being brainwashed, using common sense, social perceptiveness, and rational thinking; and emotional responses were operationalised as ratings on dimensions of emotionality, naturalness, and impulsivity. Followers of King (an ingroup leader) received more favourable attributions about their reasons for supporting the leader than did followers of Hitler (an outgroup leader).

It is argued that giving fealty and adoration to a charismatic ingroup leader, and being persuaded by views congruent to the observer's own, requires the simplest of normalising external attributions: "These views just make sense". On the other hand, follower behaviours of fealty and adoration to a charismatic outgroup leader, and being persuaded by views abhorrent to the observer, require internal attributions which pathologise follower thought and emotional reactions. A similar pattern for those who perceive Howard to be an ingroup leader, as opposed to an outgroup leader, should be observed.

Howard is a controversial figure and has polarised Australian society. He has many supporters and has enjoyed a success and popularity not seen for many decades (Brett, 2005). He came to power in 1996 and to date has been re-elected three times. At the time of writing he is about to contest a historic fifth election and is currently Australia's second longest serving prime minister. He also has many detractors. He has suffered from continuing credibility problems, thereby earning

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him the sarcastic nickname: "Honest John". He is also "regularly vilified by many in the media and academia" (Melleuish, 2006, p. 8). This letter to the editor illustrates the depth of feeling of both supporters and detractors:

> Of all the lunatics who get space on the letters page the Howard-hater haters are the best value. Once more, Terry Davis (Letters, September 9-10): Howard is a spin-doctoring opportunist. So there. The fact that you and your ilk keep re-electing him is sad, but that you keep writing in complaining about those of us who can see clearly is hilarious. Carston Burmeister, Cremorne. (Letters, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Monday, Sept 11, 2006).

The letter above paints a picture of two such groups in conflict: the "Howard-haters" and the "Howard-hater haters" (which it can be assumed are Howard supporters). The letter writer firmly places himself as a "Howard-hater", obviously viewing Howard as an outgroup leader. The writer demonstrates his negative personality attributions of Howard with the description, "a spin-doctoring opportunist", which connotes deceitfulness and cynicism. It is safe to say that Terry Davis, in writing to complain about Howard-haters, categorises Howard as an ingroup leader and attributes more positive personality qualities to him.

Further, the letter writer displays outgroup derogation by describing Howard-hater haters as "lunatics". He disparages the decision of those who re-elect Howard as "sad" and the defence of Howard as "hilarious", implying that the decision is worthy of pity and the defence behaviour is risible. Finally ingroup favouritism is displayed with the phrase "those of us who can see clearly". It is therefore predicted that:

P5.7. The thought processes and emotional reactions of King supporters will be viewed more positively than those of Hitler supporters.

P5.8. The thought processes and emotional reactions of Howard supporters will be viewed more positively by ingroup members than by outgroup members.

P5.9. The responses of followers of high charismatic stature leaders would between viewed as more emotional than followers of low charismatic stature leaders because strong emotional reactions are associated with the charismatic leadership subtype.

P5.10. There would be little or no effect for charismatic stature on attributed thought processes because the dispute over values is largely based on social identity.

Combining the two processes

This study sought to examine the roles of both processes—charismatic-norm comparison and social identity comparison—in the attribution of charismatic leadership and followership by distinguishing the effects of high or low charismatic stature from the effects of high or low social identification. It was important to account for the effects of charismatic norm comparison so as to isolate the effects of the social identity comparison. The goal was to show that the same pattern of charisma-related attributions would be made for an ingroup leader in relation to a different outgroup leader, as they would for the same person viewed as either an ingroup or an outgroup leader.

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As part of the social identity analysis, self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1987) has an explanation for the ability of two social groups to be in agreement over the charismatic norm comparison, while being in disagreement over the social identity comparison. Psychological group comparisons are conceived to be in a hierarchical structure from exclusive subordinate categories up to more inclusive superordinate categories. Social context determines the salient level of comparison in an intergroup situation and differences between ingroup and outgroup appraisals occur at this level. However, there will also be other attitudes, values, and appraisals commonly agreed upon by both groups at a higher level of inclusiveness because a common identity is shared by the groups at that level (see assumption 7.2, Turner, 1987, p. 48). For example, while two political parties in a democratic system may disagree over salient issues such as the role of trade unions or the level of social welfare, they may be in agreement about the democratic system under which their parties operate in comparison to a dictatorship or communist regime.

In other words, the only reason two social groups can argue over differences in charisma at the intergroup comparison level is because they agree on the parameters and definitions of charisma at a more inclusive (superordinate) cultural level. The charismatic stature of a leader is therefore conceived to be the attributions of charisma which are commonly agreed upon at the superordinate level. These attributions are a response to the comparison of the leader against the cultural charismatic prototype and the leader's commonly-perceived level of influence.

Thus, the level of charismatic leader attribution by ingroup and outgroup will consist of (a) a charismatic stature component—the agreed level based on beliefs about what charismatic leadership constitutes that are commonly held by both groups and how the leader measures up to these beliefs; and (b) a social identification component—the disputed level based on the effects of identifying the leader as an ingroup or outgroup member. These two components may add, or may interact, together to form the leader's level of charisma as perceived by a group member. Figure 5.1 illustrates the perceived charisma for leaders of high and low charismatic stature if the effects of the two components are additive.
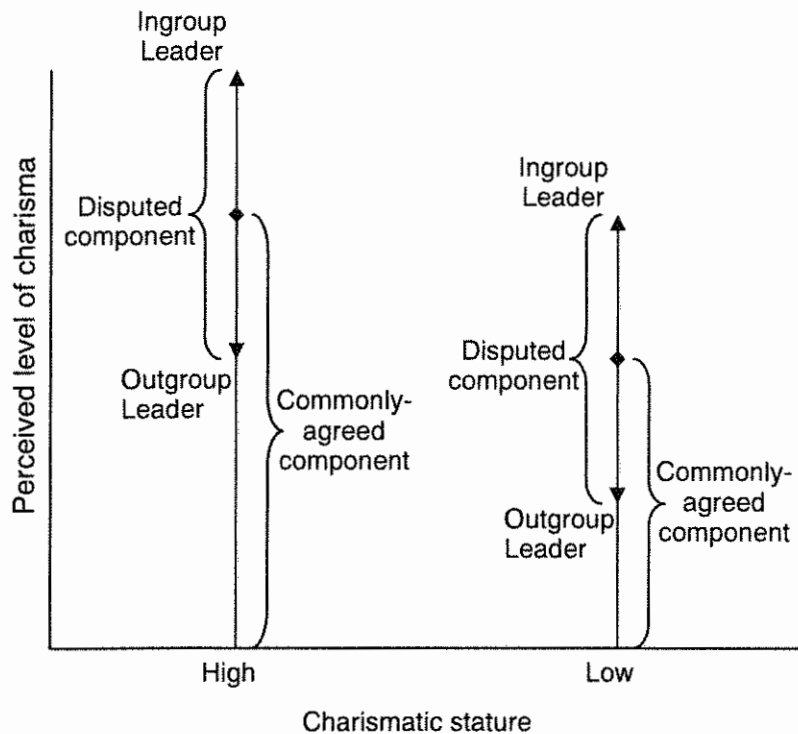
Figure 5.1. Perceived level of charisma based on additive components

According to the social identity approach, changes in social context may dictate changes in the perception of the leader's social identity in comparisons with others. Therefore, the same leader perceived today as an ingroup leader, may tomorrow be perceived as an outgroup leader—without any changes in leader

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behaviour—if the social context changes. On the other hand, it could be expected

that certain social contexts would encourage disproportionate charismatic leadership

attributions from ingroups and outgroup. As such, it is questioned whether the

influence of group identification and charismatic stature on charismatic leader

attributions and judgements about followers, are separate and unrelated additive

processes. It is therefore queried whether:

> **Query 5.11. Social identity and charismatic stature will affect**
>
> **charismatic leader attributions additively. This would be reflected**
>
> **in larger main effects and very small interaction effects.**

Method

Participants

Participants were 207 first-year psychology students from the Australian

National University who had not completed either of the pilot studies. They

participated in this study for course credit. No demographic information was

collected.

Design

The design comprised two between-subjects variables: charismatic stature

with two levels (high and low); and social identification with two levels—split by

their indicated agreement (ingroup) or disagreement (outgroup) with the leader's

values and beliefs. Thus the cells were (i) King: high-stature ingroup leader; (ii)

Howard (agree): low-stature ingroup leader; (iii) Howard (disagree): low-stature

outgroup leader; and (iv) Hitler: high-stature outgroup leader (see Figure 5.1).

Dependent variables were attributions of charismatic leader qualities and personality

traits; and follower emotionality and thought processes. These were rated by participants on 7-point Likert scales.

Figure 5.1.
Between-subjects two-way ANOVA cell design.

		Social identification	
		Ingroup	Outgroup
Charismatic stature	High	King	Hitler
	Low	Howard (agree)	Howard (disagree)

Materials and Procedure

This study was a filler task within an unrelated study. Participants were randomly allocated to one of the four conditions through questionnaire distribution. The questionnaire was introduced with the instruction, "I'm asking you to think about a world leader and people's reactions to them". Participants then read a short paragraph containing 34-35 words about either Howard, Hitler or King which stated their leadership position, and illustrated the persuasive influence each leader has had on their followers.

The paragraph about Hitler stated, *"Adolf Hitler was the leader of Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1945. He persuaded the German people that they were a super-race, and that they should persecute the Jewish people and invade other countries"*. The paragraph about King stated, *"Martin Luther King, Jr. was a leader of the Black Civil Rights movement in America from 1955 to 1968. He persuaded people to protest against the American Government involving marches, rallies, and civil disobedience"*. The paragraphs about Howard stated, *"John Howard is the current Prime Minister of Australia, and second longest-serving. He has been*

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described as Australia's most popular and successful modern prime minister. He has

persuaded people to vote for him four times".

Table 5.1.
Leader/follower items.

Charismatic leadership behaviour items

      He [is/was] a charismatic leader.

      He [is/was] a great speaker.

      He [is/was] passionately devoted to his people's cause.

      He [paints/painted] a vision of the future which people [find/found] attractive.

Leader personality trait items

      He [has/had] a pleasant personality.

      He [is/was] able to trick people into believing him.

      He [is/was] good at manipulating people.

      He [has/had] a strong personality.

Follower thought-process items

      They [are/were] using reason and thought.

      They [are/were] using common sense.

      They [are/were] good at noticing when someone was trying to influence them.

      They [are/were] brainwashed into thinking their view was right.

      The [are/were] easily swayed or persuaded.

Follower emotional-response items

      They [are/were] caught up in the heat of the moment.

      They [are/were] reacting emotionally rather rationally.

      It [is/was] a natural reaction – anyone would be convinced by him.

After indicating whether they had heard of the leader, participants responded

"agree" or "disagree" to the question, "Do you agree with his values and beliefs?"

Next, participants rated the relevant leader for charismatic qualities (see Table 5.1).

They then read the heading, *"Why did/do people follow [King/Hitler/Howard]?*

Please rate people who support [King/Hitler/Howard] on the following" and rated

their followers on rationality and emotionality dimensions (see also Table 5.1).

Finally they answered the free-response question *"Why do you think people say that*

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[King/Hitler/Howard] was charismatic?". The free-response question "Any other reasons?" was common to all conditions. When participants had finished the questionnaire they were thanked and debriefed.

Results

Data were the ratings of leaders and followers. Items were scored on 7-point Likert scales and were averaged for each leader condition. Eleven participants indicated that they had not heard of the target (Hitler, $n = 0$; King, $n = 5$, Howard, $n = 6$) and were excluded from further analysis. Two participants failed to complete the second page and were also excluded ($N = 194$). The assumption in the previous studies was confirmed: all those in the King condition indicated agreement with his beliefs and values ($n = 46$), while all those in the Hitler condition indicated disagreement ($n = 52$). Meanwhile, participants rating Howard were allocated to a condition through their indicated agreement ($n = 38$) or disagreement ($n = 58$) with his values and beliefs.

Leader attributions

Each of the eight leader items was analysed using a two-way ANOVA. Independent variables were charismatic stature (high or low) and social identification (ingroup leader or outgroup leader). Only four contrasts were conducted for each item. The two social identification contrasts were King (as ingroup leader) with Hitler (as outgroup leader) and Howard (as ingroup leader) with Howard (as outgroup leader). The two stature contrasts were between the two ingroup leaders, that is, King (as high-stature) with Howard (as low-stature), and between the two outgroup leaders, that is, Hitler (as high-stature) with Howard (as low-stature).

For all items except 'able to trick people', Levene's test for homogeneity of variance was violated. There tended to be greater variance in assessments about the low-stature leader, Howard, less about Hitler, and least variance about high-stature ingroup leader, King. To account for this, contrasts on these items were run which did not assume equal variance and these t-tests are indicated by non-integer degrees of freedom.

Charismatic leadership behaviours

Charismatic leader
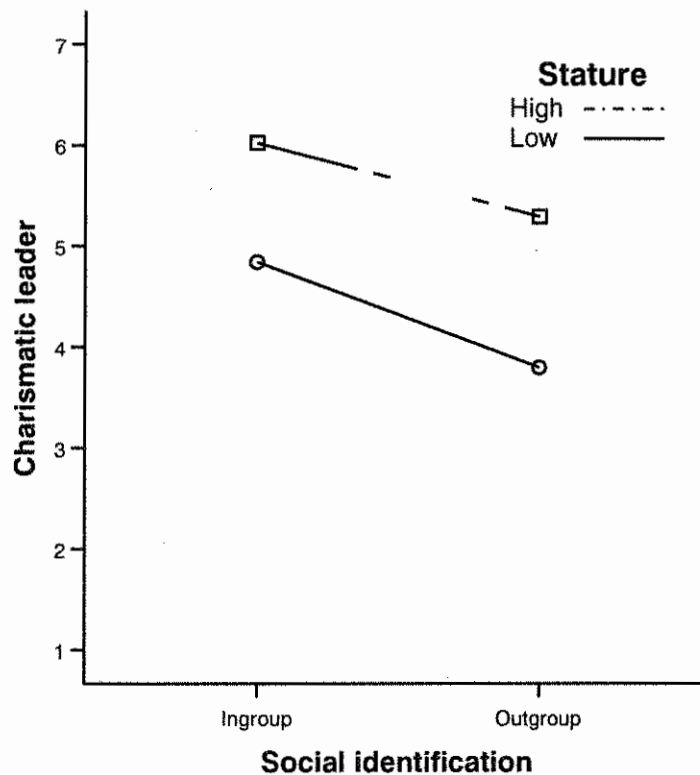
Figure 5.3. Charismatic leadership means for Social identification by Stature.

As expected, perceived charismatic stature had a large to medium effect on ratings of overtly labelled charismatic leadership, $F_{(1, 190)} = 45.408$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .193$. King was rated as more charismatic than Howard as ingroup leader, $t_{(70.8)} =$

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5.090, $p < .001$. Likewise, Hitler was rated as more charismatic than Howard as outgroup leader, $t_{(106.5)} = 4.985$, $p < .001$. Means are displayed in Figure 5.3.

There was a small to medium effect for social identification on overt attributions of charismatic leadership, $F_{(1, 190)} = 20.157$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .096$. As an ingroup leader, King, $M = 6.02$, $SD = 0.93$, $CI_{.95} = [5.75, 6.30]$, was rated as more charismatic than Hitler, $M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.58$, $CI_{.95} = [4.85, 5.73]$, $t_{(84.3)} = 2.841$, $p = .006$. More importantly, as predicted, Howard was perceived to be more charismatic as an ingroup leader, $M = 4.84$, $SD = 1.15$, $CI_{.95} = [4.46, 5.22]$, than as an outgroup leader, $M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.57$, $CI_{.95} = [3.38, 4.20]$, $t_{(92.7)} = 3.778$, $p < .001$. There was no interaction effect, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.633$, $p = .427$. Consequently, in spite of the expected impact of stature, social identification had an additive effect on charismatic perceptions.

Great speaker

There was a small to medium effect of social identification on attributions of being a great speaker, $F_{(1, 190)} = 13.976$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .069$. While King, $M = 6.43$, $SD = 0.58$, $CI_{.95} = [6.26, 6.61]$, and Hitler, $M = 5.69$, $SD = 1.48$, $CI_{.95} = [5.28, 6.10]$, were both perceived to be great speakers, King rated more highly than Hitler, $t_{(68.2)} = 3.345$, $p = .001$. As predicted, Howard as ingroup leader was rated more highly, $M = 4.97$, $SD = 1.15$, $CI_{.95} = [4.60, 5.35]$, than Howard as outgroup leader, $M = 4.34$, $SD = 1.49$, $CI_{.95} = [3.95, 4.74]$, $t_{(91.4)} = 2.323$, $p = .022$.

As one might expect for a quality associated strongly with charismatic leadership, there was a large effect for stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 58.623$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .236$. Comparing ingroup leaders, King scored higher than Howard, $t_{(52.4)} = 7.110$, $p < .001$. Similarly, in the comparison of outgroup leaders, Hitler scored higher than Howard, $t_{(107.0)} = 4.754$, $p < .001$. There was no interaction effect, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.096$,

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$p = .757$. In sum, judgements of being a great speaker were based strongly on charismatic stature with a smaller additive effect of social identification. Means are displayed in Figure 5.4.
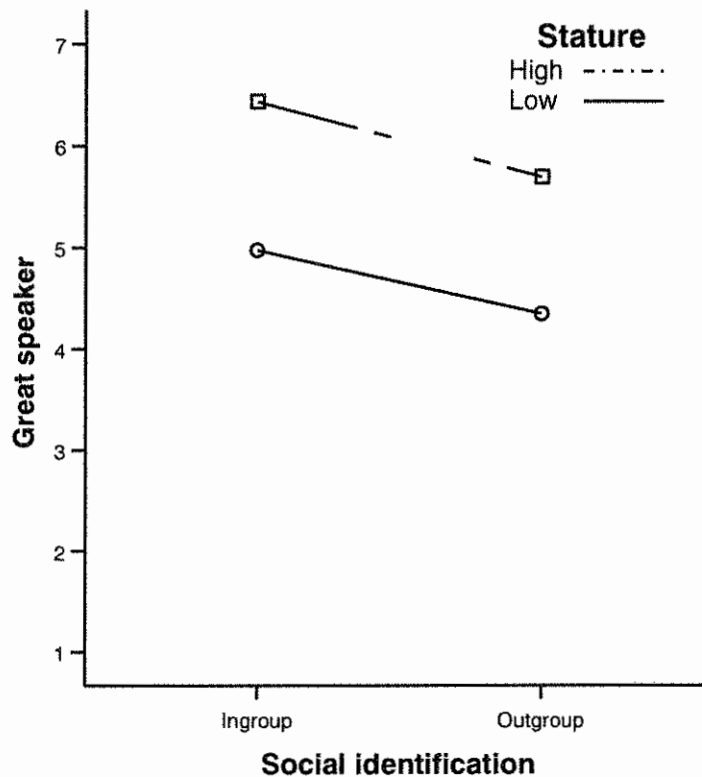
Figure 5.4. Great speaker means for Social identification by Stature.

Passionately devoted to the cause

Social identification had a large effect on the perception of leaders' devotion to their people's cause, $F_{(1, 190)} = 64.400, p < .001, \eta^2 = .253$. Both high-stature leaders were perceived to be passionately devoted. However, as an ingroup leader, King was perceived to be more devoted, $M = 6.54, SD = 0.59, CI_{.95} = [6.37, 6.72]$, than Hitler as an outgroup leader, $M = 5.08, SD = 1.73, CI_{.95} = [4.60, 5.56], t_{(63.9)} = 5.768, p < .001$. Also, along social identification lines, Howard as ingroup leader was viewed as more devoted, $M = 5.26, SD = 1.01, CI_{.95} = [4.93, 5.59]$, than Howard as

outgroup leader, $M = 3.57$, $SD = 1.59$, $CI_{.95} = [3.15, 3.99]$, $t_{(93.9)} = 6.394$, $p < .001$.

Means are displayed in Figure 5.5.

Stature played a medium to large role in attributions of passionate devotion, $F_{(1, 190)} = 50.116$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .209$. In the ingroup leader comparison, Howard rated lower than King, $t_{(57.0)} = 6.941$, $p < .001$. Similarly, in the comparison of outgroup leaders, Howard rated lower than Hitler, $t_{(104.2)} = 4.749$, $p < .001$. The interaction of Social identification × Stature did not affect ratings, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.334$, $p = .564$. Thus, both social identification and stature had similar additive effects on perceptions of passionate devotion.
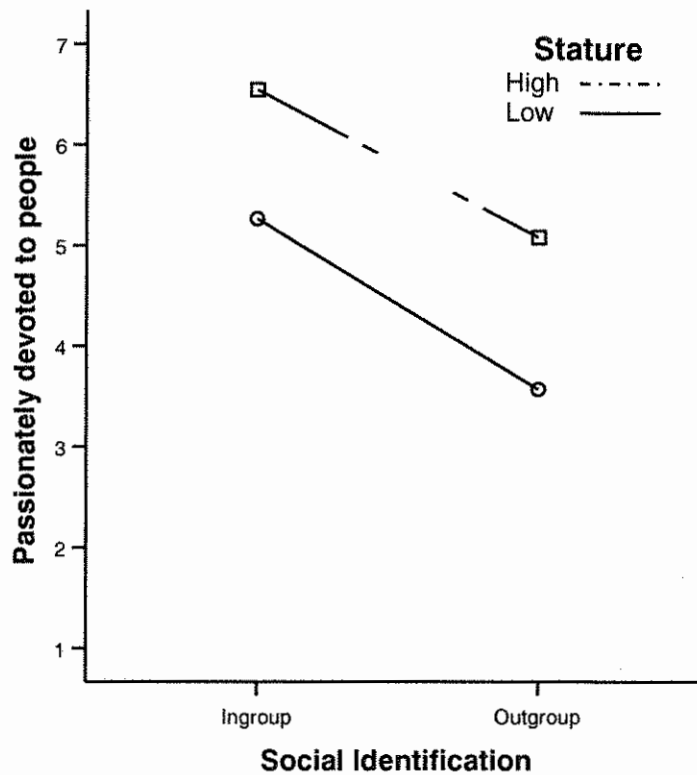
Figure 5.5. Passionately devoted means for Social identification by Stature.

Attractive vision

There was a main effect for social identification on the way leaders were perceived to paint a vision which people found attractive, $F_{(1, 190)} = 19.028$, $p < .001$,

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$\eta^2 = .091$. Contrasts showed that King as ingroup leader, $M = 6.15$, $SD = 0.67$,

$CI_{.95} = [5.95, 6.35]$, painted a more attractive vision than Hitler as outgroup leader,

$M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.63$, $CI_{.95} = [4.70, 5.61]$, $t_{(69.3)} = 4.061$, $p < .001$. However, in

recognition of their charismatic stature, confidence intervals show that both were

rated above the midpoint. As predicted, Howard as an ingroup leader was rated more

highly, $M = 4.95$, $SD = 1.18$, $CI_{.95} = [4.56, 5.34]$, than as an outgroup leader,

$M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.43$, $CI_{.95} = [3.92, 4.67]$, $t_{(88.7)} = 2.438$, $p = .017$.
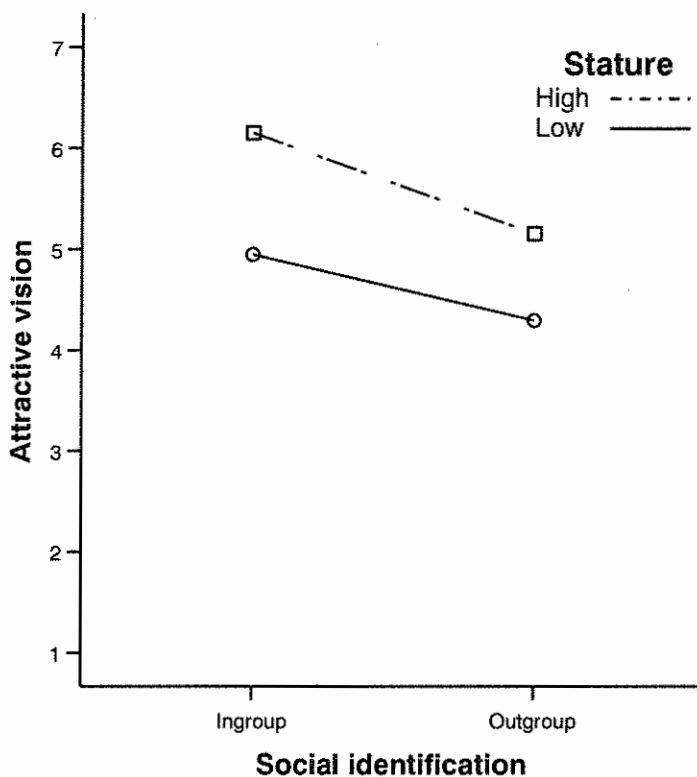
Figure 5.6. Attractive vision means for Social identification by Stature.

There was also a main effect for charismatic stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 29.726$,

$p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .135$. As one might expect for a quality associated strongly with high-

stature charismatic leadership, in the comparison of ingroup leaders King rated more

highly than Howard, $t_{(55.7)} = 5.585$, $p < .001$. Similarly, in the comparison of

outgroup leaders Hitler also rated more highly than Howard, $t_{(102.2)} = 2.937$, $p = .004$.

The effects of social identification and stature were additive, as there was no interaction effect for Social identification × Stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.825, p = .365$. Means are displayed in Figure 5.6.

Personality traits

Pleasant personality
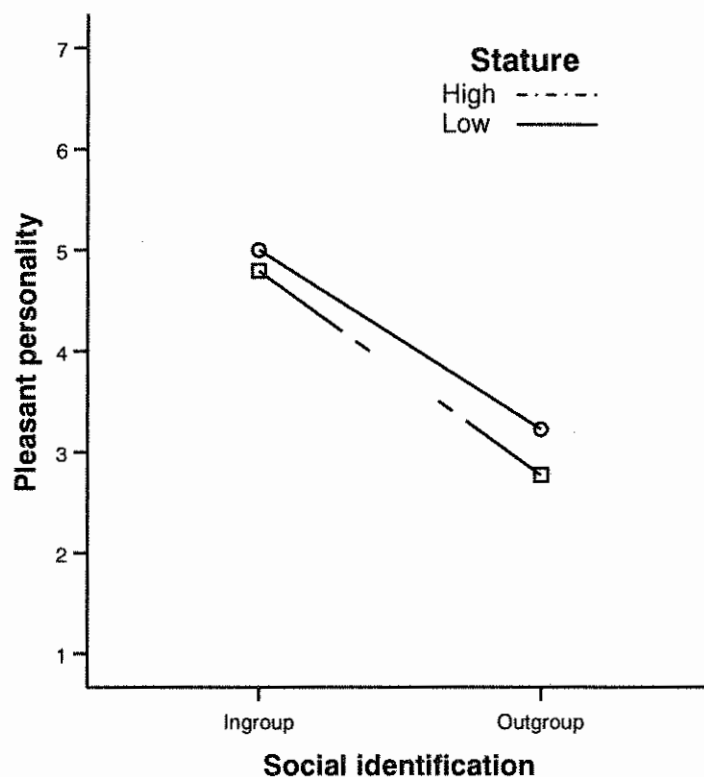
Figure 5.7. Pleasant personality means for Social identification by Stature.

There was a very clear social identification distinction between the attribution of a pleasant personalities, $F_{(1, 190)} = 126.007, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .399$, which replicated the result from the previous study. Ingroup leader, King, was perceived as having a pleasant personality, $M = 4.79, SD = 0.90, CI_{.95} = [4.53, 5.06]$, while outgroup leader, Hitler, was perceived to have an unpleasant personality, $M = 2.77$, $SD = 1.28, CI_{.95} = [2.41, 3.12], t_{(91.5)} = 9.153, p < .001$. In the same way, Howard as ingroup leader, was attributed a pleasant personality, $M = 5.00, SD = 0.93$,

$CI_{.95} = [4.69, 5.31]$, while as an outgroup leader he was not, $M = 3.22$, $SD = 1.36$, $CI_{.95} = [2.87, 3.58]$, $t_{(93.8)} = 7.583$, $p = .017$.

The main effect of stature approached statistical significance, $F_{(1, 190)} = 3.817$, $p = .052$, partial $\eta^2 = .020$. However, there were no differences between King and Howard as ingroup leaders, $t_{(77.9)} = 1.029$, $p = .307$, nor between Hitler and Howard as outgroup leaders, $t_{(107.8)} = 1.806$, $p = .074$. There was no interaction effect of Social identification × Stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.538$, $p = .464$. Thus, only social identification affected the attribution of pleasant personality. Means are displayed in Figure 5.7.

Able to trick people into believing

Social identification had the major effect on differences between attributions of the leader tricking people into believing him, $F_{(1, 190)} = 126.737$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .400$. Replicating previous results, Hitler as an outgroup leader, $M = 5.10$, $SD = 1.46$, $CI_{.95} = [4.69, 5.50]$, was credited with having tricked people to a far greater extent than King, as an ingroup leader, $M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.06$, $CI_{.95} = [2.15, 2.78]$, $t_{(190)} = 10.094$, $p < .001$. Howard as an outgroup leader also rated as highly tricky, $M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.20$, $CI_{.95} = [4.98, 5.61]$. In contrast, those who saw him as an ingroup leader gave him a more neutral rating, $M = 3.71$, $SD = 1.41$, $CI_{.95} = [3.25, 4.17]$, $t_{(190)} = 5.893$, $p < .001$.

To a lesser extent, stature also contributed to trickiness perceptions, $F_{(1, 190)} = 14.820$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .072$. However, this was significantly moderated by an interaction with social identification, $F_{(1, 190)} = 7.821$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .040$, with separation only occurring between ingroup leaders. King rated much lower than the Howard, $t_{(190)} = 4.407$, $p < .001$. Interestingly, in the comparison of outgroup leaders, Howard rated as slightly more tricky than Hitler, although not significantly,

$t_{(190)} = 0.802, p = .424$. Thus social identification played the major role in determining how tricky people viewed the leaders with stature moderating this effect. Means are displayed in Figure 5.8.
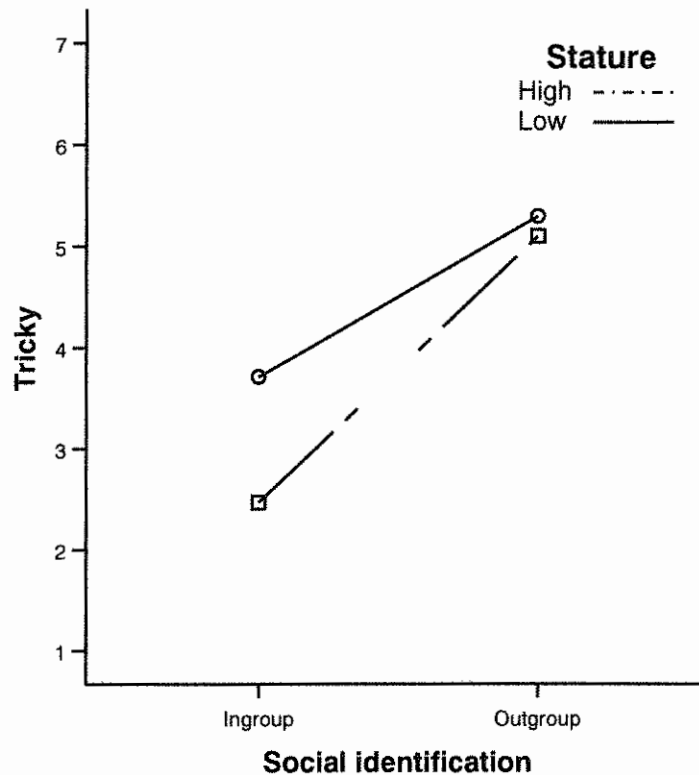
Figure 5.8. Able to trick people means for Social identification by Stature.

Good at manipulating

Social identification had a large main effect on attributions of being manipulative, $F_{(1, 190)} = 79.547, p < .001, \eta^2 = .295$. As an outgroup leader, Hitler was viewed as highly manipulative, $M = 5.90, SD = 1.13, CI_{.95} = [5.59, 6.22]$, compared with a neutral ingroup rating for King, $M = 4.02, SD = 1.56, CI_{.95} = [3.56, 4.48]$, $t_{(80.9)} = 6.784, p < .001$. In the same way, Howard as outgroup leader, $M = 5.48, SD = 1.05, CI_{.95} = [5.21, 5.76]$, was rated as manipulative compared with a neutral ingroup rating, $M = 4.03, SD = 1.46, CI_{.95} = [3.55, 4.51]$, $t_{(61.6)} = 5.316$, $p = .017$. Means are displayed in Figure 5.9.

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There was no main effect for stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 1.238$, $p = .276$, nor an interaction effect, $F_{(1, 190)} = 1.293$, $p = .257$. Thus, social identification played the only role in determining how manipulative leaders were perceived.
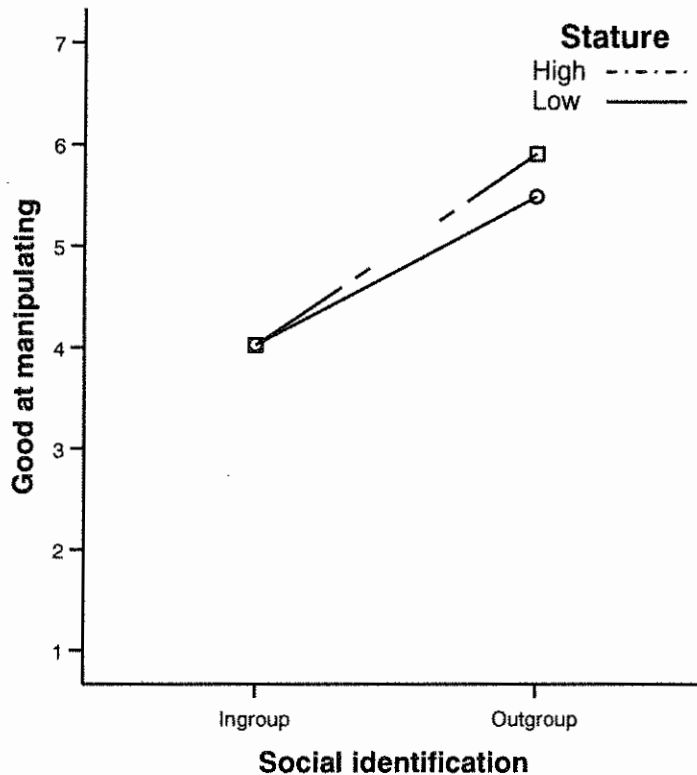
Figure 5.9. Good at manipulating means for Social identification by Stature.

Strong personality

Charismatic stature had the only effect on strength of personality attributions, $F_{(1, 190)} = 43.326$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .186$. In the comparison of ingroup leaders King, $M = 6.00$, $SD = 0.79$, $CI_{.95} = [5.77, 6.23]$, was viewed as having a stronger personality than Howard, $M = 5.03$, $SD = 0.97$, $CI_{.95} = [4.71, 5.35]$, $t_{(70.9)} = 4.969$, $p < .001$. Similarly for outgroup leaders, Hitler, $M = 5.88$, $SD = 1.04$, $CI_{.95} = [5.59, 6.17]$, was rated as having a stronger personality than Howard, $M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.95$, $CI_{.95} = [4.58, 5.21]$, $t_{(107.9)} = 4.634$, $p = .017$. However, it should be noted that confidence intervals indicate that Howard was still credited with a strong personality.

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There was no main effect for social identification, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.677, p = .412$, and no interaction, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.002, p = .962$. Means are displayed in Figure 5.10.
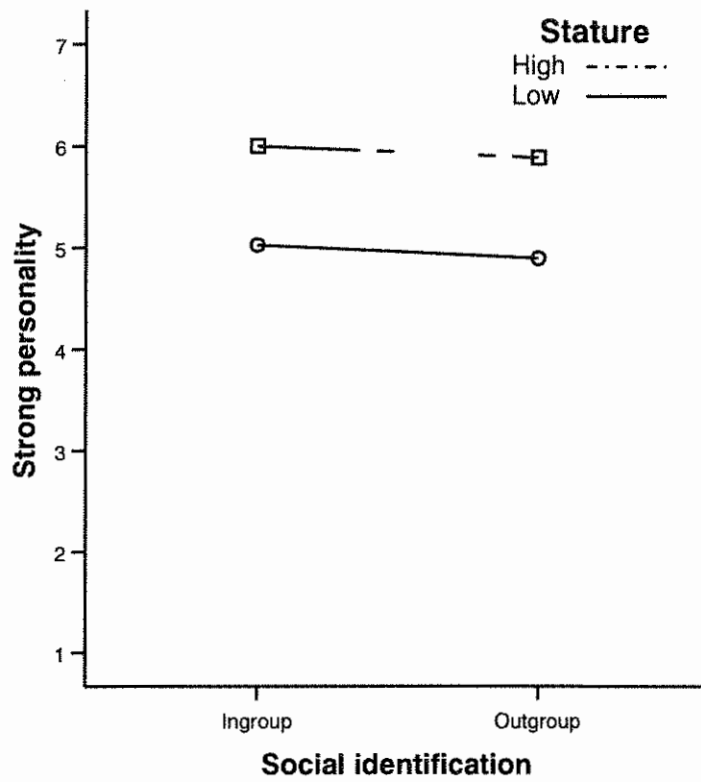
Figure 5.10. Strong personality means for Social identification by Stature.

Summary of leader attributions

Social identification was the only significant factor in attributions about leader pleasantness and manipulativeness. Social identification also played a stronger role than stature in attributions about leader trickery and devotion to the cause. Despite the larger contribution of stature for items specifically associated with King and Hitler, social identification also had additive effects on painting an attractive vision, for being a great speaker, and for displaying charismatic leadership. The only leader quality which stature alone determined was strength of personality.

Thus the personality profile of King as ingroup leader was more positive than that of Hitler as outgroup leader (P5.9) and this pattern was replicated for Howard as

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ingroup and outgroup leader (P5.5). The charismatic leadership qualities of King were equal to or more positive than the qualities of Hitler (P5.4) and this was replicated for Howard as ingroup and outgroup leader (P5.6) including for the explicit rating of charisma. Further, high-stature leaders were rated more highly on charismatic leadership dimensions than low-stature leaders (P5.1) while there was little or no effect on charismatic personality dimensions (P5.2). Except for a small interaction effect on trickiness, where social identification and stature both played a role on items they had only additive effects (P5.10).

Follower attributions

Attributions about the followers were analysed in the same way as the leader attributions. Graphs of means are also set out in the same way. Only the two items "natural reaction" and "common sense" violated homogeneity of variance, and the related contrasts were again indicated by adjusted non-integer degrees of freedom.

Thought processes

Using reason and thought

There was a large to very large effect for social identification on attributions about followers using reason and thought, $F_{(1, 190)} = 112.609, p < .001, \eta^2 = .395$. Followers of the ingroup leader King, were credited with using more reason and thought, $M = 5.46, SD = 1.07, CI_{.95} = [5.14, 5.77]$, than followers of the outgroup leader Hitler, who were credited with using little, $M = 2.98, SD = 1.39, CI_{.95} = [2.59, 3.37], t_{(190)} = 9.791, p < .001$. The same pattern was found for Howard supporters. As predicted, those viewed as supporting an ingroup leader were credited with using more reason and thought, $M = 4.95, SD = 1.06, CI_{.95} = [4.60, 5.30]$, than those

supporting an outgroup leader, $M = 3.57$, $SD = 1.35$, $CI_{.95} = [3.21, 3.92]$, $t_{(190)} =$ 5.287, $p < .001$.
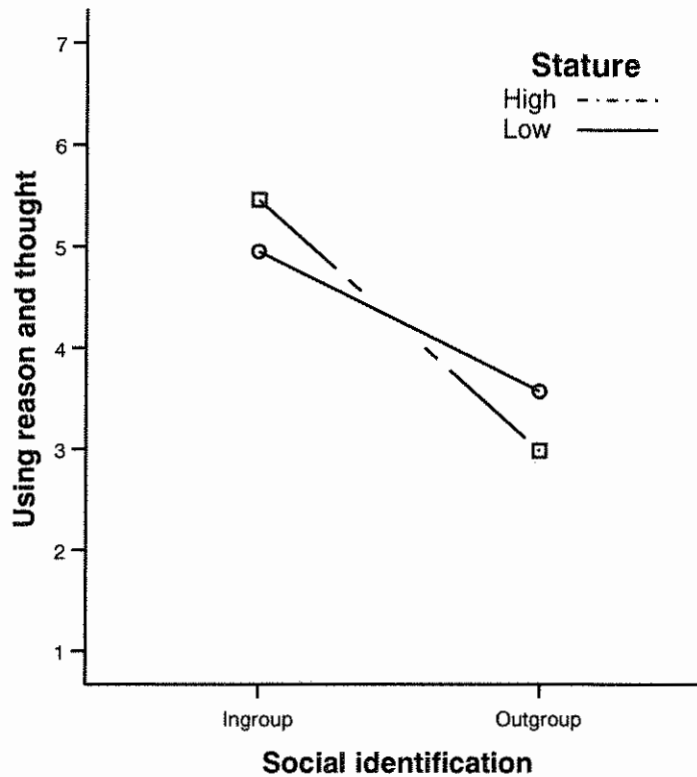
Figure 5.11. Using reason and thought means for Social identification by Stature.

There was no main effect for stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.047$, $p = .828$, however, stature moderated the effect of social identification, $F_{(1, 190)} = 9.129$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .046$. There was no difference between followers of ingroup leaders, $t_{(190)} = 1.859$, $p = .065$. With regard to outgroup leaders, those following Hitler were viewed as using even less reason and thought than those supporting Howard, $t_{(190)} = 2.465$, $p = .015$. Thus social identification had a major effect on the attribution of using reason and thought as an explanation for why people followed their leader with increasing charismatic stature accentuating the effect. Means are displayed in Figure 5.11.

Common sense
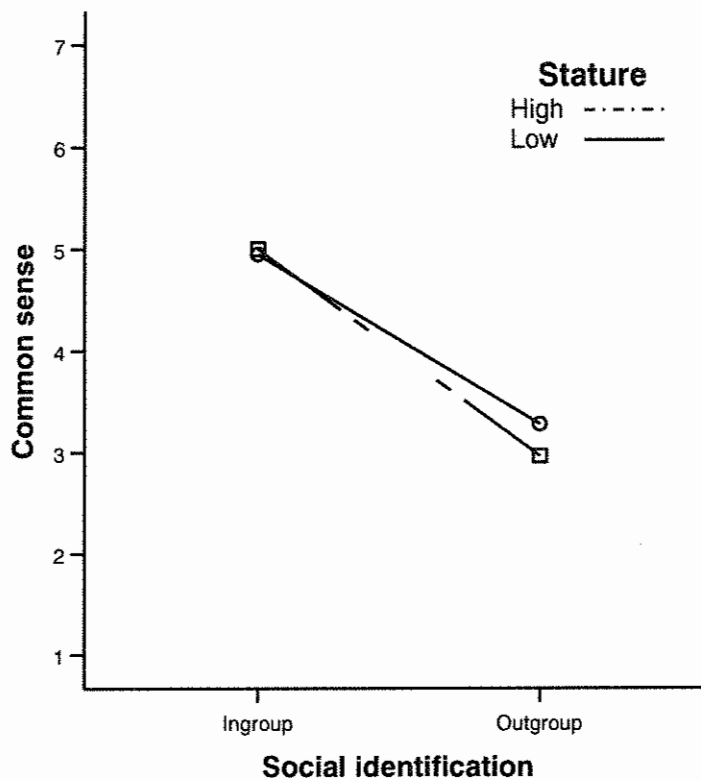
Figure 5.12. Common sense means for Social identification by Stature.

There was a large to very large effect for social identification on attributions

of common sense to followers, $F_{(3, 190)}$ = 115.699, $p < .001$, η^2 = .378. As found in

the previous study, followers of ingroup leader King, M = 5.00, SD = 0.97, $CI_{.95}$ =

[4.71, 5.29], were credited with using common sense whereas followers of outgroup

leader Hitler were not, M = 2.96, SD = 1.34, $CI_{.95}$ = [2.59, 3.34], $t_{(92.3)}$ = 8.696,

$p < .001$. Likewise, supporters of Howard as ingroup leader, M = 4.95, SD = 0.93,

$CI_{.95}$ = [4.64, 5.25], were also credited with common sense whereas supporters of

him as outgroup leader were not, M = 3.28, SD = 1.34, $CI_{.95}$ = [2.92, 3.63], $t_{(93.6)}$ =

7.232, $p < .001$. Means are displayed in Figure 5.12.

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There were no effects for stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.576$, $p = .499$, or for Social identification × Stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 1.132$, $p = .289$. Thus, judgements about follower common sense were solely affected by the level social identification with that leader.

Good at noticing influence
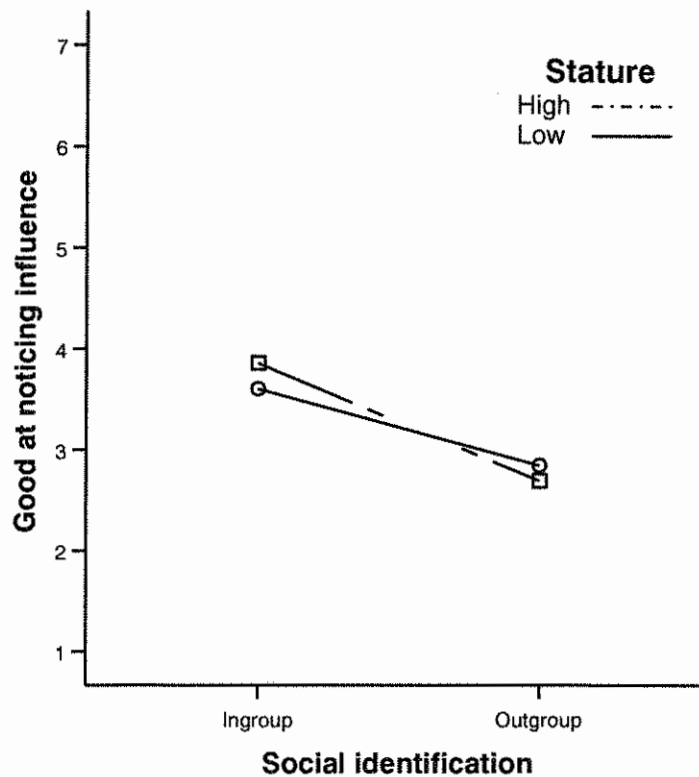
Figure 5.13. Good at noticing influence means for Social identification by Stature.

Social identification had the sole effect on attributions about how good followers were at noticing when someone was trying to influence them, $F_{(1, 190)} = 35.498$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .157$. Followers of ingroup leader, King, $M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.24$, $CI_{.95} = [3.49, 4.23]$, were viewed as better at noticing influence attempts than followers of outgroup leader, Hitler, $M = 2.69$, $SD = 1.08$, $CI_{.95} = [2.39, 2.99]$, $t_{(190)} = 5.180$, $p < .001$. Supporters of Howard were viewed in the same way. Those supporting an ingroup leader, $M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.33$, $CI_{.95} = [3.17, 4.04]$, were

perceived to be better at noticing influence than those supporting an outgroup leader, $M = 2.84$, $SD = 0.85$, $CI_{.95} = [2.62, 3.07]$, $t_{(190)} = 3.276$, $p = .001$.

There was no effect for stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.097$, $p = .755$, nor an interaction effect, $F_{(1, 190)} = 1.576$, $p = .211$, indicating judgements about follower awareness of influence were exclusively affected by social identification. Means are displayed in Figure 5.13.

Brainwashed
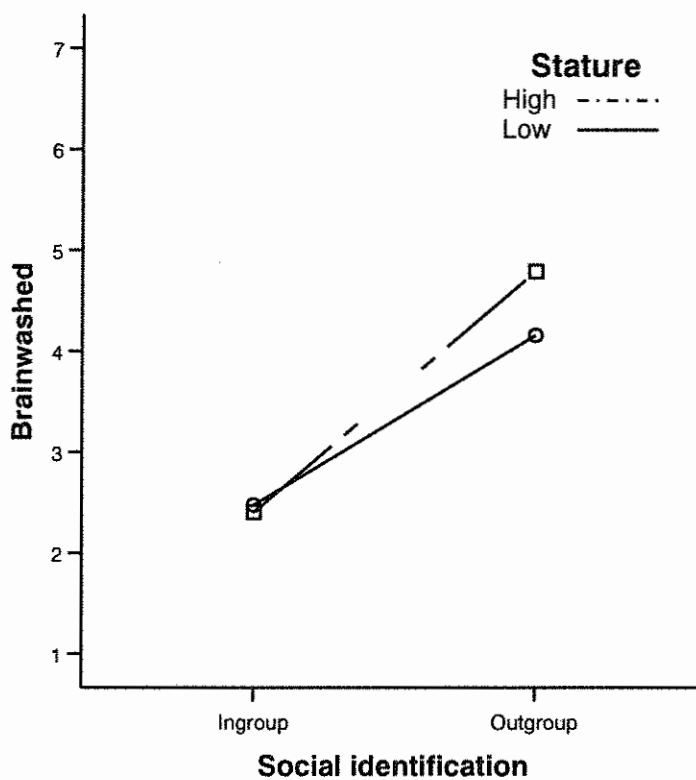
Figure 5.14. Brainwashed means for Social identification by Stature.

Social identification had a large to very large effect on attributions about followers being brainwashed by their leaders, $F_{(1, 190)} = 102.587$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .351$. Those following the ingroup leader King, were viewed as not having been brainwashed, $M = 2.40$, $SD = 1.06$, $CI_{.95} = [2.09, 2.72]$, while those following the outgroup leader Hitler were viewed as having been brainwashed, $M = 4.79$,

$SD = 1.55$, $CI_{.95} = [4.36, 5.22]$, $t_{(190)} = 8.534$, $p < .001$. Attributions about supporters of Howard followed the same pattern. Those perceived to be following an ingroup leader were less brainwashed, $M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.37$, $CI_{.95} = [2.02, 2.92]$, than those following an outgroup leader, $M = 4.16$, $SD = 1.45$, $CI_{.95} = [3.77, 4.54$, $t_{(190)} = 5.832$, $p < .001$.

Stature of the leader had no main effect on attributions of brainwashing, $F_{(1, 190)} = 1.957$, $p < .164$, nor was there any interaction effect, $F_{(1, 190)} = 3.080$, $p < .081$. This indicated that judgements about follower brainwashing were only affected by social identification. Means are displayed in Figure 5.14.

Easily swayed or persuaded

Social identification had a medium to large effect on attributions about the persuadability of followers, $F_{(1, 190)} = 37.345$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .164$. Followers of Hitler as outgroup leader, $M = 3.98$, $SD = 1.32$, $CI_{.95} = [3.61, 4.35]$, were viewed as more easily swayed or persuaded than followers of King as ingroup leader, $M = 3.23$, $SD = 1.32$, $CI_{.95} = [2.84, 3.62]$, $t_{(190)} = 2.904$, $p = .004$. Following the same trend, supporters of Howard as an outgroup leader, $M = 4.76$, $SD = 1.23$, $CI_{.95} = [4.43, 5.08]$, were viewed as far more persuadable than supporters of Howard as an ingroup leader, $M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.24$, $CI_{.95} = [2.83, 3.64]$, $t_{(190)} = 5.696$, $p < .001$.

There was also a small effect for stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 4.465$, $p = .036$, $\eta^2 = .023$, and an interaction of Social identification × Stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 4.273$, $p = .040$, $\eta^2 = .022$. This is evidenced in the differences between ingroup and outgroup comparisons. There was no difference for those following ingroup leaders, $t_{(190)} = 0.031$, $p = .976$. Surprisingly however, in relation to outgroup leaders, supporters of Howard were viewed as far more persuadable than followers of Hitler, $t_{(190)} = 3.182$, $p = .002$. Means are displayed in Figure 5.15.

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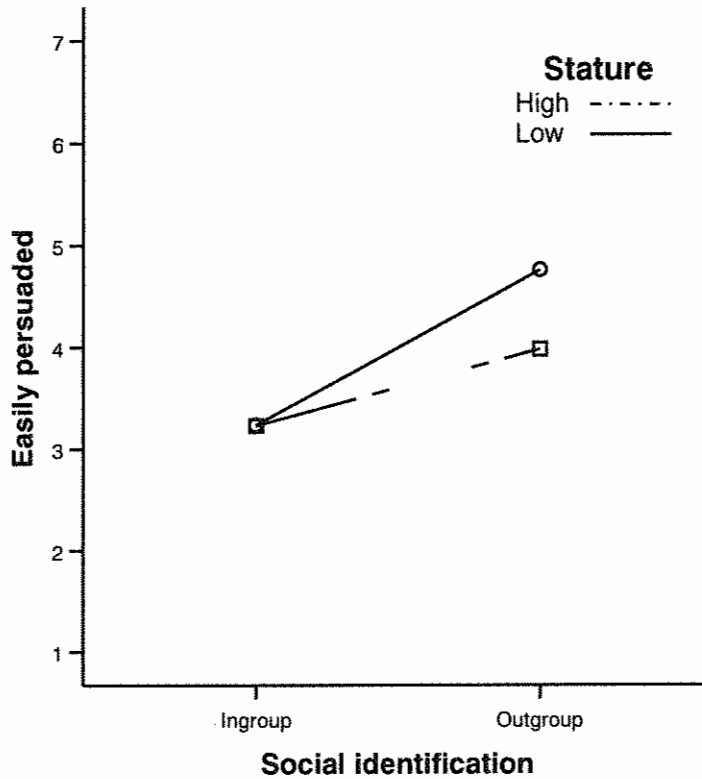
Figure 5.15. Easily persuaded means for Social identification by Stature.

Emotional reactions

Caught up in the heat of the moment

Attributions of being caught up in the heat of the moment were affected by

social identification, $F_{(1, 190)} = 17.665$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .085$. While followers of the

ingroup leader King were rated neutrally for being caught up, $M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.48$,

$CI_{.95} = [3.40, 4.28]$, followers of the outgroup leader Hitler were viewed as having

been more caught up, $M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.53$, $CI_{.95} = [4.29, 5.14]$, $t_{(190)} = 2.844$,

$p = .005$. The identical pattern was found for supporters of Howard. Those perceived

to be following an ingroup leader, $M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.47$, $CI_{.95} = [2.57, 3.54]$, were

less caught up than those perceived to be following an outgroup leader, $M = 4.03$,

$SD = 1.58$, $CI_{.95} = [3.62, 4.45]$, $t_{(190)} = 3.097$, $p = .002$.

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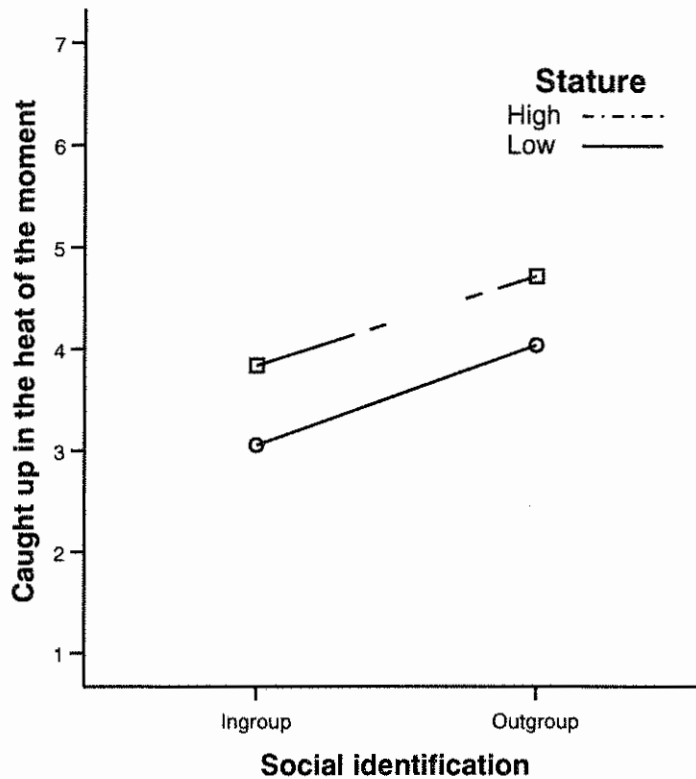
Figure 5.16. Caught up in the heat of the moment means for Social identification by Stature.

There was also a main effect for stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 10.947, p = .001, \eta^2 = .054$, and no interaction effect, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.059, p = .808$. This indicated that the followers of high-stature leaders were generally thought to be more caught up in the heat of the moment than followers of the low-stature leader. In a comparison of ingroup followers, those following Howard were viewed as less caught up than those following King, $t_{(190)} = 2.355, p = .020$. Equally, in a comparison of outgroup followers, those following Howard were viewed as less caught up than those following Hitler, $t_{(190)} = 2.334, p = .021$. Thus although stature affected attributions of being caught up in the heat of the moment as a reason for following leaders, social identification played a stronger additive role. Means are displayed in Figure 5.16.

Emotional rather than rational
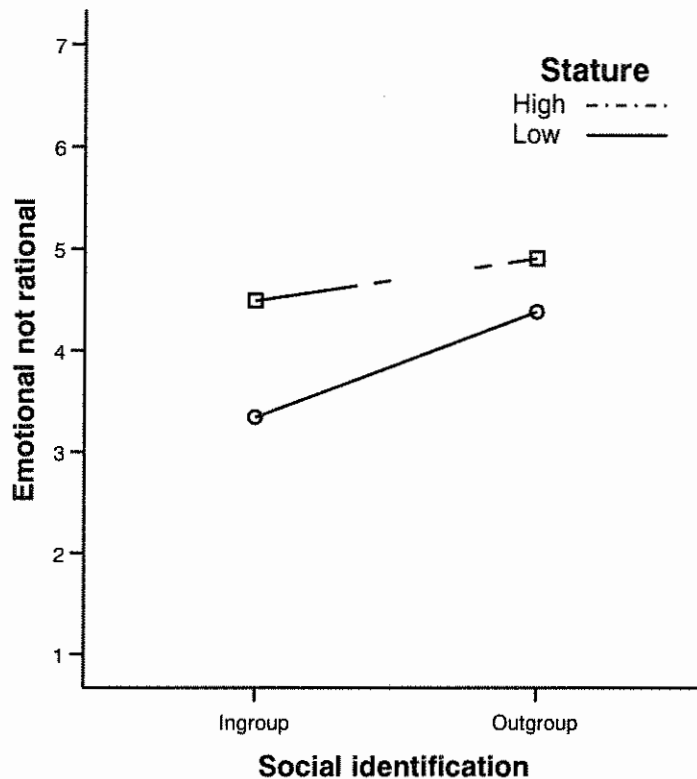
Figure 5.17. Reacting emotionally rather than rationally means for Social identification by Stature.

Stature had a small to medium main effect on attributions of emotionality over rationality, $F_{(1, 190)} = 19.327, p < .001, \eta^2 = .092$. Amongst ingroup leaders, those following King, $M = 4.49, SD = 1.21, CI_{.95} = [4.13, 4.85]$, were viewed as reacting more emotionally rather than rationally in comparison to Howard supporters, $M = 3.34, SD = 1.17, CI_{.95} = [2.96, 3.73], t_{(190)} = 4.001, p < .001$. In a similar way, with respect to outgroup leaders those following Hitler, $M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.24, CI_{.95} = [4.56, 5.25]$, were viewed as more emotional than supporters of Howard, $M = 4.38, SD = 1.51, CI_{.95} = [3.98, 4.78], t_{(190)} = 2.100, p = .037$.

Although omnibus tests indicated a small to medium effect for social identification, $F_{(1, 190)} = 14.581, p < .001, \eta^2 = .071$, and no interaction effect for Social identification × Stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 2.680, p = .103$, contrasts showed the effect

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only occurred in the low-stature comparison. Those following Howard as an ingroup leader were perceived to have reacted less emotionally and more rationally than those following Howard as an outgroup leader, $t_{(190)} = 3.800$, $p < .001$. On the other hand, the difference between Hitler and King was not statistically significant, $t_{(190)} = 1.567$, $p < .119$.

Tukey's honestly real difference test showed a strong ingroup bias with Howard ingroup supporters distinct from the other three means. In summary, despite the effect of stature, there was still an effect for group however this manifested in the differences between views of Howard, not between King and Hitler. Means are displayed in Figure 5.17.

Natural reaction – anyone would be convinced by him

Surprisingly, viewing follower reactions to the leaders as natural was solely affected by stature, $F_{(1, 190)} = 20.900$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .099$, and this replicates the finding in the previous study. Amongst ingroup leaders, being convinced by King, $M = 3.62$, $SD = 1.73$, $CI_{.95} = [3.11, 4.13]$, was viewed as a more natural reaction than being convinced by Howard, $M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.25$, $CI_{.95} = [2.09, 2.91]$, $t_{(80.6)} = 3.440$, $p < .001$. Likewise, amongst outgroup leaders, being convinced by Hitler, $M = 3.31$, $SD = 1.42$, $CI_{.95} = [2.91, 3.70]$, was viewed as more natural than being convinced by Howard, $M = 2.57$, $SD = 1.16$, $CI_{.95} = [2.26, 2.87]$, $t_{(98.5)} = 2.969$, $p = .004$.

Despite reactions to King being more viewed as more natural than reactions to Hitler, there was no effect for social identification, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.357$, $p = 551$, and no interaction effect, $F_{(1, 190)} = 0.878$, $p = .350$. Means are displayed in Figure 5.18.
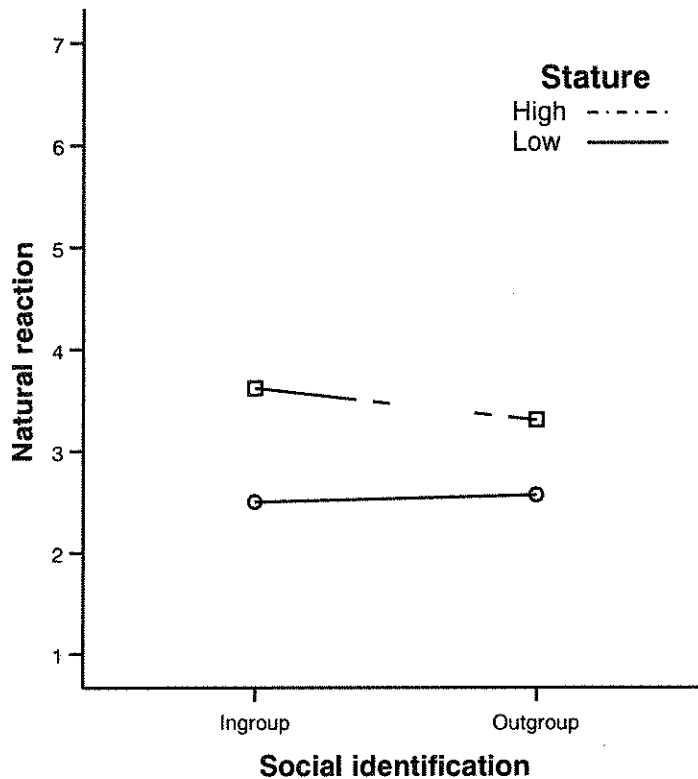
Figure 5.18. Natural reaction means for Social identification by Stature.

Summary of follower attributions

These attributions were explanations for why people followed their leader.

Social identification played a role in all assessments except for naturalness of

reaction. With respect to cognitive abilities, group played the only role in attributions

about being brainwashed, being good at noticing influence attempts, and using

common sense, while stature moderated the effect of social identification on

attributions about persuadability and using reason and thought. With respect to

affective responses, social identification and stature had additive effects on

attributions about being caught up in the heat of the moment and being emotional

rather than rational, while stature played the sole role in attributions about how

natural it was for anyone to be convinced by the leader.

Thus the emotionality and thought processes of King supporters were regarded more positively than those of Hitler supporters (P5.7). Only the results for natural reaction did not support P5.7. These results were replicated for Howard as ingroup and outgroup leader (P5.8). There was little or no effect for stature on thought processes (P5.10) however there were effects for emotionality (P5.9). Interaction effects on using reason and thought and easily persuaded were small. Where both played a role, social identification and charismatic stature had additive effects on other items (Query 5.11).

Discussion

This study produced two important results. First, it demonstrated that social identity perceptions play an important role in the attribution of charismatic leadership above and beyond the display of behaviours typically associated with charisma. Second, it showed that the differential attributions of charismatic leadership to a single leader can be explained by these social identity perceptions. The study also confirmed the vital role social identity plays in attributions about charismatic followership. This section will examine how attributions of charismatic leadership and followership were affected by the charismatic norm, and social identity, comparison processes, and the implications for the ensuing direction of this thesis.

Leader attributions

As expected, King and Hitler—leaders greatly reputed for their charismatic leadership—rated more highly than Howard on all four charismatic leadership dimensions. This was also the case for having a strong personality: a trait commonly associated with charismatic leadership (e.g., House, 1977; House et al., 1991;

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Pohorila & Taran, 2005). On the other hand, differences in the leaders' reputed charismatic stature had little or no effect on the other personality dimensions of being pleasant, tricky, or manipulative.

Instead, impressions of these three personality traits were strongly affected by the level of social identity, as measured by the level of agreement with the leader's beliefs and values. This quite clearly supports the contention that the social construction of a leader's charismatic personality is based on social identity (Hogg, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2005). Impressions of these traits appear to telegraph the rater's social attraction to, or repulsion from, the charismatic leader because of the salient similarities or differences. Of even greater interest are the results that show that the level of shared social identity also affected what could be assumed to be quite objective measures, the four charismatic leadership dimensions: the explicit measure of charismatic leadership; rhetorical ability; articulation of a vision; and passion for the cause.

Thus, the hypothesis that social identification plays an important role in attributions of charismatic leadership and personality qualities was strongly supported. Furthermore, this was the case both for leaders who exhibited behaviours strongly associated with charismatic leadership, and for the leader who exhibited behaviours less strongly. Social identification affected judgements about King and Hitler, the quintessential charismatic ingroup and outgroup leaders. More importantly, judgements about the same leader, Howard, followed very similar social identity patterns.

It could be argued that the groups essentially saw Howard as two different people, with differences based on their level of agreement with the values and beliefs he espouses. Those perceiving Howard to be an outgroup leader saw him as a far less

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attractive person than those perceiving him to be an ingroup leader. Negative

perceptions of leader personality were manifest as perceptions of Howard as

unpleasant, manipulative, and tricky. This supports the role of social attraction in the

construction of a positive leader personality, as laid out by the social identity

perspective (Hogg, 2001b), and also supports one of the basic tenets of this thesis:

that the group will construct and attribute a negative charismatic personality to an

outgroup leader. Hillary Clinton famously remarked that she was a "Rorschach test"

for the nation, with intense reactions saying more about those reacting to her than

about her (Hitt, 2007; Lowinger, 1998; Lydon, 2007).

Observing the leader from an ingroup or outgroup perspective also coloured

what most people would assume to be objective judgements about charismatic

leadership qualities such as painting an attractive vision, being passionately devoted

to the cause, being a great speaker, and being perceived as a charismatic leader.

Certainly the transformational and charismatic leadership theories (Bass, 1985;

Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993) assume a pre-existing

uniform level of commitment to the organisation or team, and presume that the level

of charismatic attribution is based solely on the "charismatic" leader behaviours

displayed. It is argued here that even perceptions of the level of those behaviours are

subject to social identification processes, and are therefore subjective attributions

about the leader. Social identification had an additive effect in these judgements

even when charismatic stature had been taken into account. This shows that

perceptions of charismatic leadership qualities are subject to the dual assessments of

(i) comparison against the commonly-agreed charismatic leadership subtype; and (ii)

comparison against the currently-operating social identity, made salient by the social

context at the time. In this study, social identification was based on the values and beliefs commonly associated with each leader and their followers.

The interaction effect of social identification with charismatic stature on trickiness is of interest. Rather than being on a par with King, as an ingroup leader Howard was viewed as far trickier, while as an outgroup leader he was rated as tricky as Hitler. In contrast, the other personality attributions of manipulativeness and pleasantness were totally unaffected by charismatic stature. Howard as an ingroup leader was viewed as pleasant and manipulative as King, while Howard as an outgroup leader was viewed as unpleasant and manipulative as Hitler. This higher rating of Howard's trickiness by the ingroup may be due to the memorable label, "mean and tricky", which originated as a specific description of his government in a leaked internal memo which received much publicity some years ago (Conroy, 2001). This confirms that social contexts are unique and specific for each leader and that assessments of charismatic attribution involve making meaning of that context in a dynamic and highly nuanced way (Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991).

Follower attributions

Social identity also played the major role in the attributions about follower thought processes. Remembering that social identity was operationalised as the level of agreement with the leader's values and beliefs, the thought processes of supporters of ingroup leaders were rated more positively than those supporting outgroup leaders. In other words, where participants agreed with the leader's stance, they saw supporters of that leader as having used more reason and common sense and as being more aware of, and resistant to, attempts to influence.

Ultimately, these are self-attributions—inner explanations to the perceiver about why they and others like them, support an ingroup leader. From within the

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charismatic influence process, followers will normalise their fealty and obedience responses as informed, independent of influence, and as rational and proper. In contrast, to explain fealty and obedience to a charismatic leader whose values and beliefs we abhor, attributions necessarily involve pathologising follower thought processes because the alternative is a legitimisation of those distasteful beliefs, and an admission of a weakness in our own stance. From outside the charismatic influence process we tell ourselves that "these people" must be more ignorant, and susceptible to influence attempts; and they must have used little reasoning or common sense.

Leaders' relative charismatic stature had little or no effect on these attributions. This suggests that explanations to the self about follower thought processes are driven by emotion—a gut response of attraction or repulsion to what the leader and followers stand for—rather than by the repertoire of behaviours thought to facilitate charismatic influence which form part of the charismatic leadership subtype.

In contrast to attributions of follower thought processes, attributions about follower emotional responses exhibited a different pattern, being associated with both the leader's social identity and their charismatic stature. Whereas social identity comparison had a large effect on attributions about follower thought processes, charismatic norm comparison had small to negligible effect. For attributions about follower emotional responses, both comparison processes had small to medium effects. Support for an outgroup leader, versus an ingroup leader, was explained as reacting more emotionally rather than rationally and being more caught up in the heat of the moment. However, supporting King or Hitler (as highly reputed charismatic leaders) versus Howard was also explained in the same way: a more

spontaneous and emotional response. Clearly, induced emotional responses are not only seen as less desirable (as demonstrated by the social identity effect), but are also strongly associated with our expectations of the charismatic influence process and therefore with leaders who fit the charismatic mould.

Thus, the other main hypothesis that attributions about the leader's followers would be strongly affected by social identification was also strongly supported. Explanations as to why people followed their leader involved thought processes and emotional susceptibility, and were largely coloured by social identification levels. It was as if the decision to follow a perceived outgroup leader was almost incomprehensible, and could therefore only be the result of faulty follower thinking and leader machiavellianism, rather than leadership abilities. In comparison, the decision to follow a perceived ingroup leader required little or no explanation, it was "obviously the right thing to do".

Relative charismatic stature also played the sole role in attributions about the naturalness of being convinced by the leader. The two-part structure of the item "It was a natural reaction—anyone would be convinced by him" may have caused confusion, and as more people are perceived to have been convinced by King and Hitler than by Howard, this related to stature rather than social identification.

Charismatic attributions via two separate processes

The other significant finding of this study was that the two comparison processes were largely additive rather than multiplicative—that is, their effects were independent of each other—for the majority of both charismatic leadership, and followership, attributions. We appear to largely agree over what behaviours constitute charismatic leadership and whether a leader has displayed those behaviours; however, the assessments of charismatic personality traits, driven by

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social identity status, augment or discount these attributions of charismatic leadership qualities.

The social identity comparison process

Seemingly objective leadership traits were subject to biased perceptions due to relative social identification. Categorising a leader as an ingroup member results in the attribution of positive charismatic personality traits, and in the perception of a superior level of charismatic leadership traits—one might describe perception of ingroup leaders as "looking at them through rose-coloured glasses". Categorising a leader as an outgroup member results in the attribution of negative charismatic personality traits and in the perception of an inferior level of charismatic leadership traits. Very clearly we look at outgroup leaders through "grey-coloured glasses".

Differing coloured glasses are also used when viewing the followers of charismatic ingroup or outgroup leaders. This explains why the same leader and group can be passionately defended or reviled with each proponent unable to understand how the other can take that position. Like the letter writer quoted earlier, both imagine they "can see clearly". In sum, social identification contributes the disputed component in the attribution of charismatic leadership and personality traits to a leader.

Charismatic norm comparison process

This study also incorporated the conception of ingroup and outgroup members having a commonly agreed-upon yardstick for charismatic leadership and leader influence in the form of implicit charismatic leadership theories formed at a cultural level. This charismatic stature can be conceived as the undisputed component in the attribution of charismatic leadership and personality traits to a

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leader. While charismatic stature played an important role in differentiating the levels of attributed charismatic leadership traits between two different leaders, it played a negligible role in the attribution of charismatic personality traits. The interaction effect of charismatic stature and social identification on attributions was very minor. Thus the level of each attributed charismatic leadership and personality trait is theorised as involving an appraisal of charismatic stature, shared by both groups, which is added to by the donning of rose-coloured ingroup leader glasses, or which is subtracted from by the donning of grey-coloured outgroup leader glasses.

Charismatic stature as well as social identification affected judgements of followers when they related to implicit charismatic leadership theories such as the evoking of emotion in the followers. Charismatic stature played a minor or negligible role in judgements about thought processes. These are thought to be related to disputes over values and beliefs and therefore largely beholden to social identification.

Future directions

The leaders in this study were all well-known and pre-established in their leadership positions—their fame preceded them. However, it is assumed that the variance in charismatic attribution for an unknown/emergent leader will also be associated social identity perceptions. In fact, the less that is known about a leader other than his or her group membership status, the more powerful the effect of social identity comparison on charismatic attribution may be, because the perceiver has very little other criteria by which to evaluate. A follow-up study could examine whether the same pattern of charismatic attribution emerges for a relatively unknown leader who is espousing a particular set of values and beliefs which are congruent or incongruent to our own.

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Conceptualising all participants as either in agreement or disagreement with a leader is a simplification of the range of social identification. These studies provided no information about those who "sit on the fence" or who are high or low identifiers within their prospective groups. A richer picture may be provided by giving participants an attitude scale on which to show their level of agreement and measuring strength of identification.

Items measuring charismatic leadership and personality traits were all analysed individually and are therefore open to criticisms about interpretation. Using a number of items which combine to give scales will increase construct validity. The items used to measure charismatic leader traits were created from theoretical themes in the literature. Using an instrument such as the multifactor leadership questionnaire (Bass & Avolio, 1997) may provide greater construct and convergent validity.

Furthermore, the items measuring trickiness and manipulativeness encompassed behaviours as well as implicating personality traits. Social attraction was implied by positive scores on these dimensions. The use of a social attraction scale would provide clearer evidence of the role of social attraction in the additive model. For instance, does social attraction mediate between social identification and judgements of charismatic qualities or is it just a co-existing product?

In summary, leaders are attributed a certain level of charismatic stature agreed upon at the cultural level by both ingroup and outgroup. However, this level is increased or reduced by categorisation of the leader as ingroup or outgroup respectively, and the resultant construction of a negative or positive charismatic personality as an explanation for feelings of social attraction and leader social influence within the group. The perception of a leader as ingroup or outgroup also affects positive and negative internal attributions to the followers.

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The research focus of this thesis

As stated previously, the new leadership models have meticulously explored the behaviours and characteristics entailed in our implicit theories of charismatic leadership, and this study confirmed that variance in the perception of charisma of different leaders is partly due to differences in these exhibited behaviours and characteristics. However, this study showed that variance in charismatic judgements is also due to perceptions of the level of shared social identity with the leader. The rest of this thesis is dedicated to the exploration of this second influence on charismatic attribution. As such the remaining studies will concentrate solely on how social identification processes cause variation in charismatic attributions about individual leaders, rather than exploring comparisons between leaders of different charismatic stature.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the extant social identity literature on charismatic leadership has concentrated research efforts on variation in charismatic attributions within the ingroup with the focus on the role of relative ingroup prototypicality. Since leadership operates largely against the backdrop of intergroup relations, the studies in this thesis extend that research to include the attributions of those who perceive the leader to be an outgroup member.

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CHAPTER 6

GAY MARRIAGE STUDY

The World Leader Study uncovered two separate processes at work in attributions of charismatic leadership. One involves the more objective comparison of the speech and behaviours exhibited by the leader against commonly agreed criteria or norms about charismatic leadership. This has been amply researched in the new leadership literature. The other process involves the far more subjective judgement made about the leader's shared social identity with the perceiver. The latter process begins to explain why, amongst those who share similar norms about charismatic leadership, the same leader may be viewed as more or less charismatic, and why some "fall under the spell"—showing fealty and adoration—while others do not. The studies in this and subsequent empirical chapters explore this latter process in more detail. The strength of these studies lies in the unchanging nature of the target leader. Any variance in charismatic attribution must therefore be due to psychological processes in the perceivers.

By focussing on one leader, the aim of the Gay Marriage Study was to explore the effects of (i) attitude similarity and (ii) crisis on charismatic leader attributions and so-called "charismatic outcomes". In addition, the role of group-based liking for the leader was explored. In this study, participants indicated their attitude to gay[1] marriage, were exposed to either a low- or high-stress situation, and were then asked to read a speech advocating gay marriage by a gay rights activist. Liking for the leader and charismatic attributions and outcomes were measured. It was expected that the charismatic attribution and leader influence processes would

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[1] For the sake of reader clarity references to the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender community or persons, have been abbreviated to 'gay'.

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be strongly associated with attitude similarity and that liking would play a substantial role in these processes. Given the emphasis the literature has placed on crisis, it was anticipated that crisis would also affect the attribution process.

The effect of social identity on charismatic attributions

Using social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), it was argued in the World Leader Study that those who indicated agreement with the leader's values and beliefs had perceived the leader as sharing a social identity (ingroup), whereas those who indicated disagreement, perceived the leader as not sharing a social identity (outgroup). This difference in perception was theorised and shown to affect evaluations of, and attributions about, the leader. It was shown that an ingroup leader was attributed greater explicit charisma and associated charismatic leadership qualities than an outgroup leader. Impressions of the leader's personality traits were also strongly influenced by the level of shared social identity.

In this study it was theorised that by making a contentious social issue salient, participants would not only become more aware of their own point of view, but would also become more aware of the spectrum of differing viewpoints (Haslam & Turner, 1992; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). In the ensuing intergroup context of being "for" or "against" the issue, attitude similarity or dissimilarity with a leader espousing a strong opinion about the social issue, would clearly dictate the level of perceived shared social identity. It is argued that this perceived level of shared social identity would strongly affect explicit and implicit attributions of charismatic leadership.

Thus, the perception of a shared social identity between follower and leader was operationalised as the level of attitude similarity between self and the leader over the issue of the legalisation of gay marriage. The attribution of the leader's

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charisma was operationalised as responses to both a single explicit question about the leader's charisma, and a scale made up of implicit charismatic leadership qualities. Social identity theory posits that within a salient intergroup context, the perception of attitude similarity with another causes the perceiver to categorise the other as a member of the perceiver's ingroup (Turner, 1987). Conversely, the perception of attitude dissimilarity causes the perceiver to categorise the other as an outgroup member. As such, it is hypothesised that greater attitude similarity will result in enhanced attributions of leader charisma.

The target leader in this study differs from those in the World leader study in two important ways. First, the World leader study contrasted three well-known leaders, and participants used their previous knowledge of, and attitudes towards, the leader to inform their judgements. This study used a comparatively unknown leader and advocate of gay rights. Most participants were only able to use their prior attitudes to the issue and the target's written speech as a basis from which to form judgements. Second, the targets in the World leader study were well-established in leadership roles. In this study, the target was an emergent leader. Participants had no experience or knowledge of the target in a leadership role and therefore had no prior information about leadership qualities or suitability. All participants were given the same information about the leader and so any variation in attribution would be almost entirely due to salient attitude similarity or dissimilarity. It is therefore predicted that:

P7.1. Greater attitude similarity will predict more positive attributions of implicit and explicit leader charisma.

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"Charismatic outcomes"

In the new leadership theories, it is tacitly assumed that the follower outcomes associated with charismatic leadership behaviours are the direct result of those behaviours (e.g., Barling, Weber, & Kelloway, 1996; Bass, 1985; House, 1977). In contrast, romance of leadership theory (Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985) argues that many of these outcomes may be due to situational factors such as group processes.

As detailed in Chapter 4, much social identity research supports this. Many so-called "charismatic outcomes" have been found to be the product of group identification. These outcomes include group cohesion and social attraction (e.g., Hogg, Cooper-Shaw, & Holzworth, 1993; Hogg & Hardie, 1991), persuasion and social influence (e.g., Mackie, Worth, & Asuncion, 1990; McGarty, Haslam, Hutchinson, & Turner, 1994; Wilder, 1990), organisational citizenship behaviours (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999), increased work performance and motivation (e.g., James & Cropanzano, 1994; Karau & Williams, 1993) and a willingness to engage in social action (Ouwerkerk, Ellemers, & de Gilder, 1999a, 1999b).

This would suggest that attributing follower outcomes solely to the leader's charisma rather than to normal group processes would be a fundamental attribution error, made not only by followers but also by some researchers. Rather than being unique and mysterious, in reality the charismatic influence process may merely be a subset of everyday basic group influence processes.

In this study, outcomes were operationalised as follower ratings of the leader's persuasiveness, and their indicated willingness to be led by him, and to engage in social action. It was hypothesised that these outcomes would actually be

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the product of the perception of the leader as an ingroup or outgroup member rather than the product of the leader's charisma. Therefore it is predicted that:

P7.2. Perceived attitude similarity with the leader will predict:

    (i)   **Willingness to be led by the leader;**

    (ii)   **Willingness to engage in social action; and**

    (iii)   **Perceived leader persuasiveness.**

Liking for the leader

The attribution of charisma is ultimately an emotional response. As previously discussed, Weber describes the follower response as "absolute personal devotion and personal confidence in ... individual leadership" (Gerth & Mills, 1946, p. 79) while Willner (1968) lists "devotion, awe, reverence, and blind faith" (p. 6). These paint a picture of strong positive feelings for the leader. More recently George (2000) has argued that transformational leadership is an emotional process which may be mediated by follower affect. Increasingly, researchers are suggesting that affect is a large missing piece in extant research into charismatic and transformational leadership (e.g., Ashkanasy, Härtel, & Zerbe, 2000; Ashkanasy & Tse, 2000; D. J. Brown & Keeping, 2005; Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000; Jordan, Ashkanasy, & Härtel, 2003).

Theorists suggest that rating a leader's behaviours reflects the comparison between those behaviours and the perceiver's implicit leadership theories (Eden & Leviatan, 1975; Rush, Thomas, & Lord, 1977). The presence and influence of these cognitive structures was reflected in the charismatic stature component of the charisma ratings in the World leader study (see Chapter 5). More importantly, affective structures were also shown to be present in the World leader study as

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reflected by the positive or negative charismatic personality ratings making up the group process component of charismatic appraisal.

A robust finding under the attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971; Michinov & Michinov, 2001) is that the more we perceive others to be similar to ourselves the more interpersonal attraction increases. Under the social identity perspective, an increasingly robust finding is that the more we perceive others to be prototypical of our group the more intragroup (or social) attraction increases (Hogg, 1992; Hogg et al., 1993). Interpersonal and social attraction for the same person were found to be largely unrelated. However, to the perceiver, the difference between the interpersonal or intragroup source of these feelings may be unclear, such that both are just experienced as target-specific affect, that is, liking for the leader.

The World leader study also showed that follower construction and attribution of positive or negative personality traits to a leader related to the level of agreement or disagreement with the leader's values and beliefs as this reflected the leader's group membership (and therefore prototypicality) relative to the followers (see also Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003). The studies used dichotomous splits to represent ingroup and outgroup membership and quite clearly, positive feelings (liking) were evoked by the ingroup leader while the outgroup leader attracted negative feelings (dislike) as shown by judgements about personality warmth and manipulativeness. In the current study, group identification as a continuous construct was used to explore the graduated response from dislike to liking. Liking for the leader was operationalised as self-report ratings of social attraction towards the leader.

Thus in the World leader study, the affective group component not only coloured evaluations of personality trait impressions but also affected the seemingly

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more objective process of judging charismatic leadership qualities. Furthermore, based on the valence judgements of pleasant personality and manipulativeness, ingroup leaders were clearly liked and the outgroup leaders were quite clearly disliked. Based on this, it is predicted that:

P7.3. Attitude-similarity will predict liking for the leader, such that high attitude-similarity with the leader will produce strong liking whereas high dissimilarity will produce strong dislike.

There have been other theoretical and empirical justifications for the world leader findings (D. J. Brown & Keeping, 2005; Hall & Lord, 1995). Outlining impression formation models, Srull and Wyer (1989) posit that the affect associated with information stored about a person initiates a "general evaluative concept of the person" as likeable or dislikeable and this interpretive schema biases the way we encode future behaviours and judgements of the person.

Liking has been shown to predict perceptions of another's performance (e.g., Cardy & Dobbins, 1986; Tsui & Barry, 1986); subordinate ratings of the leader-follower relationship six months after initial contact (Liden, Wayne, & Stilwell, 1993); and transformational leadership ratings in a laboratory setting (Lewter & Lord, 1992). In the field, Brown and Keeping (2005) also found that liking had a strong effect on MLQ ratings of a leader and that intercorrelations between subfactors and between subfactors and follower outcomes were substantially reduced when liking was controlled for.

This view of liking fits with the social identity analysis of charisma in this thesis. Liking is conceived as the strong emotional "gut" response to the leader. As stated previously, the level of perceived similarity with the leader causes the

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perceiver to categorise the target as sharing a common psychological group membership (ingroup) or as lacking a common group membership (outgroup). It is hypothesised that the level of social liking is the emotional response to this categorisation and as such, it gives a very clear indication of this perception. Being a "gut response", liking colours judgements about personality trait impressions and leadership qualities as well as influencing responses to the leader, that is, it affects both attributions of leader charisma and so-called "charismatic outcomes". In other words, the relationship between the categorisation of the leader as an ingroup or outgroup member and (i) charismatic leadership attributions, and (ii) charismatic leadership outcomes, is fully or partially mediated by social liking for the leader.

It is therefore expected that:

P7.4. Liking will mediate the effect of attitude similarity (as a proxy for group identification with the leader) on both implicit and explicit charismatic leadership attributions of the leader.

P7.5. Controlling for liking will reduce the intercorrelations between charismatic attributions and follower outcomes.

If liking for the leader is a direct emotional response to perceived shared group membership and follower outcomes are direct behavioural responses to these same perceptions, this would suggest that they are more strongly linked to each other than to attributions of charismatic leadership. While the charismatic attributions are an intragroup explanation for the emotional and behavioural responses to the leader's perceived influence, they do not fundamentally drive these responses. Therefore:

P7.6. Liking rather than attributions of charismatic leader qualities will be more strongly related to follower outcomes.

The effect of crisis on charismatic attributions

Crisis and psychological distress may play an important role in the attribution of charisma. In Michael Moore's 2004 film, *Fahrenheit 9/11*, the current president of the United States of America, George W. Bush, was shown to be languishing in the polls until the tragedy of September 11, 2001, after which his popularity surged. Moore also portrays Bush as having continued to use the threat of terror on Americans to maintain support for his leadership and war agenda. Landau et al. (2004) echo this view and show that in the weeks preceding the tragedy, Bush's approval ratings hovered around 50%. By just September 13, 2001, his approval rating had increased to between 88 – 90%.

While charisma does not directly translate as approval ratings, Landau et al. concluded that there was a link between people's reactions to the tragedy and ongoing feelings of terror and their view of Bush as charismatic. They point to a comment made by a Democratic strategist in *Time* Magazine (May 3, 2004), "No matter how bad Bush does on the war and 9/11, just having voters think about it kills us" (p. 32).

Crises may enhance charismatic attributions

Weber (1968) strongly linked the rise of the charismatic leader to crisis and the role of crisis has continued to be a major theme throughout the charismatic literature (Hunt, 1991). Most authors suggest that crises produce fertile soil from which charismatic leadership can spring (e.g., Bass, 1985; Boal & Bryson, 1988; House, Spangler, & Woycke, 1991; Madsen & Snow, 1991; Pillai & Meindl, 1998; Woodward & McGrath, 1988). Some even argued that it is a social precondition (e.g., Cell, 1974; Lepsius, 1986; Schweitzer, 1984) although its necessity has now

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been largely rejected (Bligh, Kohles, & Meindl, 2004a). Crises are still viewed as having a dual role in the charismatic influence process. Pillai (1996) observes that:

> The visionary, transformational qualities of the leader may not carry much weight without followers first having been 'softened' by the perception of some external threat or other crisis. Furthermore, the successful handling of the initial crisis may enhance the charismatic appeal of leaders, hence allowing them to more effectively mobilize support for continued reform efforts (p. 546-547).

Crises may therefore enhance attributions of charisma to both emergent and established leaders. By their nature, crises are examples of a "weak" situation typified by conditions of ambiguity and uncertainty (Bligh, Kohles, & Pillai, 2005; Pearson & Clair, 1998; Shamir & Howell, 1999). Therefore a leader may emerge to give direction so the group can deal with the problem (e.g., van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2000). On the other hand, established leaders may frame the situation as threatening to the group (Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993) or may even engineer a crisis to bolster support for their cause and foster loyalty and obedience (Hogg, 2001c; Lepsius, 1986; cf. "entrepreneurs of identity", Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

Crises have been empirically linked to charismatic attributions. Bligh, Kohles and Meindl (2004a; 2004b) charted the stark change in perceptions of Bush as charismatic before and after 9/11. More generally, attributions of presidential charisma have been strongly correlated with the number of crises facing the incumbent (House et al., 1991). Laboratory studies have also confirmed the link. For instance, Pillai (1996) showed that emergent charismatic leadership can be brought

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forth by crises and that those leaders are perceived to be more effective than leaders emerging from periods of noncrisis.

Crises may diminish charismatic attributions

On the other hand, engineering or reframing so that the group perceive themselves to be in crisis would appear risky. There are strong negative feelings associated with being "softened up" by a crisis and these may also colour the cognitions and influence the behaviours of followers, especially if a solution is not forthcoming. Bligh, et al. (2004a) describe follower distress as "shock, confusion, fear, anger, sorrow, and anxiety" (p. 212), while Pillai and Meindl (1998) declare, "Most researchers agree that the primary psychological effects of crisis are to create feelings of stress and anxiety" (p. 649).

If the crisis is ongoing and problematic it may also create a bad mood. As opposed to target-specific affects such as liking or hating, moods are defined as diffuse affective states (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Some researchers argue that mood states act as information units which evoke congruently-valenced memories and these guide our judgements (e.g., Abele, 2000). Empirical evidence has shown that those in a positive mood rate others more highly than those in a negative mood (e.g., R. A. Baron, 1987; Isen & Baron, 1991). Pillai and Meindl (1998) found that crises decreased perceptions of leader charisma.

On the other hand, mood has not been shown to have a direct effect on charismatic attributions. Brown and Keeping (2005) found that in contrast to the target-specific positive affect (i.e., liking for the leader), mood did not bias ratings of transformational leadership as measured by the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ, Bass & Avolio, 1991). These results add weight to previous findings on the minor or nonexistent role of mood in transformational leadership

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ratings (Bass & Avolio, 1989; Keeping & Levy, 2000; Lewter & Lord, 1992). Brown and Keeping conjecture that the target-specificity of liking is a much stronger affect and it overrides the effects of the more diffuse mood states.

Rather than affecting charismatic attributions merely through emotions, crises may interact with, or enhance, group processes. Social identity may be made more salient by highlighting the group's plight and the need for a group solution. Furthermore, as romance of leadership theory would suggest, attributions about the leader's role in these may also be enhanced (cf. Meindl, 1998a; Meindl, 2001; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987). In a study about the California Recall Election, Bligh et al. (2005) synthesised previous findings of both negative and positive effects of crises on charismatic attribution. They found that incumbents could be blamed for crises and therefore lose charisma and perceived effectiveness. Meanwhile, challengers or those new to the position could increase in charisma and perceived effectiveness because they were seen as potential saviours. Challenger charisma may increase because he or she highlights the crisis that followers are in and provides a solution (see also Oommen, 1967).

In both cases there are strong feelings about group treatment. It is clear from the review above that perceptions of charisma are enhanced by the promise of group salvation and diminished by perceptions of failed responsibility towards the group. From a social identity perspective, it could be argued that the promise of group salvation frames the leader as "doing it for us" (Haslam et al., 2001), as having group interests at heart and thereby confirming or reinforcing shared group membership status. In the case of incumbency, the leader has let the group down by allowing the crisis to occur. Therefore, the leader has not acted in the group's best interests and

both his or her group-conferred expert status and continued shared group membership may be questioned.

This study sought to shed more light on the role of crisis in charismatic attributions by exploring the impact of anxiety and stress. Would crisis-associated affect enhance, diminish, or have little impact on charismatic leader attributions and follower outcomes? Crisis was operationalised as being placed in a stressful situation which would increase stress and anxiety levels. These levels were manipulated by telling some participants that they would be required to speak publicly about their attitude to gay marriage. The study differs from the crisis scenarios mentioned above where blame for the problem or anticipation of a solution can be directed towards the leader. Rather, the anticipation of public speaking was expected to both increase the level of stress but also heighten the salience of the intergroup situation by focussing attention on the existence of opposing viewpoints. It is queried whether:

Query 1: Stress and attitude similarity will interact to affect implicit and explicit charismatic attributions.

In summary, this study sought to explore the effects of crisis and group identification on the charismatic attribution process with respect to attributions of leader charisma, follower outcomes, and liking for the leader. After being asked to indicate their level of identification with the leader (indicated by their attitude to gay marriage), participants were exposed to a crisis manipulation. Participants then read a speech advocating gay marriage and rated the speech-giver on explicit and implicit charismatic leadership scales. They also rated his persuasiveness, and indicated their liking for the speaker, their willingness to be led by him, and their willingness to engage in social action for his cause. Stress manipulation checks involving affective

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states were measured immediately after the crisis manipulation and again at the end

of the study. Strength of group identification was also measured.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and seventeen first-year psychology students at the Australian

National University participated in the study during 16 laboratory sessions with

session size ranging from 9 – 22. Although attendance and participation were

compulsory, only the data of participants who gave permission were included in the

analysis. No participants refused permission. There were 64 males and 153 females

with ages ranging from 17 – 46 (median = 19).

Design

The study design involved two independent variables, attitude to gay

marriage (GMA) and Stress. GMA was a continuous predictor variable indicating

attitude to the right of gay couples to be legally married. It was measured on a 9-

point Likert scale. Stress was manipulated randomly by laboratory session, with two

levels: (i) those who were asked to read aloud their view of gay marriage rights (high

stress condition); and (ii) those who were not (low stress condition). Dependent

variables were measured on 7-point Likert scales.

Materials and Procedure

Phase One: Measuring attitudes and raising intergroup salience

The researcher stated, "I'm interested in the thoughts and emotions you have

about gay marriage and how you'll react to a speech on the topic". A questionnaire

booklet titled, "Gay Marriage Pack" was handed out. Participants read the

instructions and then responded to an adapted Newspoll question (see Appendix A

for original poll question and results). Responses were measured on a 9-point Likert

scale as shown in Figure 6.1.

1. Thinking about gay marriages, that is, same sex marriages either between
   two men, or between two women, are you personally in favour of or
   against same sex couples being given the same rights to marry as
   couples consisting of a man and a woman?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Strongly against		Somewhat against		Uncommitted		Somewhat in favour		Strongly in favour
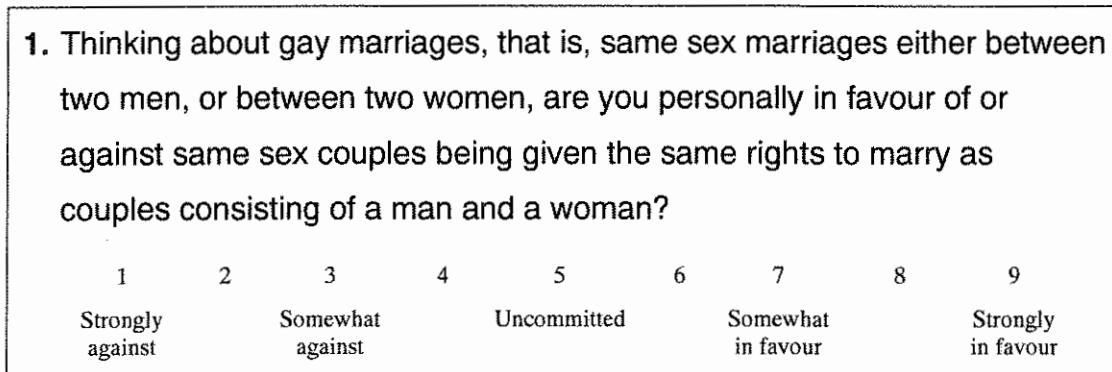
Figure 6.1. Attitude to gay marriage rights item (GMA).

Phase Two: Manipulating stress

Stress was manipulated in Phase Two of the study via a written task. The task

was also used to screen participants for English-language competence. Participants

were given 10 minutes to write an imaginary "letter to the editor" of a newspaper

expressing their views on gay marriage and why they supported or opposed it. Upon

completion, the high stress condition were told, "OK, after the study, I'll be getting

each of you to stand up and read out your letter and we'll discuss the pros and cons

of what you've written". The low stress condition were told, "OK, after the study,

I'll give you a chance to air your views on gay marriage in a group discussion". The

immediate effect of the manipulation was gauged through self-report measures of

anxiety, excitement, anger, happiness, indifference, and mood valence on 7-point

Likert scales with 1 labelled 'Not at all' and 7 labelled 'Totally'. These items were

repeated at the end of the study to measure the enduring effect of the manipulation.

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Phase Three: Speaker and speech

In the third phase participants read a speech. The experimenter introduced the speaker by stating, "In a minute you are going to read a speech by Tasmanian gay activist, Rodney Croome, which was delivered earlier this year. Once you have read the speech please answer the questions and continue right through the rest of the booklet".

The transcript of the speech (see Appendix B) was prefaced with the title, "An Australian Spring", and the contextual statement, "This speech was delivered at the Community Action Against Homophobia Rally, Sydney Town Hall, July 25th, 2004". Although not a generally well-known public figure, Croome has been awarded an Order of Australia for his work on gay rights. He has publicly advocated the legalisation of gay marriage. In this speech he criticises political opposition to gay marriage and makes arguments for the legalisation of gay marriage.

Phase Four: Measuring reactions and demographics

In Phase Four, reactions to the speech and speaker were measured on 7-point Likert scales and included (i) perceived charismatic leadership of the speaker; (ii) overt labelling of the speaker as "charismatic"; (iii) positive affect towards the speaker (liking); (iv) strength of identification with like-minded others; (v) willingness to be led by the speaker; (vi) perceived persuasiveness of the speech/speaker; and (vii) willingness to be involved in collective action. After this, demographic questions about age, sex, sexual orientation, and general level of support for the gay community were asked, and emotion/arousal levels were measured again.

After completing the questionnaire, the stress manipulation was explained and participants were given the option of sharing their opinions. After discussing the

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issue of gay marriage as a group, participants were thanked and fully debriefed. Related theoretical and methodological concepts were then taught and discussed for the remainder of the laboratory session.

Scales

Leader measures

In Chapter 2 it was noted that many scales avoid using the term "charisma" due to the varied usage of the term in popular culture (see Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978). However, to note the differences between theoretical and popular usage two popular measures of charisma were created, (i) a single Likert scale item, "Rodney was charismatic"; and (ii) a free-response question, "What do think charisma is?".

Items from multifactor leadership questionnaire Form 5X (Bass & Avolio, 1991) were adapted to measure attributions of Charismatic Qualities. Awamleh and Gardner (1999) argue that items from a number of the subscales are needed to capture the complexity of the concept. In addition, this author argues that the appropriateness of items will vary with different laboratory contexts and that item inclusion or exclusion should always support good face validity.

Therefore, nine items were used (see Table 6.7 under Results) from the attributed charisma, inspirational leadership, and idealised influence subscales pool as well two further charisma items adapted from a perceived charisma scale (Rivera, 1994). Two other leader measures were created— a single item measure was used to capture explicit labelling of the speaker as "charismatic", and a five-item "liking" scale was used to capture positive affect for the speaker's personality (see Table 6.8 under Results).

Outcome measures

Items forming the three outcomes scales can be found in Table 6.10 (under Results). A two-item scale was created to measure how willing participants would be to support the speaker in a leadership role. A three-item scale measured willingness to engage in social action. Persuasion was measured using a four-item perceived leader persuasiveness scale (Platow, van Knippenberg, Haslam, van Knippenberg, & Spears, 2006). In addition, a repeated measure of participants' attitude to gay marriage (GMA) was used to measure attitude change before and after the speech was read.

Group identification measures

Identification with the opinion-based group was measured in two ways. Firstly, GMA acted as a proxy for identification because attitude ratings indicated level of similarity with other proponents of gay marriage. Secondly, a strength of group identification scale was used to verify identification with like-minded others. Three standard items were adapted and used to measure strength of group identification and these can be found in Table 6.5 (under Results).

Results

Data consisted of responses to items on Likert scales. Responses were averaged across participants for each cell. The 217 participants were screened via the written task used in the stress manipulation. Eleven responses were deemed extremely poor in English expression and these participants were excluded from further analyses ($N = 206$).

Group identification manipulation check

Attitude similarity measure

The major indicator of identification with the leader's group was the continuous independent proxy variable, Gay Marriage Attitude (GMA), which measured attitude to the legalisation of gay marriage on a 9-point labelled Likert scale (see Figure 6.1 under Materials and Procedure). The higher the rating on this scale, the greater the attitude similarity with the leader.
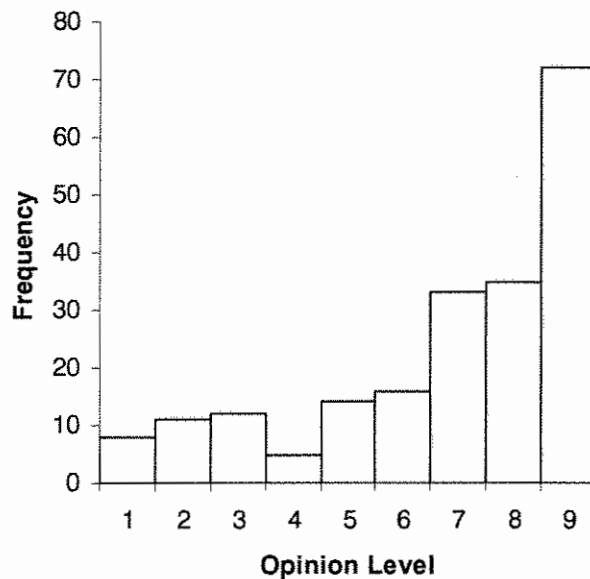
Figure 6.2. GMA histogram showing frequency of each rating on a 9-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree; 5 = Uncommitted; 9 = Strongly agree).

The resultant frequency histogram for this sample (see Figure 6.2) shows that there was a minority of participants who indicated clear disagreement (scores 1 to 3; $n = 31$); a majority who indicated clear agreement (scores 7 to 9; $n = 140$); and a group who indicated a more neutral position (scores 4 to 6; $n = 35$). Arguments against median splits or other ordinal scale divisions are compelling (Irwin & McClelland, 2003; MacCallum, Zhang, Preacher, & Rucker, 2002) and would have

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resulted in extremely uneven cells. Results from the original Newspoll (see

Appendix A) showed that in the 18 – 34 age bracket, 55% of interviewees were in

favour of gay marriage rights, 16% were uncommitted and 29% were against. The 18

– 34 age group ($N = 201$) from the current sample produced a similar percentage of

uncommitted people (16.92%), however, reflective of the difference between first-

year university psychology students and the general population, there were even

more in favour (67.66%) and therefore fewer against (15.42%).

Group identification strength measure manipulation check

The group identification strength scale was used to check that responses to

the attitude similarity scale were group-based. It was created by averaging scores

over the items shown in Table 6.1 and had good internal reliability, Cronbach's

$\alpha = .848$.

Table 6.1.
Group identification strength scale items.

Items
34. I feel strong ties with other people who share my view of gay marriage.
35. I have a lot in common with other people who share my view of gay marriage.
36. I would get on well socially with other people who share my view of gay marriage.

This scale measured how strongly participants identified with those who had

similar opinions of gay marriage. Group identification strength was plotted against

GMA and an examination of the resulting scatterplot indicated a curvilinear

quadratic relationship. Curve estimation was used to find the line of best fit (see

Figure 6.3).

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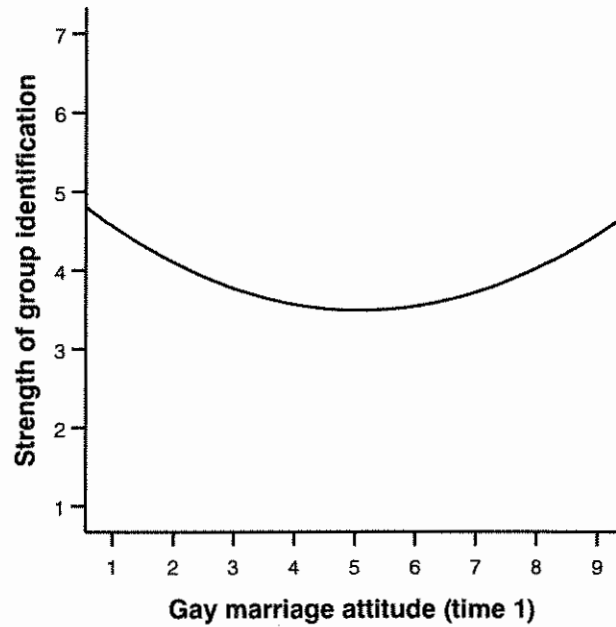
Figure 6.3. Line of best fit for group identification strength against GMA.

The linear function fitted the data adequately, $F_{(1, 204)} = 5.064$, $p = .025$, adj. $R^2 = .019$; however, the quadratic function provided optimal fit, $F_{(2, 203)} = 14.144$, $p < .001$, adj. $R^2 = .114$. Regression coefficients for the quadratic function are shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2.
Curve estimation regression for a quadratic function with GMA at Time One coefficients predicting group identification strength.

| Equation Term | Unstandardised Coefficients | | Std. Coefficients | | |
	B	SE B	Beta	t	p
Constant	5.052	0.370		13.647	< .001
GMA (Time 1)	-0.615	0.146	-1.424	-4.212	< .001
GMA (Time 1)^2	0.061	0.013	1.611	4.763	< .001

Note: N = 206.

Equation One is the regression equation predicting group identification strength. Calculus was used on this equation to find the average minimum group

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identification strength and GMA score at which the minimum occurred. Equation

Two shows the resulting slope function.

$$Group\ identification\ strength = 5.052 - 0.615 \times GMA + 0.061 \times GMA^2 \quad (1)$$

$$\frac{d(Group\ identification\ strength)}{dGMA} = -0.615 + 0.122 \times GMA \quad (2)$$

By equating the slope function (Equation 2) with zero and solving for GMA,

minimum average group identification strength was found to be 3.50 and occurred

when the gay marriage attitude score was 5.04—extremely close to the label

"Uncommitted". When the GMA scores were 1.00 ("Strongly disagree") and 9.00

("Strongly Agree"), average group identification strength scores were higher (4.95

and 4.46 respectively). Thus the more strongly participants agreed or disagreed with

gay marriage, the more strongly they identified with like-minded others. It was

concluded that those with more neutral uncommitted views categorised themselves

more as individuals while those with stronger views categorised themselves as group

members sharing similar views and values. This supported that the assumption that

attitude similarity, as measured by the GMA scale responses, was a proxy measure

of perceived shared group membership.

Stress manipulation checks

1. Emotion and arousal measures

Through random allocation, participants were placed in the high stress

($n = 110$) or low stress ($n = 96$) conditions. Stress and GMA were orthogonal factors,

$r = -.031, p = .657, N = 206$. Emotion and arousal were measured immediately after

the manipulation (Time One) and again at the end of the study (Time Two) using 7-

point Likert scales. Scores were averaged for each condition at each time (see Table 6.3). Note that two participants failed to complete the emotion and arousal items at time two ($N = 204$). At time one the high stress condition reported feeling higher levels of anxiety, excitement, and anger, lower levels of happiness and indifference, and also reported being in a more negative mood.

Table 6.3.
Stress condition means for emotion/arousal items measured at Times One and Two.

Emotion/arousal item	Stress condition	time one		time two	
		M	SD	M	SD
Anxiety	High	3.61	1.67	2.77	1.50
	Low	2.23	1.33	2.11	1.26
Excitement	High	3.02	1.48	2.88	1.32
	Low	2.73	1.52	2.61	1.57
Anger	High	2.95	1.75	2.34	1.41
	Low	2.37	1.63	2.06	1.36
Happiness	High	3.41	1.43	3.77	1.24
	Low	3.61	1.55	3.87	1.73
Indifference	High	3.60	1.70	3.75	1.69
	Low	3.91	2.14	3.61	1.95
Mood	High	4.13	1.24	4.48	1.00
	Low	4.61	1.10	4.72	1.05

Note: Anxiety $n = 109$; Control $n = 95$.

2. Emotion and arousal manipulation checks

The following analyses were performed to measure the effectiveness and duration of the stress manipulation, while accounting for any main effect of GMA, and any interactive effect of Stress × GMA. Firstly a doubly MANCOVA was performed, with Stress as a fixed effect independent variable, and GMA as a

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continuous independent variable. The dependent variable was a repeated measure linear combination of the six emotion and arousal items. Homogeneity of the variance-covariance matrices was violated, Box's $M = 145.42$, $p < .001$, so Pillai's trace was used. There were no significant multivariate within-subject effects indicating that the effect of the manipulation was fairly stable over time. Significant between-subjects effects were a borderline multivariate interaction effect of Stress and GMA, Pillai's trace $= .062$, $F_{(6, 195)} = 2.147$, $p = .050$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .062$; a main effect for Stress, Pillai's trace $= .094$, $F_{(6, 195)} = 3.366$, $p = .004$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .094$, and a main effect for GMA, Pillai's trace $= .196$, $F_{(6, 195)} = 7.902$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .196$.

3. The interaction effect on anger levels

Follow-up univariate ANOVA indicated that only anger was affected by the interaction of the stress manipulation and attitude similarity. There was a main effect for Stress on anger, $F_{(1, 200)} = 11.008$, $p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .052$, such that in general, those in the high stress condition remained angrier than those in the low stress condition throughout the study. However, the effect of Stress on anger was moderated by GMA: $F_{(1, 200)} = 7.449$, $p = .007$, partial $\eta^2 = .036$. Figures 6.4 and 6.5 show that the difference in anger between stress conditions was far greater when attitude similarity was low, and negligible when attitude similarity was high. This interaction was stable over time: Time $\times$ Stress $\times$ GMA, $F_{(1, 200)} = .007$, $p = .934$. Thus the stress manipulation did not produce clear differences in anger between the two conditions and the implications of this effect are therefore unclear.
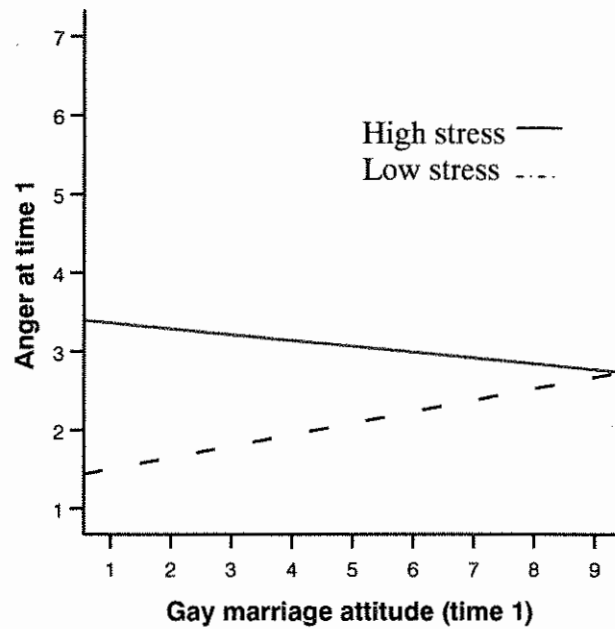
Figure 6.4. Anger at Time One against GMA, with lines of best fit split by Stress.
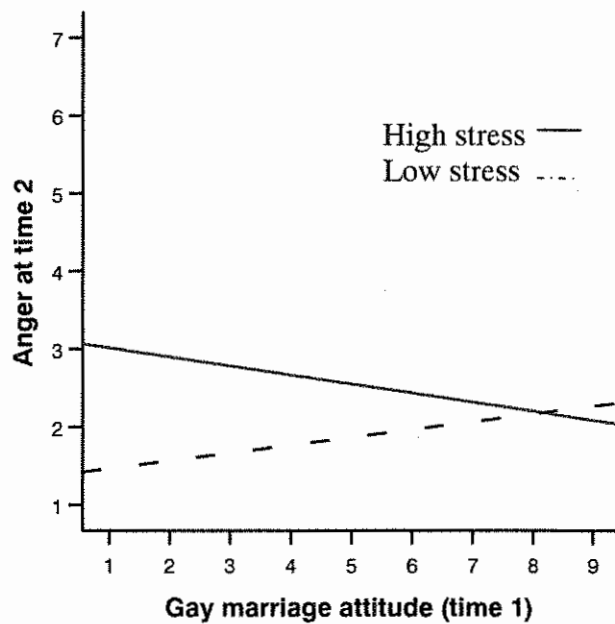
Figure 6.5. Anger at Time Two against GMA, with lines of best fit split by Stress.

4. The main effect of Stress on anxiety levels

Homogeneity of variance was violated for anxiety so critical alpha was raised

($\alpha = .99$). Follow-up univariate ANOVA indicated a significant main effect for

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Stress on anxiety, $F_{(1, 200)} = 11.166$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .053$, and no interaction effect for Time × Stress, $F_{(1, 200)} = 1.433$, $p < .233$.

Contrasts confirmed that differences in anxiety were maintained throughout the study. Figure 6.6 shows that at Time One, those in the high stress condition, $M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.67$, were more anxious than those in the low stress condition, $M = 2.23$, $SD = 1.33$, $F_{(1, 200)} = 10.864$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .051$.
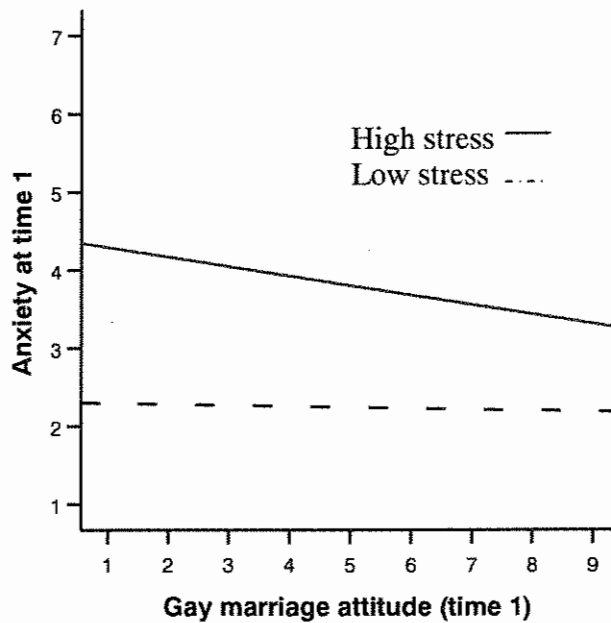
Figure 6.6. Anxiety at Time One against GMA, with lines of best fit split by Stress.

Figure 6.7 shows that, at the end of the study there was still a marginally significant effect ($\alpha = .99$), $F_{(1, 200)} = 6.624$, $p = .011$, partial $\eta^2 = .032$. The high stress condition, $M = 2.77$, $SD = 1.50$, was still more anxious than the low stress condition, $M = 2.11$, $SD = 1.26$.

There was no interaction effect for Stress × GMA, $F_{(1, 201)} = 2.450$, $p = .119$. Due to critical alpha being raised, the significance of the main effect for GMA, $F_{(1, 201)} = 6.079$, $p = .015$, partial $\eta^2 = .029$, should be approached cautiously. There was no change in the effect of GMA over time, $F_{(1, 201)} = 1.331$, $p = .250$.

These data confirm the difference due to Stress and suggest that anxiety was greater as disagreement with gay marriage increased. Thus, the stress manipulation successfully increased anxiety levels in the high stress condition.
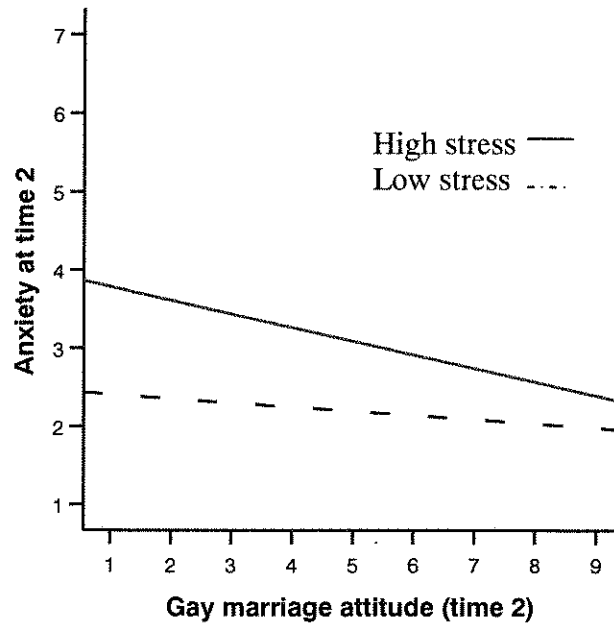
Figure 6.7. Anxiety at Time Two against GMA, with lines of best fit split by Stress.

5. The main effect of attitude similarity

Univariate ANOVA indicated that attitude similarity was also associated with certain emotion and arousal levels (see Table 6.4). Combined beta-values over Times One and Two indicated that the greater the level of participants' agreement with gay marriage, the more positive the emotional reactions they reported. Specifically, the more similar the attitude to the leader: the greater the level of excitement; the lower the level of indifference; the greater the level of happiness; and the more positive the mood.

Table 6.4.
The effect of GMA on emotions and arousal items.

Emotion and arousal items	β	SE β	F	p	η^2
Excitement	0.120	0.060	14.103	< .001	.066
Indifference	-0.207	0.077	8.202	.005	.039
Happiness	0.115	0.065	15.925	< .001	.074
Mood	0.143	0.043	33.289	< .001	.143

Note: N = 204.

In summary, after taking into account the interaction effect of Stress × GMA and the main effects of GMA, the stress manipulation only clearly affected anxiety levels. Those exposed to the crisis situation experienced significantly raised anxiety levels and these lasted throughout the study. It was concluded that the stress manipulation had been successful in inducing emotions associated with a crisis.

Effects on charismatic attributions

Charisma measures

Levels of charismatic attribution were measured using explicit and implicit items. The item "Rodney was charismatic" was used as an explicit single-item measure to capture the conscious acknowledgement of the popular notion of charisma and the variable was labelled "Overt Charisma". The implicit measure of charismatic attribution was a scale made from nine items from the MLQ (Form 5X) (Bass & Avolio, 1991) and two items from the perceived charisma scale (Rivera, 1994). Following the method of Awamleh & Gardner (1999), factor analysis was used to find the underlying factor structure of the chosen charismatic leadership items. Similar to their results, it was clear from the scree plot that items loaded onto one factor (see Figure 6.8).
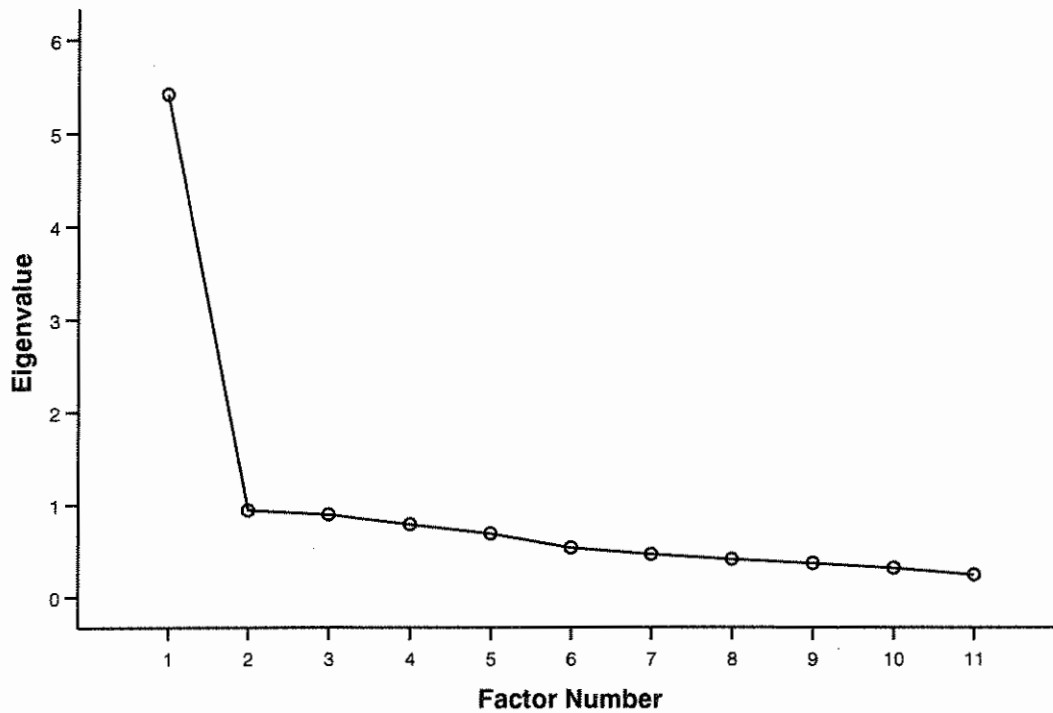
Figure 6.8. Scree plot for Charismatic Qualities items.

For this study a principal axis factoring analysis was conducted. Russell

(2002) argues that, while principal axis factoring typically produces far lower

communalities than principal components analysis, these are a better reflection of the

true extracted variance. While two items had extracted communalities less than .3

(range: .257 to .622), factor loadings ranged from .507 to .789, and the single factor

accounted for 44.4% of the variance (sums of squared loadings: extracted = 5.412;

rotated = 4.884). Because items loaded onto only one factor, participants' scores for

all eleven items were averaged to create a Charismatic Qualities scale. Sample items

are displayed in Table 6.5. This scale had a strong internal reliability (std.

Cronbach's α = .894). Charismatic Qualities and Overt Charisma correlated well,

$r = .512, p < .001, N = 206$.

Table 6.5.
Charismatic Qualities scale sample items[2].

Item	Factor Loading	Communality	
		Initial	Extraction
Rodney ...			
19. Showed determination to accomplish what he sets out to do (IM)	.789	.575	.622
18. Displayed a sense of power and confidence (AC)	.750	.548	.562
21. Appeared to be an exceptional leader (PC)	.749	.588	.561
14. Provided reassurance that the group will overcome obstacles (AC)	.720	.622	.518
15. Articulated a compelling sense of vision of the future (IM)	.719	.486	.517
11. Expressed confidence that the group will achieve its goals (IM)	.669	.557	.447
22. Had high expectations for the group's performance (PC)	.623	.436	.388

Abbreviations: Attributed charisma (AC); Inspirational Motivation (IM); Perceived charisma (PC). *Note:* Only MLQ items with the five highest factor loadings are displayed. Both items from the perceived charisma scale are displayed.

Effects of attitude similarity and crisis in charismatic attributions

A two-way MANCOVA was used to determine whether independent variables, Stress and GMA influenced dependent variables, Charismatic Qualities and Overt Charisma. Stress was a 2-level nominal variable while GMA was continuous. As predicted in Prediction 7.1, attitude similarity had an effect on charismatic leadership attributions in the form of a main effect of GMA, Wilks' Λ = .882, $F_{(2, 201)}$ = 13.461, $p < .001$, multivariate η^2 = .118. There was no main effect for Stress. Furthermore, no support was found for the query about whether stress and attitude similarity would interact to affect charismatic attributions (Query 1).

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[2] Owners of the MLQ give permission for the display of up to five sample items (see Appendix H).
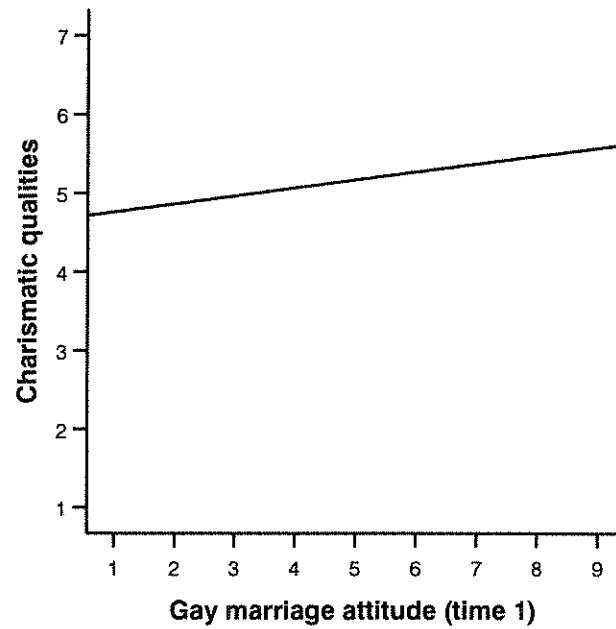
<u>Figure 6.9.</u> Line of best fit for Charismatic Qualities against GMA.

Univariate ANOVA indicated a significant main effect for GMA on

Charismatic Qualities, $F_{(1, 202)} = 18.996$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .086$. The parameter estimate

for slope showed that the attribution of implicit charismatic leadership qualities

increased with attitude similarity, $B = 0.098$, $SE\ B = 0.034$. Figure 6.9 illustrates the

relationship.

There was also a main effect for GMA on Overt Charisma, $F_{(1, 202)} = 20.507$,

$p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .092$. The slope estimate also indicated that explicit labelling of the

speaker as "charismatic" increased with support for attitude similarity, $B = 0.135$,

$SE\ B = 0.047$. Figure 6.10 illustrates the relationship.
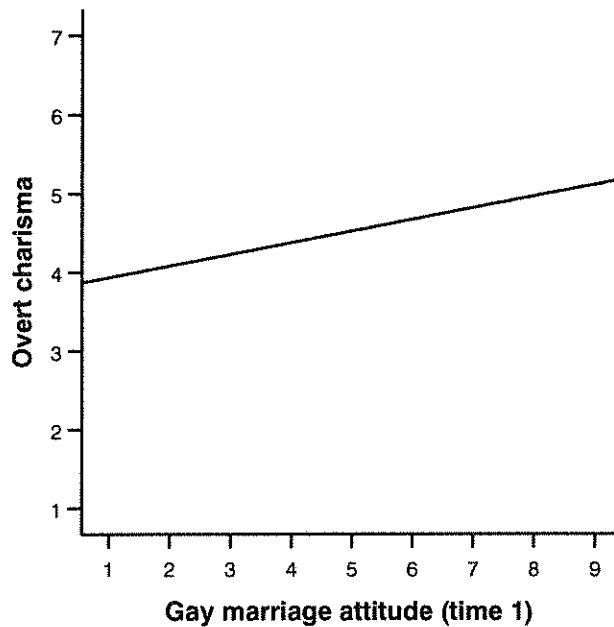
Figure 6.10. The line of best fit for Overt Charisma against GMA.

Effects on follower outcomes

Outcome scales and intercorrelations

Three follower outcome scales were used to measure the impact of attitude similarity and leader attributions. Outcomes were perceived persuasiveness of the speech (Persuasive), willingness to allow the speaker to take a leadership role over the issue of gay marriage (Follow), and willingness to take social action over the issue of gay marriage (Social Action). Table 6.6 displays the items and internal reliability of each scale. Outcomes were strongly related: Persuasive correlated with Follow ($r = .799, p < .001, N = 206$) and with Social Action ($r = .627, p < .001, N = 206$), and Social Action and Follow also correlated ($r = .733, p < .001, N = 206$).

Table 6.6.

Follower outcome items and internal reliabilities.

Scale items	Cronbach's α
Follow scale	.864
25. I would be happy for Rodney to represent me as a leader/spokes-person about gay marriage.	
26. I would be happy for Rodney to organise an information campaign about gay marriage.	
Social Action scale	.889
27. I would be interested in supporting Rodney in the following ways:	
a. Signing a petition.	
b. Handing out leaflets at the beginning of lectures.	
c. Attending a public rally.	
Persuasive scale	.911
28. The message of the speech was persuasive.	
29. The arguments put forward were important.	
30. The message was a strong one.	
31. The speech was logical.	

Effects of attitude similarity and crisis on follower outcomes

A two-way MANCOVA was used to determine the effect of Stress and GMA, on Follow, Social Action, and Persuasive. Stress was a two-level nominal variable while GMA was a continuous variable. There was a strong main effect for GMA, Wilks' $\Lambda = .378$, $F_{(3, 200)} = 109.911$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .622$, but no effect for Stress and no interaction effect of Stress × GMA.

Univariate ANOVA highlighted the main effect of GMA on Follow, $F_{(1, 202)} = 155.172$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .434$, and on Social action, $F_{(1, 202)} = 311.128$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .606$. Slopes indicated that increasing attitude similarity predicted increasing willingness for the speaker to take a leadership role, $B = 0.524$, $SE\ B = 0.052$ (see Figure 6.11), and willingness to engage in social action, $B = 0.596$, $SE\ B = 0.046$ (see Figure 6.12).

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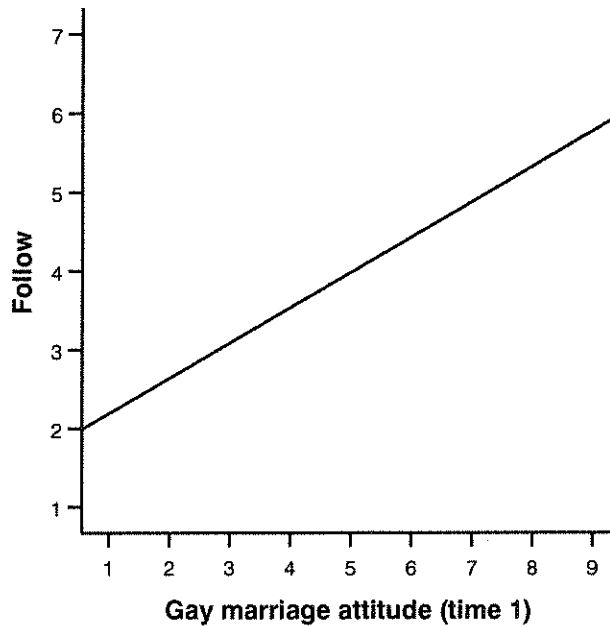
Figure 6.11. The line of best fit for Follow against GMA.

Figure 6.12. The line of best fit for Social action against GMA.

Finally, there was a significant main effect for GMA on Persuasive,

$F_{(1, 202)} = 89.934, p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .308$. Parameter estimates confirmed

that the speaker was perceived to be more persuasive as attitude similarity increased,

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$B = 0.306$, $SE\ B = 0.043$ (see Figure 6.13). In sum, Prediction 6.2, that follower

outcomes would be predicted by attitude similarity, was strongly supported.
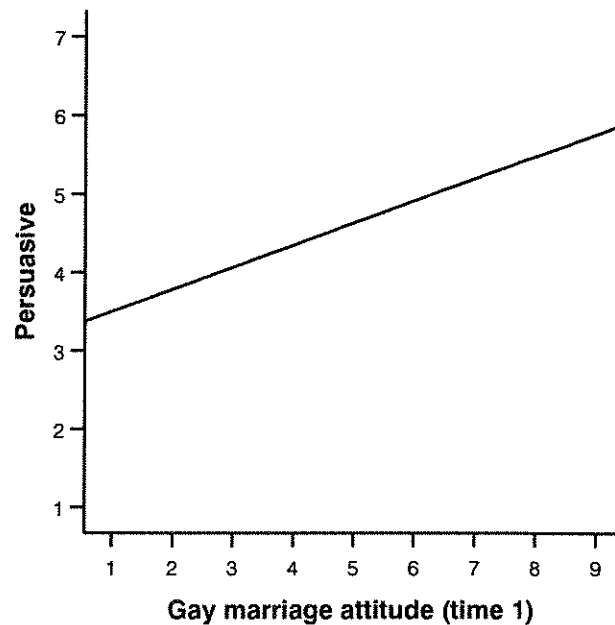
Figure 6.13. The line of best fit for Persuasive against GMA.

Effects on liking for the leader

Liking scale

The five items making up the liking scale are found in Table 6.7. The scale

also exhibited strong internal reliability, std. Cronbach's $\alpha = .894$. Liking correlated

well with Charismatic Qualities, $r = .636$, $p < .001$, and with Overt Charisma,

$r = .596$, $p < .001$, $N = 206$.

Table 6.7.
Liking items.

12. Rodney seemed to have a pleasant personality.
16. I quite liked Rodney.
20. Rodney seemed like someone I'd like to get to know.
23. Rodney showed a lot of personal warmth.
24. I felt a personal connection with Rodney.

Effects of attitude similarity and crisis on liking for the leader

A two-way ANCOVA was used to determine whether independent variables,

Stress and GMA, influenced Liking. Stress was a 2-level nominal variable while

GMA was continuous.
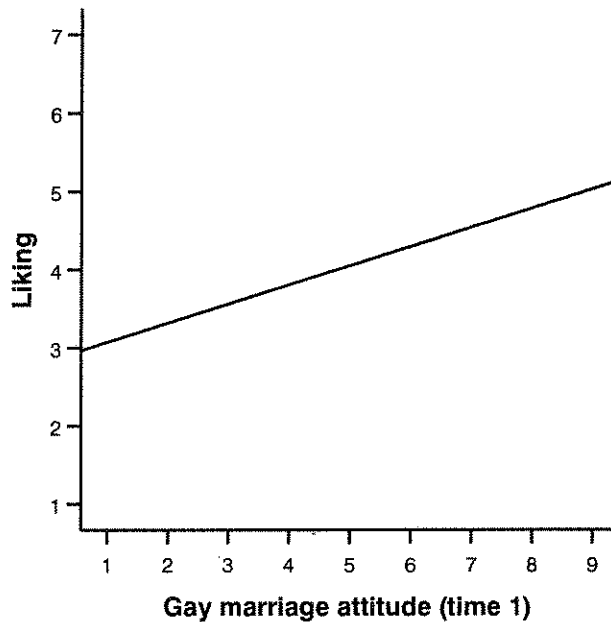
Figure 6.14. The line of best fit for Liking against GMA.

Stress and the interaction of Stress × GMA had no effect on target-specific

affect (liking) for the speaker. In contrast, there was a large effect of GMA on liking,

$F_{(1, 202)} = 67.778, p < .001, \eta^2 = .251$. As predicted in Prediction 7.3, the slope

parameter indicated that liking for the leader increased with attitude similarity,

$B = 0.249, SE\ B = 0.043$. With a score of 4 signifying neutral affect, Figure 6.14

clearly shows that those supporting gay marriage experienced positive affect for the

speaker while those opposing gay marriage experienced negative affect (dislike).

Mediation pathways to charismatic attribution

To test the possible mediation of liking for the leader on the effect of attitude

similarity on implicit and explicit charismatic leader attributions, path analyses were

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performed using hierarchical regression. The first analysis tested whether Liking

acted as a mediator of the effect of GMA on Overt Charisma. Two participants were

multivariate outliers and were removed from the analysis ($N = 204$). Figure 6.15

illustrates the pathways and their standardised regression coefficients.

Following mediation guidelines (R. M. Baron & Kenny, 1986), the initial

variable (GMA) predicted the mediator (Liking), $\beta = .503$, $t_{(1, 203)} = 8.820$, $p < .001$,

and the mediator (Liking) predicted the outcome (Overt Charisma), $\beta = 0.646$, $t_{(1, 202)}$

$= 12.036$, $p < .001$. The initial variable predicted the outcome without the mediator,

$\beta = 0.329$, $t_{(1, 202)} = 4.949$, $p < .001$. When initial variable and mediator were

included in the model, the mediator predicted the outcome variable, $\beta = 0.633$, $t_{(1, 201)}$

$= 10.351$, $p < .001$, but the effect of the initial variable was negligible, $\beta = 0.028$,

$t_{(1, 201)} = 0.455$, $p = .649$. On its own, Liking predicted 41.5% (adj. R^2) of the variance

in Overt Charisma, $F_{(1, 202)} = 144.858$, $p < .001$. The Aroian version of the Sobel test

(Aroian, 1944/1947; Sobel, 1982) confirmed the full mediation by liking of the

effect of attitude similarity on the explicit attributions of charisma, $z = 6.695$,

$p < .001$.
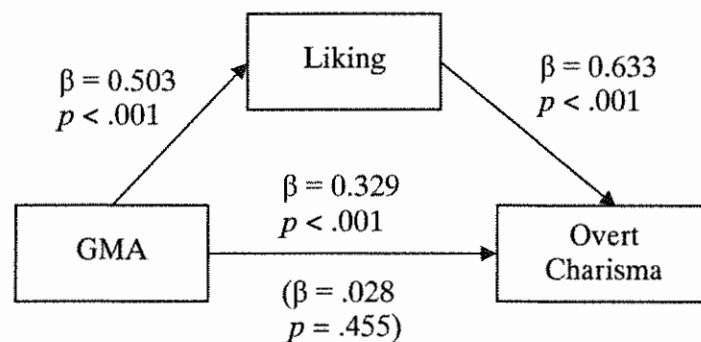
Figure 6.15. Mediation effect of Liking on GMA-Overt Charisma pathway.[3]

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[3] Note: the β-value within parentheses is the regression coefficient after entry of potential mediator.

The second analysis tested whether Liking mediated the effect of GMA on

Charismatic Qualities (see figure 6.16). The initial variable (GMA) predicted the

mediator (Liking), $\beta = 0.503$, $t_{(1, 203)} = 8.301$, $p < .001$, and the mediator (Liking)

predicted the outcome (Charismatic Qualities), $\beta = 0.644$, $t_{(1, 203)} = 11.998$, $p < .001$.

The initial variable predicted the outcome without the mediator, $\beta = 0.309$, $t_{(1, 203)} =$

4.626, $p < .001$, but when the mediator was added, $\beta = 0.655$, $t_{(1, 202)} = 10.511$,

$p < .001$, the effect of the initial variable was negligible, $\beta = -0.021$, $t_{(1, 202)} = -0.332$,

$p = .740$. Liking predicted 41.2% (adj. R^2) of the variance in charismatic qualities.
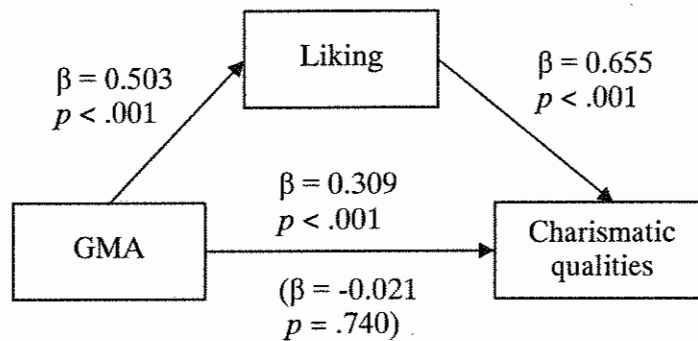
Figure 6.16. Mediation effect of Liking on GMA-Charismatic Qualities pathway.[4]

The Sobel test also confirmed the full mediation by the target-specific affect,

liking for the leader, on the effect of attitude similarity on explicit attributions of

charismatic leadership qualities, $z = 6.749$, $p < .001$. As predicted (P7.4), liking for

the leader mediated the effect of attitude similarity on charismatic attributions.

Partial correlations when controlling for liking

To examine whether liking for the leader had a strong effect on charismatic

attributions and follower outcomes, partial correlational analysis was used. Table 6.8

shows the zero intercorrelations with the partial correlations in parentheses. Liking

was strongly correlated with all attributions and outcomes, all $r < .6$.

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[4] Note: the β-value within parentheses is the regression coefficient after entry of potential mediator.

Table 6.8.
Zero and partial intercorrelations for charismatic attributions and outcomes

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Overt Charisma	1				
2. Charismatic Qualities	.521*** (.224**)	1			
3. Social Action	.434*** (.062)	.374*** (-.065)	1		
4. Persuasive	.494*** (.100)	.618*** (.302***)	.631*** (.304***)	1	
5. Follow	.472*** (.018)	.560*** (.158*)	.733*** (.479***)	.785*** (.524***)	1
6. Liking	.607***	.631***	.653***	.723***	.762***

Note: N = 206 for all correlations. * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

When Liking was controlled for, all correlations involving the charismatic attributions were dramatically reduced by half or more. In particular, Overt Charisma no longer correlated significantly with any follower outcomes, Charismatic Qualities no longer correlated with Social Action, and the correlation between Overt Charisma and Charismatic Qualities was halved. Furthermore, the strong intercorrelations between the follower outcomes were also substantially reduced. Thus, there was strong support for the prediction (P7.5) that controlling for liking for the leader would reduce intercorrelations between charismatic attributions and follower outcomes.

Predictors of follower outcomes

To compare the contributions of attitude similarity, liking for the leader, and charismatic attributions in predicting follower outcomes, standard regression analysis was used to examine the standardised regression coefficients. The results for

the three self-reported outcomes are reported below. In each analysis, the criterion

variables GMA, Liking, Overt Charisma, and Charismatic Qualities, were all entered

simultaneously. Despite strong correlations between these variables, tolerances were

all at acceptable levels.

Table 6.9 shows that GMA, Liking, and Charismatic Qualities all contributed

to Persuasive. A comparison of standardised regression coefficients revealed that

Liking played a much stronger role than Charismatic Qualities, Overt Charisma, or

GMA. The four predictors explained 61.5% (adj. R^2) of the variance in Persuasive,

$F_{(4, 201)} = 82.894$, $p < .001$. Hence, follower perceptions of the leader's

persuasiveness were most strongly predicted by liking for the leader, followed by

perceived attitude similarity with the leader, and the attributed level of implicit

charismatic leadership qualities.

Table 6.9.
Summary of hierarchical regression analysis for variables predicting Persuasive.

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	p	Tol
Constant	0.035	0.356		0.097	.922	
GMA (Time 1)	0.134	0.026	0.263	5.238	< .001	.747
Liking	0.423	0.070	0.403	6.026	< .001	.419
Overt Charisma	0.029	0.058	0.027	0.496	.621	.615
Charismatic Qualities	0.403	0.084	0.275	4.781	< .001	.567

Note: $N = 206$. Dependent variable: Persuasive.

Regression analysis as displayed in Table 6.10 indicated that the major

predictor of Social Action was GMA. Liking also contributed to the prediction of

Social Action.

Table 6.10.
Summary of hierarchical regression analysis for variables predicting Social Action.

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	p	Tol.
Constant	-1.061	0.449		-2.364	.019	
GMA (Time 1)	0.432	0.032	0.602	13.421	< .001	.747
Liking	0.488	0.088	0.331	5.523	< .001	.419
Overt Charisma	0.128	0.073	0.088	1.770	.078	.615
Charismatic Qualities	-0.125	0.106	-0.061	-1.179	.240	.567

Note: N = 206. Dependent variable: Social Action.

However, in the presence of GMA and Liking, neither Overt Charisma nor

Charismatic Qualities contributed any unique variance in Social Action. The model

containing the four criterion variables predicted 69.1% (adj. R^2) of the variance in

Social Action, $F_{(4, 201)}$ = 115.801, $p < .001$. Thus the willingness to engage in social

action for a group cause was largely influenced by attitude similarity (which

represented the level of agreement with the cause) and by liking for the leader.

As shown in Table 6.11, the analysis revealed that Follow was predicted by

three of the four criterion variables. Liking made the biggest contribution, GMA also

made a large contribution, with Charismatic Qualities playing a far smaller role

while Overt Charisma made no contribution. The model predicted 67.2% (adj. R^2) of

the variance in Follow, $F_{(4, 201)}$ = 105.831, $p < .001$. As expected, each of the

follower outcomes was more strongly predicted by liking for the leader than explicit

or implicit charismatic attributions (P7.6).

Table 6.11.
Summary of standard regression analysis for variables predicting Follow.

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	p	Tol.
Constant	-1.465	0.442		-3.312	.001	
GMA (Time 1)	0.257	0.032	0.374	8.079	< .001	.747
Liking	0.661	0.087	0.469	7.586	< .001	.419
Overt charisma	0.013	0.071	0.009	0.184	.854	.615
Charismatic Qualities	0.276	0.105	0.140	2.637	.009	.567

Note: N = 206. Dependent variable: Follow.

Summary

Taking these results as a whole, although diffuse affect states were successfully produced by manipulating stress, and other emotions were elicited through intergroup processes, they had little effect on the perception of the speaker's charisma as measured by explicit reference to the term and various Charismatic Qualities. However, target-specific affect in the form of liking for the speaker played a major role in the prediction of charismatic appraisals and so-called "charismatic" outcomes and also mediated the effects of identification with an opinion-based group and associated attitudes. While the attribution of charismatic leadership qualities was also related to most follower outcomes, it played no mediating role. A process model where social attraction largely mediated the effect of group identification on leader appraisals and follower outcomes appeared to fit the data.

Discussion

The importance of group identification and social liking for the leader in the charismatic attribution and charismatic influence processes was clearly demonstrated by this study. The strength of group identification manipulation check provided

unequivocal evidence that the identification with, and liking for, the leader were group-based and that the study set up an intergroup situation with strong opposing viewpoints.

Attitude similarity effects on charismatic attributions

One of the primary aims of the study was to gather further support for the relationship between group identification and charismatic attribution. The afore-mentioned manipulation check indicated that stronger identification with like-minded others occurred as attitudes became more extreme. This supported the validity of using the attitude similarity measure as a proxy for group identification.

The study mirrored the common social occurrence of leadership in public debate. By taking a position on the issue, participants were keenly aware of their own attitude within the spectrum of views about the issue and were therefore conscious of the intergroup context in which they and the leader operated. In this context the leader was a strong exemplar of one end of the spectrum and thus participant ability to clearly assess attitude similarity or difference was facilitated.

The study provided additional evidence for the group-based social identity analysis of charismatic leadership. It was expected and found that group identification, in the form of perceived attitude similarity with the leader, would predict attributions of both implicit and explicit charismatic leadership (P7.1). This provided a more complete picture of the discovery in the World leader study that when the same leader was perceived to be an ingroup leader (due to values-congruence), he was attributed more charisma than when he was perceived to be an outgroup leader (due to values-incongruence). In that study, participants were split dichotomously as either perceiving the leader to be an ingroup or an outgroup leader. This study more powerfully showed that with the growing perception of the leader as

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similar in attitude to the self, the level of implicit and explicit charismatic leadership attribution increased.

It is important to remember that no aspects of the target leader were varied, therefore any change in the attribution of charisma was entirely due to variation in identification with the leader as driven by the perceived similarities between leader and the self. Once again, these seemingly objective judgements of charismatic leadership qualities varied with group identification.

Follower outcomes

Another important field of exploration in this study involved follower outcomes. The study provided support for the general contention of romance of leadership theory (Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987; Meindl et al., 1985) that so-called "charismatic outcomes" are actually the product of external factors rather than the product of the leader's charisma. Moreover, the study provided extremely strong support for the more particular contention of the social identity analysis of charismatic leadership that these follower outcomes are the specific product of group processes (Hogg, 2001a, 2001c; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003). It was expected and found that the level of group identification as characterised by perceived attitude similarity with the leader would predict three self-rated outcomes: willingness to be led by the leader; willingness to engage in social action on behalf of the leader's cause, and leader persuasiveness (P7.2). Other results involving follower outcomes will be discussed in the next section due to the involvement of liking for the leader.

Liking for the leader

The final aim of the study was to explore the role of group-based liking for the leader in the charismatic attribution process. Group identification as measured by

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attitude similarity not only predicted diffuse positive affect but also strongly predicted target-specific positive affect in the form of liking for the leader. As predicted, greater identification with the leader was related to greater liking (P7.3).

Furthermore, not only was there was relative group-related difference in liking for the leader, there was also an absolute difference. High identification was linked to positive feelings toward the leader as indicated by ratings above the neutral scale-position. In contrast, low identification was clearly linked to ratings below the neutral position indicating negative feelings towards the leader which could be characterised as dislike. In other words, those perceiving the leader to be "ingroup" responded with positive affect (liking) while those perceiving him to be "outgroup" responded with negative affect (dislike).

Some might argue that this result is a replication of the strong finding by Byrne (1971) that attitude similarity is linked to interpersonal liking. However, as argued previously, this study clearly invoked social identity as demonstrated by the increase in group identification as both attitude similarity and dissimilarity became more extreme. The liking generated was clearly related to social identity and can therefore be classified as social liking.

Of even greater interest, liking for the leader fully mediated the effect of attitude similarity (as a proxy for group identification with the leader) on both implicit and explicit charismatic leadership attributions of the leader (P7.4). It would appear that categorisation of the leader as an ingroup member elicits strong liking for the leader and this colours the attributions of charismatic leadership. In the World leader study it was shown that the level of charismatic attribution associated with the leader's charismatic stature was augmented or discounted by perceptions of the leader's ingroup status relative to the perceiver. This study suggests that the

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augmenting or discounting is facilitated by the strong positive or negative affective responses engendered by group identity.

Liking for the leader would appear to be a fundamental underlying factor in both charismatic attribution and charismatic influence processes. Brown and Keeping (2005) found that controlling for liking reduced intercorrelations between transformational leadership subfactors (as measured by the MLQ) and between the subfactors and outcomes. As predicted in Prediction 7.5, the current study produced similar results: when liking was controlled for, correlations between the explicit attribution of charisma and follower outcomes became non-significant. Furthermore, correlations between implicit charismatic attributions and follower outcomes and between implicit and explicit charismatic attributions were more than halved. Finally, the intercorrelations between follower outcomes were also dramatically reduced. These data strongly support the contention that liking for the leader was a crucial underlying factor.

Adding to this picture of liking as the pivotal underlying factor in the leader-follower relationship, it was predicted and found that liking played a much larger role in predicting all three follower outcomes than explicit or implicit charismatic attributions (P7.6). Liking for the leader was a much greater predictor of perceived leader persuasiveness and willingness to follow the leader than group identification or the attribution of leader charisma. Moreover, group identification (as attitude similarity) and liking for the leader were much stronger predictors of participants' willingness to engage in social action for the leader's cause than the level of charismatic attribution.

In the previous partial correlation and regression data, there is a clear pattern that the explicit attribution of leader charisma is far more affected by liking for the

leader than the implicit attribution. This suggests that in common usage, when charisma is explicitly attributed to a leader, a large component of this is an expression of social attraction rather than an expression of the leader's charismatic leadership qualities.

This thesis argues that ingroup leaders will be attributed positive charismatic personality traits while outgroup leaders will be attributed negative ones as an explanation of the social attraction or repulsion and the level of influence associated with group identification processes. Therefore liking as social attraction is viewed as a fundamental part of the charismatic attribution process, driving the leader-follower relationship, and should therefore colour all judgements of the leader including the fundamental error of attributing charismatic leadership and follower responses and outcomes to the leader, rather than to normal group processes.

Liking played a far more dominant role in the charismatic attribution process than crisis. It is likely it will always be the case that liking plays the most dominant or mediating role in the process because it is a "gut response" to salient identification with other group members (R. Brown & Capozza, 2006; Garcia-Prieto & Scherer, 2006; Smith & Mackie, 2006). The social identity perspective argues that just as personal attraction is generated by perceived similarities on an interpersonal level, group identification generates social attraction through perceived prototypicality (Hogg, 2001c, 2005; Hogg & Hardie, 1991; Hogg & Turner, 1985). Liking is conceived to be an almost visceral "gut response" to the leader due to the comparative group processes at work and this strong like or dislike colours seemingly "more objective" judgements, that is, adding or subtracting (really enhancing or detracting) from the more neutral assessments based on comparisons with commonly-held implicit templates. In other words, liking (or disliking) occurs

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as a direct result of group identification and other products of the group

identification process follow.

Crisis effects on charismatic attributions

One of the other aims of the study was to compare the above effects with the

effects of crisis on charismatic attributions and follower outcomes. Checks showed

that the manipulation of a stressful situation as the operationalisation of crisis was

only effective in varying anxiety and anger levels. A significant difference in anxiety

levels for the manipulation was maintained throughout the study. As crisis is often

associated with anxiety and stress (e.g., Bligh et al., 2004a; Pillai & Meindl, 1998),

the manipulation was deemed to be valid.

It was queried whether stress and attitude similarity would interact to affect

implicit and explicit charismatic attributions or follower outcomes (Query 1). Similar

to the results of Brown and Keeping (2005), this study found no main or interactive

effects for this negative affect on charismatic leader attribution. The affect generated

by the crisis situation neither enhanced nor diminished attributions. Moreover,

follower outcomes were also unaffected. One explanation could be that despite the

statistically significant difference in anxiety produced by the manipulation, it was not

a large enough effect to impact attributions or outcomes.

Furthermore, group identification, as represented by attitude similarity, was

also associated with some affective responses. As the perception of attitude

similarity with the leader grew, participants experienced increasingly positive affect.

Specifically, increased group identification predicted greater excitement and

happiness, less indifference, and a more positive mood. These diffuse positive

emotions may have interfered with or overshadowed the effects of the stress

manipulation.

Finally, the leader could not be blamed for the crisis, nor could he provide a solution. As such, the feelings associated with the stressful situation may have been strongly and consciously experienced but not seen as relevant to the task of rating the leader . Ultimately the positive affect associated with group identification may have been of far more relevance to the making of leader judgements than the negative affect of the stressful situation. For these reasons, it cannot be concluded that the study discounted the role of crisis in charismatic leadership attributions. Rather, it can only be concluded that the study provided no further support for the role of crisis.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations to this study which prevent the results from being fully conclusive. First, the proportion of those supporting gay marriage was much greater than those rejecting it or those taking a neutral position. While using regression analysis is quite robust, more balanced numbers would give greater authority to the findings. Second, a stress manipulation which provided a stronger main effect would help determine whether liking intrinsically plays a stronger role or whether it just played a stronger role in this study.

Third, univariate emotion scales may not be effective measures. For example, the endpoints of the scale for happiness were labelled "not at all" and "totally". It is hard to know whether "not at all" should be interpreted as "a neutral absence of happiness" or as actually being "unhappy". The same could be argued for anger and excitement. Thus the stress manipulation may have had a substantially greater effect not borne out by the measures. Furthermore, only six items were measured. Other affective states may have been generated which were not measured and therefore not accounted for in the mediation analyses.

Fourth, this study did not test the role of crisis in charismatic attributions in the normal way in which crises are conceived. All people in the high stress condition were subject to stress regardless of affiliation to the leader and the leader did not promise to alleviate the stress or provide a solution to it. Stress was independent from group membership although as noted above, interactions between stress and group membership did occur. The point was only to observe charismatic attributions due to group processes under stress and observe any changes in those attributions due to diffuse mood differences. Therefore, the study could not be extrapolated to make general points about charismatic leadership in crises affecting the group. However, one might be able to rule out the emotions and arousal as being sufficient in themselves to bring about changes in charismatic attribution and therefore conclude that crisis only plays a role in charismatic leadership perceptions if the fault or alleviation of the crisis can be linked to the leader.

Finally, studies involving "charismatic" outcomes are usually wary of common method bias, that is, where correlations between leader subscales and follower outcomes may be inflated due to measuring responses from the same source. Some have argued that the case against common method bias may itself be over inflated (de Hoogh et al., 2004; MacKenzie, Podsakoff, & Rich, 2001). However the whole question of common method bias highlights a fundamental difference between social construction theories of leadership and other theories.

Under social identity theory, charisma and even leadership itself are constructions of the follower and merely attributed to another so an objective measure of that person's "charisma" as indicated by independent outcome measures is not the aim. Charisma is not a property of the leader and therefore does not produce outcomes, objective or otherwise. Rather outcomes such as productivity,

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social action, and attitude change are normal products of group processes just as charismatic and other leadership attributions are. They may all correlate but are not beholden to each other. The common factor is the perception of psychological group identification in a salient intergroup context. In other words, the behaviours judged to be "charismatic" are in fact indicative of the perceiver's group membership and not the target's charisma and therefore do not need to be linked to objective measures of the leader's effectiveness. Rather followers' identification and attributions indicate their frame of mind and the role they are likely to play in group outcomes.

Future directions and implications

The central role of liking in the charismatic attribution process has been clearly identified. Liking is obviously a fundamental part of charisma—one perceives and assesses not only certain types of behaviours commonly associated with charismatic leadership but also perceives attraction for the leader which colours these assessments. Future studies should attempt to confirm causality by testing liking before the speech is read. Further exploration into the generation of liking and the nature of the relationship between follower and leader would be useful.

Using the continuous identification scale was extremely fruitful as the gamut of responses could be seen and the ways the more neutral differ from both ingroup and outgroup could be explored. The neutral position gives a reasonable baseline of charismatic stature from which to compare modifying effects of group identification. Further studies comparing two leaders and follower outcomes would help to further disentangle the effects of group identification on liking, charismatic attribution and follower outcomes and those due to charismatic stature differences.

Outcomes were shown to be related to group identification and social attraction for the leader rather than generated or even predicted strongly by the attribution of charismatic leadership in the presence of other predictors. This goes to the heart of normalising and demystifying the nature of charisma and the charismatic attribution process. The great strength of this study was to present the same leader and the same speech and show that differences in charismatic attribution and outcomes were group-related. At the core of this study, liking for the leader was shown to be associated with charisma as part of the normal group processes and "charismatic" outcomes were actually products of these processes.

Group identification drives the differences people feel about the same leader, the like or dislike and the judgements and responses to the leader that follow. As discussed in the last study, those perceiving the leader to be an ingroup member use rosier lenses than those perceiving the leader to be an outgroup member and therefore the two groups may see two different people and therefore attribute different levels of charismatic leadership. This study shows that these lens differences are due to the like or dislike generated, and that this affect colours the attributions of charismatic leadership, the impressions of personality traits, and also influences follower outcomes.

CHAPTER 7

COSGROVE STUDY

One of the fundamental arguments in the charismatic leadership literature has been whether the charismatic relationship operates in an interpersonal or intragroup context. While the literature has focussed largely on the interpersonal, this would appear at odds with reality. Leaders are nearly always viewed in relation to the social group or organisation they lead and often cast themselves as in that light. Over the last few years of his time in office, the previous Australian prime minister, John Howard, was plagued by the leadership aspirations of his deputy. When asked about standing aside, he continued to assert, "Well, I will stay as long as my party wants me to. And it's in the party's best interest that I do" (Hall, 2007).

Leaders are often perceived as acting or speaking on behalf of their group, and as personifying the group's aims and values (cf., "representative character" Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). They may be thought of as exemplifying the group, that is, being the most quintessential or prototypical member. Comments such as this one about the President of the United States, George W. Bush, are not uncommon:

> How has the Republican Party changed since George W. Bush was elected president? The answer can be summed up in one sentence: The Republican Party has become George W. Bush's party to a greater extent than it has been any one leader's party for a century ... he personifies the Republican Party to a greater extent than his father, to a greater extent even than Ronald Reagan, to a greater extent than any Republican president since his strategist Karl Rove's historic exemplar, William McKinley (Barone, 2002).

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As such, despite a leader's distinct behaviours and personality traits, attitudes to, and identification with the leader may be inextricably linked to attitudes to and identification with the leader's group. Therefore, it is conceivable that charismatic leadership attributions and liking for the leader are often influenced by more general responses to the group that the leader represents. In other words, do we identify with and like a leader "on principle", and could attributions of charisma, therefore, follow that principle? Furthermore, is group success or failure a salient factor in attributions of leader charisma?

The aims of the present study were to explore how charisma-associated reactions to the group's leader are impacted by identification with a social group and by perceptions of that group's success or failure. Charisma-associated reactions included: (1) implicit and explicit charismatic leadership attributions; (2) liking for the leader; (3) leader popularity; (4) the quality of a leader's speech; and (5) attributions about followers and detractors. In particular, the study sought to determine whether previously-held attitudes to, and identification with, a group affect identification with, and liking for the leader. The effect of this identification and liking on charismatic attributions was also examined. In this study, participants indicated how strongly they identified with the Australian Defence Force[1] and with its leader[2]. They were exposed to images of either a successful or an unsuccessful ADF military campaign and images of the leader, and then asked to read a speech purported to be by the leader. Responses to the leader, the speech, and of supporters and detractors were recorded. It was expected that these evaluations would be strongly influenced by identification with the ADF and that identification with the group's leader and liking for him would play a substantial causal role in this process.

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[1] Hereafter the Australian Defence Force will be abbreviated to the ADF.
[2] At the time the research was conducted.

Given the emphasis the literature has placed on group success or failure, it was anticipated that the level of success would also affect the attribution process.

Identification with group and leader

In the World leader study, agreement or disagreement with an established leader's values and beliefs strongly predicted differences in attributions of that leader's charisma. In the Gay Marriage study, attitude similarity with, or dissimilarity from, an emergent leader also predicted liking for that leader and attributions of his charisma. It was argued that these responses were based on the categorisation of a shared social identity with the leader rather than on personal identification with the leader (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1987). Social rather than personal identity is theorised to operate as an intergroup situation arises. One of the ways this can occur is when differences in attitudes, values, or beliefs are highlighted so that people become strongly aware of the similarity or difference in others' viewpoints compared to their own. The Gay Marriage Study provided strong support for this conception with data showing that people identified more strongly with like-minded others as attitudes both for and against the issue became more extreme. It was argued that the like and dislike associated with these extremes was social rather than interpersonal.

The argument about whether liking is social or interpersonal relates to a broader question about the type of identification argued about in the new leadership literature. For example, while both theories highlight the important role of internalisation, Conger and Kanungo's (1987) charismatic leadership theory is underpinned by personal identification with the leader whereas Shamir et al's (1993) self-concept theory is underpinned by collective identification. Yukl (1999) asks, "How do personal identification, social identification, internalization, and

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instrumental compliance interact in determining the behaviour of followers? Is one influence process more central than the others?" (p. 295).

Yukl (1999) appears to see identification with a person and with a group as mutually exclusive processes. He suggests that the internalisation process involving personal identification entails "passionate devotion to an attractive leader with exceptional ability ... Followers desire to be like the leader and to gain the leader's acceptance and approval" (p. 294). He contrasts this with the internalisation process involving group self-concept and values: "When followers come to see their work roles as an important part of their self-identity, successful performance becomes very important for their self-acceptance and self worth ... The dedication of subordinates to the mission will be stronger than any loyalty they feel to the leader" (p. 295). This distinction is mirrored in theories about personalised versus socialised charismatic leaders (e.g., Howell, 1988; Popper, 2000, 2002; Strange & Mumford, 2002; Weierter, 1997), the former being viewed as involving unhealthy and disempowering attachments to the person, while the latter are characterised as involving healthy and empowering attachments to the group and its cause.

However, the distinction between personal and socialised leaders seems to encourage a very simplistic saint/sinner dichotomy. Deluga (2001) studied thirty-nine American presidents and measured machiavellianism and charismatic leadership. He concluded that personalised and socialised charismatic leadership were not mutually exclusive. Indeed, it would be expected that leaders have a mixture of personal and group-based motivations and that followers will feel simultaneously strong attachments to the leader, the group, and the mission. This is clearly the case in the Gay Marriage Study: the greater the perception of a shared social identity with those who support gay marriage, the higher the level of liking for

the leader, and the stronger the willingness to be involved in social action for the cause.

This fits with a social identity analysis. As stated in chapter four, self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1987) posits that, as a social identity becomes salient, personal identity loses salience. In this sense, personal and group identification do not co-occur. However, under a shared social identity, one group member can identify with another and have feelings of social attraction for that person. In a salient intergroup context, identification with the group will produce strong identification with the leader as a group member and as that group's most prototypical representative (Turner & Haslam, 2001).

In this sense, as an extension of being deeply committed to the group, followers can identify strongly, and be enamoured with, the person of a leader. Thus identification with the group and personal identification with the leader need not be mutually exclusive. It is hypothesised that the perception of a shared social identity with the group will manifest in personal identification with the leader.

The perception of a shared social identity with the group was operationalised as the level of identification with the ADF, while perception of a shared social identity with the leader was operationalised as the level of identification with the leader of the ADF. It was predicted that:

P7.1. Identification with the leader's group and identification with the leader will correlate strongly.

As with the two previous empirical studies, it is hypothesised that categorising the self and leader as sharing a social identity will influence attributions of charismatic leadership. Similar to the Gay Marriage Study, attribution of the

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leader's charisma was operationalised as responses to both a single explicit question about the leader's charisma, and a scale made up of implicit charismatic leadership qualities. It was therefore expected that:

P7.2. Identification with the leader's group will predict both explicit and implicit attributions of leader charisma.

Given that identification with the leader is a specific example of identification with the group, and given the tendency to focus on the leader rather than on the group processes surrounding the leader (Meindl, 1993, 1998a, 2001; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985), it is hypothesised that identification with the leader is born out of identification with the group and therefore identification with the leader will mediate the effect of identification with the group on assessments of, and responses to, the leader. It is therefore predicted that:

P7.3. Identification with the leader will mediate the effect of identification with the leader's group on explicit and implicit attributions of charismatic qualities.

Liking and causality

In the Gay Marriage Study, it was shown that liking for the leader was strongly associated with group identification. Using attitude similarity as the basis of comparison, categorisation of an emergent leader as sharing a social identity predicted social liking. In this study identification with an existing leader's group was the basis for a shared social identity. It was therefore hypothesised that identification with the leader's group would also predict liking for the leader. As in

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the Gay Marriage Study, liking for the leader was operationalised as self-report ratings of social attraction towards the leader.

Furthermore, the Gay Marriage Study revealed that liking for the leader was not only a product of a shared social identity, but also mediated the effect of that social identity on charismatic leadership attributions. However, in that study both liking and charisma measures were taken after the speech had been read, so while mediation was statistically supported, causality could not be shown, because the effects of reading the speech may have contributed to this mediation.

To address that issue, in this study the causal role of liking was investigated by measuring liking before and after participants read a speech by the leader. If pre-speech liking plays a significant role then it will indicate that affect for the leader exists due to previously held salient attitudes and group identification, rather than being won over by the arguments/effects of the speech. It is argued that the perception of a shared social identity between follower and leader would be enough to produce the attribution of social attractiveness (Hogg, Cooper-Shaw, & Holzworth, 1993; Hogg & Hardie, 1991; Hogg, Hardie, & Reynolds, 1995; Hogg & Turner, 1985; Turner, Sachdev, & Hogg, 1983) and that these feelings of liking facilitate and influence the level of perceived charisma. It is therefore hypothesised that:

P7.4. Group identification will strongly predict liking for the leader both (a) before, and (b) after being exposed to a group-affirming speech.

P7.5. Pre-speech liking will mediate the effect of group identification on (a) post-speech liking, and on (b) charismatic leadership attributions.

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In the previous section it was hypothesised that identification with the group produces identification with the leader, which in turn influences responses to the leader. The Gay Marriage Study showed that social liking was a fundamental emotional response to group processes, which is attributed to the person of the leader. It is therefore hypothesised that social liking for the leader will be born out of identification with the leader's group and it will be even more strongly related to identification with the leader. Thus it was predicted that:

P7.6. Identification with the leader will mediate the effect of identification with the leader's group on liking for the leader.

Social popularity

Popularity—being generally well-regarded or approved of—is often viewed as a measure of someone's charisma. Hogg and Hardie (1991) contrast social popularity, which is based on social identity, with personal popularity. In their study of an Australian football team, they found that amongst team members, social popularity was far more related to how representative of the team the member was than personal popularity. In the Gay Marriage Study the case was made that the liking exhibited towards the leader was also group-based—that is, a social attraction between group members—rather than based on a personal attraction to the leader. Hogg (2001a) states that:

Social identification transforms the basis of liking for others from idiosyncratic preference and personal relationship history (personal attraction) to prototypicality (social attraction); that is, ingroup members are liked more than outgroup members and more prototypical ingroupers are liked more than less prototypical ingroupers (p. 204).

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It is therefore hypothesised that social popularity is strongly related to social liking and therefore to charismatic leader attributions because all three are products of a shared social identity. It is also posited that social liking will play the same mediating role for social popularity as for attributions of charisma.

One of the standard measures of popularity for distant leaders is job approval rating (Alt, Lassen, & Skilling, 2001; Wolf & Holian, 2006). Used specifically in relation to political or politically-appointed positions, when reported in the media approval ratings are synonymous with popularity and under certain conditions can predict future leader effectiveness (Canes-Wrone & de Marchi, 2002). Therefore this study examined how social popularity relates to liking and charismatic attribution by using a job approval measure to operationalise social popularity. It is expected that:

P7.7. Leader job approval will correlate strongly with (a) implicit and explicit attributions of charismatic leadership, (b) pre-speech liking, and (c) post-speech liking.

P7.8. Identification with the leader's group will predict leader job approval.

P7.9. Pre-speech liking will mediate the relationship between group identification and job approval.

Organisational success

As "proof" of charismatic credentials, Weber suggested that a charismatic leader was required by followers to be successful, or at least be able to reframe followers' efforts as having been successful (Weber, 1947). As stated previously, romance of leadership theorists have demonstrated that organisational success can

predict charismatic attributions (Meindl, 1993). Self-categorisation theorists have found that ingroup prototypicality correlated with charismatic attributions, but that organisational success could substitute for low prototypicality (Haslam et al., 2001).

This study examined the interaction effect of group identification and organisational success on charismatic attributions. A main effect for organisational success on charismatic attributions would support romance of leadership theory (Meindl, 1993) whereas a main effect for group identification would support self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1987). An interaction between group identification and organisational success would provide stronger support for Haslam et al's (2001) contention that group identification predicts charismatic attributions in a neutral or organisational failure setting but that organisational success can substitute for prototypicality as group identification decreases.

In this study, organisational success and failure was operationalised by exposing participants to images of the ADF in either a successful or an unsuccessful military action: peacekeeping in East Timor versus the current war in Iraq, respectively. Comparison reactions to each military action were used to assess the strength of the manipulation.

It is therefore queried whether:

Query 7.1. Organisational success will interact with group identification such that leader ratings will be predicted by group identification in the setting of an unsuccessful military action, while in the setting of a successful military action, leader ratings will be similarly high for (a) explicit and implicit charismatic leadership attributions and (b) liking for the leader.

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Perceptions of the speech

One of the profound findings of the Gay Marriage Study was that seemingly objective criteria of the speaker's charismatic leadership qualities, such as the perception of his level of determination to accomplish goals or the amount of power and confidence he displayed, were subject to the influence of group identification. Judgements about the speech were also shown to have a strong element of subjectivity, with persuasion scale items such as message strength and logic of argument varying strongly with group identification.

It is hypothesised that not only will perceptions of displayed charismatic leadership behaviours be subject to group identification biases but also evaluations of the leader's words through speeches, exhortations and other communications. Evaluations of the speech were operationalised as participant judgements about the speech's persuasiveness, its "charismatic" content, its emotiveness, and the quality of the writing. It was expected that:

P7.10. Group identification will predict perceptions of persuasiveness, and emotiveness of a speech, how well-written it was, and whether it was high in charismatic content.

Furthermore, in the World leader study it was shown that outgroup leaders were perceived to be more manipulative than ingroup leaders. It was hypothesised that the attribution of manipulative intent in this study would also be related to group identification. The attribution of manipulative intent was operationalised as judgements about the intent of appeals to emotion and group identity in the speech. It is therefore expected that:

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P7.11. Group identification will inversely predict the perceived manipulative intent of a speech.

Perceptions of the audience

In the World leader study (chapter 5), it was shown that intergroup bias plays a role in the judgements of those involved in the charismatic influence process. In those studies, those who perceived the leader to be an ingroup member normalised the reactions of like-minded others who had submitted to the leader's charismatic influence. In comparison, those who perceived the leader to be an outgroup member pathologised the reactions of those who had submitted. This study builds on those findings by investigating not only ingroup and outgroup reactions to those within the charismatic influence process, but also reactions to those who reject the charismatic leader's overtures.

Judgements about audience reactions were operationalised as comparison ratings of supporter and detractor responses to the leader's speech on dimensions of persuadability, rationality, superficiality, and naturalness. It was predicted that:

P7.12. As identification with the leader's group increases, reactions of those influenced by the leader will be normalised or viewed more positively.

P7.13. As identification with the leader's group increases, reactions of those rejecting the leader's influence will be pathologised, or viewed more negatively.

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Summary

The aim of this study was to further examine the roles of group identification and liking in how supporters and detractors of a leader attribute charismatic leadership, how they view qualities of charismatic speech, and how they view each other. The study involved measuring and comparing identification with the ADF and identification with and liking for the recent head of the ADF. After being exposed to a group success manipulation and images of the leader, participants read a pro-military speech and rated the leader, the speech, and supporters and detractors of the leader.

Method

Participants

Participants were 232 first-year psychology students at the Australian National University who gave permission for their data to be used while attending compulsory laboratory sessions consisting of between 10 and 27 students. One participant gave the same response to every item and was deleted. Nineteen students who were not Australian citizens and/or spoke English as a second language were also removed from further analysis. The final working sample ($N = 212$) consisted of 135 women and 77 men, with ages ranging from 17 to 60 (median: 19).

Design

This study was a 2×2 between-subjects design, with two dichotomous independent variables, group identification (ingroup, outgroup) and military action (success, failure). Dependent variables consisted of participant ratings on: (i) leader dimensions of implicit and explicit attributions of charismatic leadership, job

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approval, and liking; (ii) speech quality dimensions of persuasiveness, charismatic content, emotiveness, manipulativeness, and good writing; and (iii) audience reaction dimensions.

Materials & Procedure

Participants received a questionnaire booklet entitled 'Australian Defence Force Study' and were given the following introduction:

"I'm interested in your attitudes to the Australian Defence Force and about the recent Chief of the Australian Defence Force, Major-General Peter Cosgrove. You'll see some images, you'll read a speech, and you'll see how people responded to the speech at the time. I'll be asking for your attitudes to these things as well as a bit of anonymous information about you. It should take roughly half an hour to run through and then I'll debrief you on it. As with your essay and assignments, this is part of one of my assignments and the more of your data I can use the more accurate I can be in my statements about what you think. I'm really hoping you'll let me use your data. If you don't want me to use your data, tick the box on the front".

Group identification manipulation and checks

Participants were randomly placed in the ingroup or outgroup identification condition by laboratory session. In the ingroup condition, identification with, and attitude salience about, the Australian Defence Force were raised with the following monologue delivered by the experimenter:

"I'd like you to think about the Australian Defence Force. When a democratic country like Australia sends their troops overseas, those troops

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act as representatives of our country. We trust our troops to act in a way that reflects our values and standards. Think about what you would expect of Australian troops as they carry out their duties as representatives of a democratic society like Australia. With that in mind, please turn over the page and answer the questions on that page".

These participants were then asked to answer the free-response instruction: "List the values, standards, and behaviours you would expect from the ADF as they represent us in their work in overseas countries".

The level of group identification in this condition was then measured with 7-point Likert scale two items: "2. I have a lot in common with members of the Australian Defence Force" and "3. People who volunteer for service in the Australian Defence Force are different from the rest of us". All Likert scales used throughout the questionnaire were 7-point with 1 labelled 'Strongly disagree' and 7 labelled 'Strongly agree'.

In the outgroup condition, alienation from, and attitude salience to, the ADF were raised with this experimenter monologue:

"I'd like you to think about the Australian Defence Force. The job of a soldier is not something most of us can really relate to. As a civilian, that is, someone who is not a soldier, think about what a soldier in the Australian Defence Forces is trained to do, and asked to do in times of war. What is a soldier's ultimate job in dealing with an enemy? Think about what that must do to a person. What sort of mindset must they have to achieve this? With that in mind, please turn over the page and answer the questions on that page".

These participants were then asked to: "List the ways you see civilians like yourself as different from the Australian Defence Force. Try to comment on the differences in the values, behaviours, and emotional reactions that you think would really distinguish them from you". Participants in this condition also responded to the same two group identification items however their order was reversed.

Organisational success manipulation and checks

When all participants had finished the first page, those in the organisational failure condition were told: "I'm going to show you some images of the Australian Defence Force in Iraq. All military personnel and equipment in these photos are Australian. I'll tell you what to do next after you've seen the images". Those in the organisational success condition were told the same thing however 'East Timor' was substituted for 'Iraq'.

Participants were then shown a PowerPoint presentation of twenty still images of either the current Iraq War or the peace keeping operation in East Timor during 1991. Images in both presentations were closely matched such that each presentation comprised: (i) five images of the impact of the war on civilians, (ii) five images of military hardware in action, such as aircraft flying, and tanks and artillery guns firing rounds, and (iii) ten images of armed soldiers, five of which showed only military personnel and five of which showed soldiers and civilians interacting. Each image was shown for five seconds. During the Iraq presentation the experimenter read out the following monologue:

"After the Sept 11 tragedy in 2001, America declared war on Iraq in March 2002. The Australian Defence Force aided an international force to oust the President, Saddam Hussein. By April 2002, the war was declared over

although there continues to be violence and civil unrest. Many Australian troops are still serving there".

The experimenter read the following monologue during the East Timor presentation:

"An Indonesian colony since 1975, East Timor, experienced civil unrest and violence after a vote for independence in August 1999. The Australian Defence Force led an international military force to restore order and security in September that year. By February 2000, the operation was complete and East Timor is now an independent country. Many Australian troops are still serving there".

After each presentation, participants were instructed as follows: "Please turn the page and give me your responses to the images you've just seen. Please don't turn the next page over". Participants then responded to two items about the military action they were exposed to, "4. It was morally right for the Australian Defence Force to go to [Iraq/East Timor]", and "5. The people of [Iraq/East Timor] have been helped by the involvement of the Australian Defence Force in their country". They then responded to two more group identification items, "6. I am proud to be represented in other countries by the Australian Defence Force" and "7. I feel strong ties with members of the Australian Defence Force", and rated their mood on a 7-point Likert scale where 1 was labelled 'Very negative' and 7 was labelled 'Very positive'. The moral rightness item was repeated after the speech to gauge the lasting effect of the success manipulation.

Introduction of target

When all participants had finished this page, they were shown a further nine images. These images were the same across all conditions and consisted of the target, the recently retired Chief of the Australian Defence Forces. Each image was shown for five seconds. As the images were presented, the experimenter read the following:

> "You are about to read a speech by Major-General Peter Cosgrove. He graduated from Duntroon here in Canberra and saw active Army duty in Malaysia and Vietnam. He led the Australian and UN forces in East Timor in 1999, and was promoted to Chief of the Army in 2000, and to Chief of the Australian Defence Forces in 2002 and commanded over Australia's involvement in the Iraq War. He retired on 1st of July this year. One Australian newspaper described him as the "soldier's soldier", someone who personifies what being a soldier is all about. Please turn over the page and work through the rest of the booklet. Thanks."

Participants then responded to the target with the free-response item, "9. How would you describe Peter Cosgrove?", two personal Likert scale items, "Peter is typical of the Australian Defence Force", "I identify with Peter", and the liking scale developed for and used in the Gay Marriage study.

The speech

Continuing through the booklet at their own pace, participants then read the transcript of a speech comprising 1,054 words and purporting to be written and spoken by the target in 2003 (see Appendix C). In reality the stimulus was a slightly modified version of a speech delivered by the then Australian Prime Minister, Paul

Keating, in 1993 and written by his speech writer at the time, Don Watson. The speech, originally entitled "Eulogy at the tomb of the unknown soldier", recounts the Australian contribution in the First World War, and argues that although war is a terrible thing, Australians have been noble in their war participation. After the speech, participants rated the leader, the speech, and their group identification.

Dependent variables – leader ratings (post-speech)

Post-speech ratings concerning the leader included an explicit charismatic leadership attribution item, and a charismatic leadership qualities scale consisting of seventeen items modified from the MLQ (Bass & Avolio, 1991) and a repeated-measure of the 5-item liking scale. In addition to these scales three items were used: a popularity item, "I approve of the way Peter did his job"; a leader identification item, "I have a Lot in common with Peter"; and an item adapted from the Parasocial Interaction scale (Rubin & McHugh, 1987) about knowledge of the leader, "The speech showed me what Peter is like".

Dependent variables – speech ratings

The speech was rated for perceived persuasiveness with items used in the Gay Marriage study (Platow, van Knippenberg, Haslam, van Knippenberg, & Spears, 2006). Other speech ratings were created to measure perceived manipulativeness, emotiveness, charismatic content, and writing quality. Items can be found in Table 7.14.

Dependent variables – group identification ratings (post-speech)

Three group identification items appeared post-speech, the first being, "I identify with people who express similar views to the ones in this speech". The other

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two were repeated measures of the original two identification items, "People who volunteer for service in the Australian Defence Force are different from the rest of us: and "I have a Lot in common with people in the Australian Defence Force".

Dependent variables – follower and protester ratings

Participants then read a fictitious newspaper article about the day Peter Cosgrove gave the speech they had just read (see Appendix D). The article contrasted reactions to the speech—those who were moved by the speech and applauded warmly, and those who protested about the Iraq War and were therefore unmoved. Respective reactions were portrayed by the passages:

> One woman said, "He was really inspiring. He is a great speaker and a great role model for my kids ... I'd never felt really good about Australia going to war but he was really convincing". Another said that it reminded him that we should feel proud of the soldiers who are fighting in Iraq at the moment.

> However, much to the disgust of some, a small group of protesters at the back of the crowd silently held up signs and placards protesting the war in Iraq. One protester said, "He can give a good speech but he is morally bankrupt and a political stooge in his support for this illegal war".

Participants then rated the responses of both groups on the items in Table 7.18 and supplied demographic information.

Results

Data consisted of ratings of the leader, the speech, and supporters and detractors of the leader measured on 7-point Likert scales. The sample consisted of two hundred and twelve participants ($N = 212$).

Identification manipulation and checks

Identification with the target group

To determine whether group identification had been successfully manipulated, four identification items were used. Univariate ANOVA results (see Table 7.1) revealed that the manipulation had a near significant effect on the difference item such that those participants in the outgroup condition ($M = 3.72$) felt that the target group were more different "from the rest of us" than those participants in the ingroup condition ($M = 3.37$). However, there was no effect on the other three standard group identification items.

Table 7.1.
Means and significance tests for group identification manipulation checks.

| | Group identification manipulation | | | | | | |
| | Ingroup | | Outgroup | | | | |
Group identification items	M	SD	M	SD	$F_{(1, 210)}$	p	partial η^2
Difference	3.37	1.34	3.72	1.56	2.959	.087	.014
Commonality	3.54	1.42	3.49	1.41	0.068	.795	< .001
Pride	4.05	1.45	3.97	1.56	0.173	.678	< .001
Strong ties	3.39	1.45	3.17	1.60	1.115	.292	.005

Note: $N = 212$ (Ingroup $n = 94$; Outgroup $n = 118$).

It was also expected that Commonality and Difference would have a large to very large inverse correlation but Table 7.2 as shows, this was also not the case,

$r = -.303$. While Difference inversely correlated with Commonality and with two

other identification measures, Pride in the ADF and Strong ties with the ADF, the

strength of the relationships were small to medium. Commonality correlated well

with Strong ties but less well with Pride.

Table 7.2.
Correlations between group identification items.

	1	2	3	4
1. Commonality	1			
2. Difference	-.303***	1		
3. Pride	.394***	-.230***	1	
4. Strong ties	.639***	-.204**	.623***	1
Mean	3.514	3.566	4.005	3.269
Standard deviation	1.412	1.470	1.510	1.536

Note: $N = 212$. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$.

The aim of the manipulation had been to create a dichotomous group

identification variable by splitting the sample into two groups that significantly

differed in identification with the leader's group. Since this had patently failed, a

continuous independent variable for group identification was formed from some of

these manipulation check items. Principal axis factoring was used to assess the

underlying factor structure. Table 7.3 displays the single factor extracted. Difference

was immediately rejected due to extremely low initial communality and extraction.

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Table 7.3.

Principal axis factoring analysis for group identification manipulation checks.

| Group identification item | Factor Loading | Communality | |
		Initial	Extraction
Strong ties	.911	.573	.831
Commonality	.692	.441	.479
Pride	.648	.400	.429
Difference	-.315	.109	.099
Extraction sums of squared loadings	1.829		
% of variance	45.718		

Note: N = 212.

As Strong ties and Pride were measured after the organisational success manipulation, their correlations with Military action were investigated. Military action correlated with Pride, $r = .172$, $p = .017$, but not with Strong ties, $r = .075$, $p = .277$. So that the group identification scale was independent of Military action and did not contain overlapping variance, only Strong ties and Commonality were averaged to create the group identification scale (GRID). GRID measured the level of identification with the leader's group, the ADF, and had reasonable internal consistency (std. Cronbach's $\alpha = .780$). As required, GRID was unrelated to Military action, $r = .061$, $p = .380$.

Group identification levels over time

Two of the group identification manipulation checks were measured twice to assess any changes in group identification over time. Measurements were taken immediately after the initial group identification manipulation (pre-speech) and again before assessing audience perceptions (post-speech). A doubly MANCOVA was executed with Time as a within-subjects independent variable and Military

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action as a between-subjects independent variable. Commonality and Difference were the dependent repeated measures.

There was no significant multivariate effects for time, Wilk's $\Lambda = .979$, $F_{(2, 209)} = 2.272$, $p = .106$, or for Time × Military action, Wilk's $\Lambda = .986$, $F_{(2, 209)} = 1.537$, $p = .217$. It was concluded that identification with the target group had remained relatively constant throughout the study.

Other identification measures

In addition to the items used to check the group identification manipulation, three other identification measures were taken. Two items gauged identification with the person of the leader, before the speech: "I identify with [the leader]" (PID) and after the speech: "I have a lot in common with [the leader]" (Lot in common). The other measure was a post-speech group identification measure "I identify with people who express similar views to the ones in this speech" (Similar views).

Table 7.4.
Correlations between identification items

	1	2	3	4
1. GRID	1			
2. PID	.520	1		
3. Lot in common	.525	.691	1	
4. Similar views	.525	.574	.620	1
Mean	3.392	3.304	3.142	4.100
Standard deviation	1.335	1.481	1.306	1.493

Note: For all correlations: $p < .001$, $N = 212$.

Intercorrelations shown in Table 7.4 indicated that the pre- and post-speech personal identification items PID and Lot in common correlated strongly. All items

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correlated above .500 indicating that there is a strong relationship between identification with the target group, the leader of that group, and with those who share similar opinions to the leader. Principal components analysis of the four measures confirmed a single latent social identification factor, with an eigenvalue of 2.732, which explained 68.3% of the variance.

Identification with group and leader

Regression analysis was used to test whether identification with the group (GRID) predicted personal identification with the leader (PID). As predicted (P7.1) GRID strongly predicted PID, $B = .576$, $SE\ B = .056$, $\beta = .520$, $t_{(211)} = 8.815$, $p < .001$. This was a large effect, explaining 26.7% of the variance (adj. R^2). The line of best fit is shown in Figure 7.1.
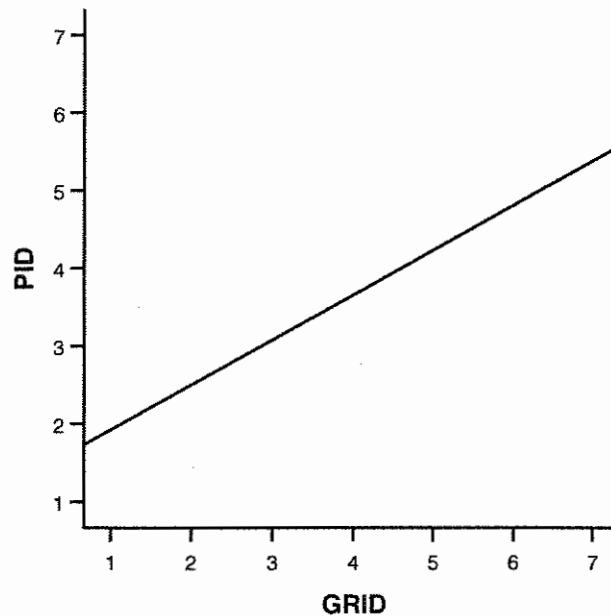
Figure 7.1. Line of best fit for PID by GRID.

Assumed knowledge of the leader

A final manipulation check involved the assumption of knowledge about the leader using the item "The speech showed me what Peter is like". The item

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correlated only marginally with GRID ($r = .130, p = .060$) but was more strongly

related to PID ($r = .273, p < .001$). An examination of the scatterplot suggested a

non-linear relationship. Curve estimation analysis found a significant quadratic

relationship between the item and GRID, $F_{(2, 209)} = 6.514, p = .002$, adj. $R^2 = .050$,

suggesting that strengthening of both identification with, or alienation from the

group, coincided with the increasing assumption of "intimate knowledge" about the

leader (see figure 7.2).
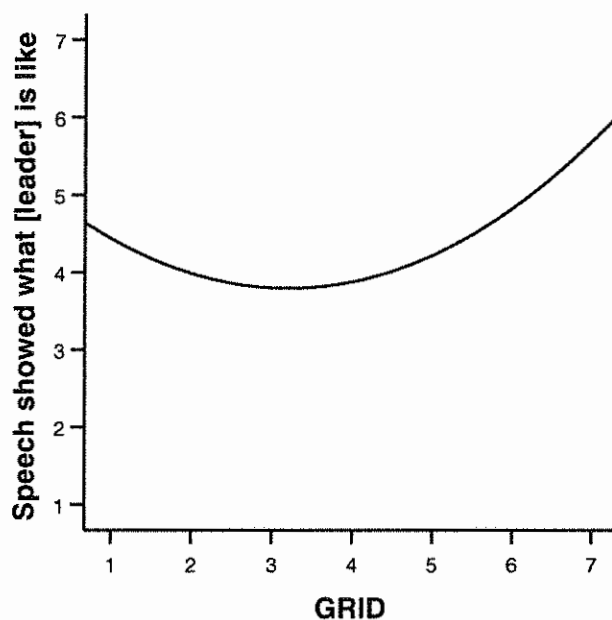
Figure 7.2. Line of best fit for Assumed Knowledge against GRID.

Organisational success manipulation and checks

To manipulate organisational success, the sample was randomly allocated

into two Military action conditions, Iraq (Failure: $n = 101$) and East Timor (Success:

$n = 111$). As previously stated, Strong ties was unaffected by Military action, with

little difference between the Iraq condition, $M = 3.149, SD = 1.633$, and the East

Timor condition, $M = 3.378, SD = 1.440, t_{(210)} = -1.089, p = .277$. MANCOVA was

used to assess the effectiveness of the organisational success manipulation while

controlling for identification with the ADF. Military action was entered as a

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dichotomous independent variable after GRID had been entered as a covariate. Dependent measures were pride in the ADF, mood, and judgements about whether the war in each condition was morally right and helped people.

Despite the significant covariate effect for GRID, $F_{(4, 206)} = 26.409$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .339$, there was a similarly sized multivariate effect for Military action, $F_{(4, 206)} = 28.739$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .358$. Thus even when controlling for pre-existing identification with the target group, the success manipulation had a large to very large effect. Means for success and failure conditions and follow-up ANOVA are shown in Table 7.5 and indicated that Military action had an effect on all dependent variables. Involvement in East Timor was seen as more morally right and helpful than involvement in the Iraq War. In addition, those considering the Iraq War were less proud of the ADF and in a more negative mood than those who considered the East Timor conflict.

Table 7.5.
Means and significance tests for Military action manipulation checks.

Military action items	Iraq		East Timor		$F_{(1, 209)}$	p	partial η^2
	M	SD	M	SD			
Morally right	3.03	1.64	4.66	1.20	77.410	< .001	.270
Helped people	3.53	1.50	5.08	0.99	90.941	< .001	.303
Pride	3.79	1.59	4.20	1.40	6.052	.015	.028
Mood	3.33	1.30	4.16	1.19	26.596	< .001	.113

Note: $N = 212$ (Iraq, $n = 101$; East Timor, $n = 111$).

Standardised regression weights and follow-up ANOVA (see Table 7.6) revealed that GRID also had a strong effect on all items. Regression weights for Military action are also included and a comparison revealed that group success or failure played a stronger role than identification with the target group in predicting

attitudes to the morality and helpfulness of their war involvement; that organisational

success and identification with the target group contributed similar amounts to the

prediction of mood; and that identification with the target group played a far stronger

role than organisational success in the prediction of the level of pride in the group.

Table 7.6.
Standardised regression coefficients for Military action and GRID and significance
tests for the effect of GRID on success manipulation checks.

Military action items	Military action	GRID			
	β	β	$F_{(1, 209)}$	p	$partial\ \eta^2$
Morally right	0.493	0.295	27.811	< .001	.117
Helped people	0.521	0.297	26.610	< .001	.124
Pride	0.138	0.559	98.514	< .001	.320
Mood	0.315	0.331	29.289	< .001	.123

Note: N = 212 (Iraq n = 101, East Timor n = 111).

It was concluded that the organisational success manipulation had achieved a

large difference in salient organisational success or failure between the two

conditions with the group's involvement in East Timor being viewed far more

positively than the group's involvement in Iraq. Judgements about the helpfulness

and morality of war involvement, pride, and general mood were affected both by the

salient war and by prior level of identification with the target group. The effect of

GRID on the organisational success manipulation checks showed that identification

with the group also strongly affected attitudes towards their activities.

Organisational success over time

To test the lasting effect of the organisational success manipulation over

time, a repeated-measures ANCOVA was used. There were two between-subjects

independent variables, one dichotomous (Military action) and one continuous

(GRID) and one within-subjects variable, Time. The dependent variable was the item Morally right. Box's M indicated unequal covariance matrices while Levene's test indicated unequal variance so the alpha-level was constricted ($\alpha = .001$) and Pillai's trace was used.

There were significant between-subjects main effects for both Military action, $F_{(1, 208)} = 15.008, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .067$, and GRID, $F_{(1, 208)} = 29.473$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .124$. There was no interaction effect for Military action $\times$ GRID, $F_{(1, 208)} = 0.670, p = .414$. Furthermore, there were no within-subjects effects for Time, Pillai's trace $< .001, F_{(1, 208)} < 0.001, p = .979$, Time $\times$ Military action, Pillai's trace $= .001, F_{(1, 208)} = 0.150, p = .699$, Time $\times$ GRID, Pillai's trace $= .001$, $F_{(1, 208)} = 0.152, p = .697$, or Time $\times$ Military action $\times$ GRID, Pillai's trace $= .004$, $F_{(1, 208)} = 0.901, p = .344$.

Thus there was a consistent effect over time for the organisational success manipulation with the group's involvement in the success condition, $M = 4.65$, $SD = 1.25, n = 111$, viewed as more morally right than in the failure condition, $M = 3.10, SD = 1.66, n = 101$. Similarly, there was a consistent effect for group identification over time such that as identification with the group increased, military involvements in both Iraq and East Timor were viewed as more morally right before, $B = 0.327, SE = .101$, and after the speech, $B = 0.304, SE = .107$.

Attributions of charismatic leadership

Similar to the Gay Marriage Study, seventeen items from the MLQ (Bass & Avolio, 1991) were modified to measure implicit attributions of charismatic leadership. Items were averaged to form the Charismatic Qualities scale (see sample items in Table 7.7). Rather than producing a number of subscales, the single scale

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was more parsimonious and allowed for cross-study comparisons. This decision was

clearly justified by the scale's very strong internal reliability (std. Cronbach's α =

.925) and deleting items did not improve this internal consistency.

Table 7.9.
Charismatic qualities scale sample items.[3]

Items: Peter ...
23. displays actions which build my respect for him (AC)
24. displays a sense of power & confidence (AC)
26. emphasises the importance of being committed to our beliefs (II)
28. displays conviction in his ideals, beliefs, and values (II)
33. arouses awareness of what is essential to consider (IM)

MLQ subscale abbreviations: Attributed charisma (AC); Idealised Influence (II); Inspirational Motivation (IM).

To explore whether organisational success and group identification would

have an interactive effect on charismatic leadership attributions, a MANCOVA was

run with Military action as a dichotomous independent variable and GRID as a

continuous independent variable. Dependent variables, Charismatic qualities and

Overt charisma, correlated well, $r = .566, p < .001, N = 212$. There was neither an

interactive effect of Military action × GRID, Wilks' $\Lambda = 1.000, F_{(2, 207)} = 0.008$,

$p = .992$, multivariate $\eta^2 < .001$, nor a main effect for Military action, Wilks' $\Lambda =$

$.999, F_{(2, 207)} = 0.103, p = .902$, multivariate $\eta^2 < .001$. However, as expected (P7.2)

GRID predicted attributions of charismatic leadership to medium effect, Wilks' $\Lambda =$

$.877, F_{(2, 207)} = 14.518, p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .123$.

Implicit attributions of leader charisma

Univariate ANOVA confirmed the main effect of GRID on Charismatic

qualities, $F_{(1, 208)} = 26.945, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .115$. The parameter estimate of the

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[3] Owners of the MLQ give permission for the display of up to five sample items (see Appendix H).

regression coefficient, $B = 0.257$, $SE\ B = 0.071$, showed that implicit attributions of

charismatic leadership increased with greater group identification (see Figure 7.3).
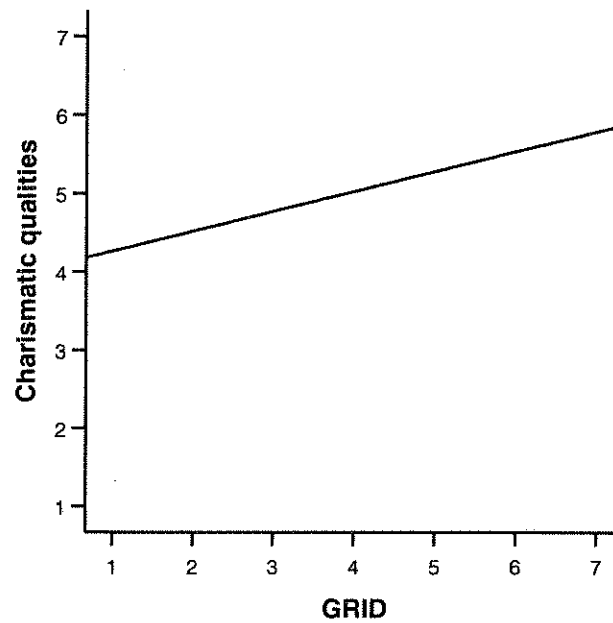
Figure 7.3. Line of best fit for charismatic qualities against GRID.

Explicit attributions of leader charisma

Follow-up univariate ANOVA also confirmed the main effect of GRID on

Overt charisma, $F_{(1,\ 208)} = 16.008$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .071$. The parameter estimate

of the regression coefficient, $B = 0.235$, $SE\ B = 0.083$, showed that explicit

attributions of charismatic leadership also increased with greater group identification

(see Figure 7.4).

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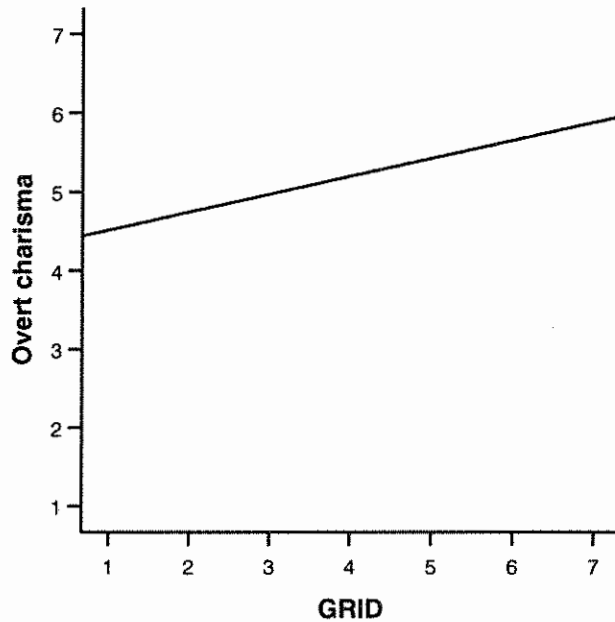
Figure 7.4. Line of best fit for Overt charisma against GRID.

Liking for the leader

Positive affect for the leader was assessed after the images of him were shown (pre-speech liking), and again after the speech was read (post-speech liking). Table 7.8 shows the five items used in both pre- and post-speech measures of the scale and their very strong internal reliability.

Table 7.8.
Liking scale items.

Items	Std. Cronbach's α
12. Peter seemed to have a pleasant personality.	Pre-speech
16. I quite liked Peter.	.909
20. Peter seemed like someone I'd like to get to know.	
23. Peter showed a lot of personal warmth.	Post-speech
24. I felt a personal connection with Peter.	.913

A repeated measure ANCOVA was run to test the hypothesis that liking was initially generated by social identification rather than being an artefact of being exposed to the speech and any charismatic qualities in the speech. Moderating

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effects of Military action were also tested. There were two independent variables: one dichotomous (Military action) and one continuous (GRID). The dependent variable was liking for the leader measured pre- and post-speech.

There was strong support for Prediction 7.4 with a large main effect for GRID, $F_{(1, 208)} = 78.111, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .273$. Regression coefficients confirmed that identification with the leader's group predicted the level of liking for the leader before the speech, $B = 0.433$, $t_{(208)} = 5.376, p < .001$, and showed that this relationship strengthened after the speech, $B = 0.521$, $t_{(208)} = 5.692, p < .001$ (see Figure 7.5).
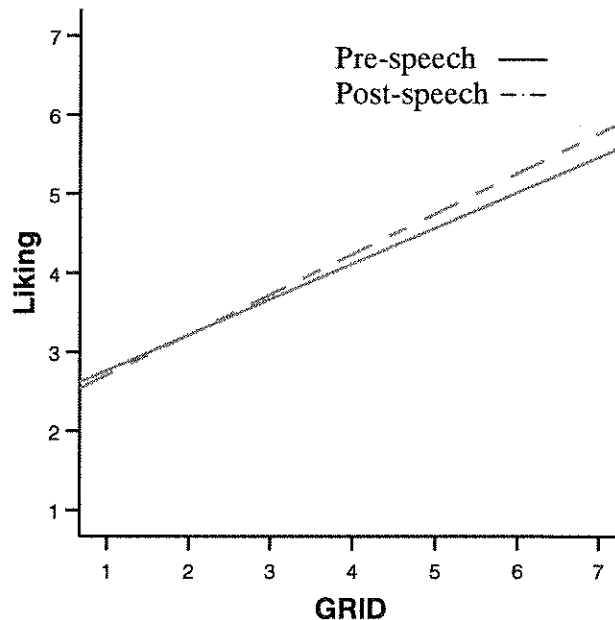
Figure 7.5. Lines of best fit for pre- and post-speech liking against GRID.

However, an examination of within-subjects multivariate effects showed that this strengthening was not significant: Time, $F_{(1, 208)} = .476, p = .491$; Time × GRID, $F_{(1, 208)} = 1.507, p = .221$; Time × Military action × GRID, $F_{(1, 208)} = .314, p = .576$. Furthermore, no moderating effect of organisational success was found. There were no significant main or interactive effects involving Military action.

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Regarding a score of four as the neutral position, Figure 7.5 also indicates the replication of liking results of the previous study in that alienation from the group caused active dislike as opposed to a more neutral reaction. Thus like and dislike for the leader, clear products of the group identification process, were pre-cursors to the affect generated by reading the speech.

Social popularity

As predicted (P7.7), there were large to very large correlations between popularity as measured by Job approval and Charismatic qualities, $r = .655, p < .001$, Pre-speech liking, $r = .553, p < .001$, and Post-speech liking, $r = .611, p < .001$. There was a medium correlation between Job approval and Overt charisma, $r = .384$, $p < .001$ ($N = 212$ for all correlations).

An ANCOVA with Military action as a dichotomous independent variable (Iraq, $n = 101$; East Timor, $n = 111$) and GRID as a continuous independent variable was executed to examine whether group identification would predict job approval (P7.8) and whether Military action would moderate this effect. There was no interaction effect for Military action × GRID, $F_{(1, 208)} = 0.345, p = .558$. However, as predicted, there was a main effect for GRID, $F_{(1, 208)} = 42.209, p < .001, \eta^2 = .169$, and marginal main effect for Military action, $F_{(1, 208)} = 3.496, p = .063, \eta^2 = .017$. Thus group identification predicted job approval and salient organisational success, $M = 5.00, SD = 1.15, CI_{.95} = [4.77, 5.22]$, and produced marginally higher average job approval ratings than salient organisational failure, $M = 4.42, SD = 1.31, CI_{.95} = [4.19, 4.65]$ (see Figure 7.6).
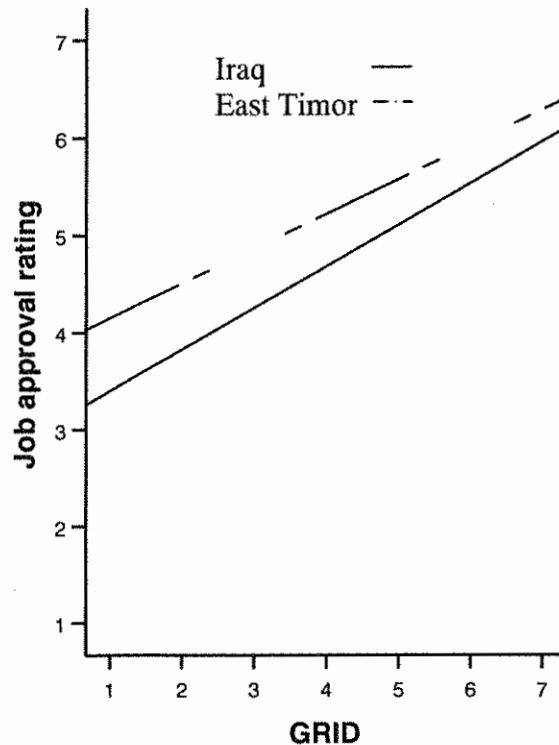
Figure 7.6. Job approval against GRID, split by Military action.

Summary of leader ratings

The overall pattern of leader ratings was very clear. Measurements of group identification and personal identification taken before exposure to the speech correlated strongly with explicit and implicit charismatic leadership attributions, with liking for the leader, and with social popularity (as job approval). Only job approval was subject to the effect of organisational success (Query 7.1).

PID mediations

Personal identification with the leader was hypothesised to mediate the effect of group identification on leader ratings. With respect to pre-speech liking, mediation analysis (see Figure 7.7) showed that PID predicted liking and GRID predicted both PID and liking. On its own, GRID explained 23.8% (adj. R^2) of the variance in Pre-speech liking, $F_{(1, 210)} = 67.055, p < .001$. When PID was entered into

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the regression with GRID an extra 23.8% of the variance was explained, *F change*

$_{(1, 209)}$ = 95.527, $p < .001$, however GRID still significantly predicted pre-speech

liking. Together, GRID and PID explained nearly half of the variance in pre-speech

liking, adj. R^2 = 47.5%.
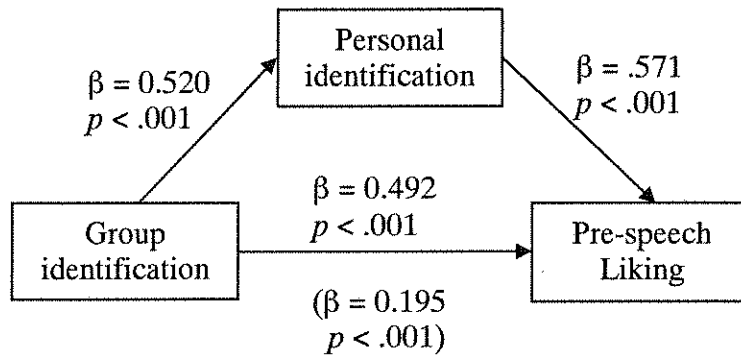
Figure 7.7. Mediation effect of PID on Group identification – pre-speech liking
pathway.[4]

The Aroian version of the Sobel partial mediation test (Preacher & Hayes,

2004) indicated that personal identification with the leader was a strong partial

mediator of the effect of identification with the group on pre-speech liking,

$z = 7.309$, $p < .001$. In fact, in the presence of PID, GRID only explained 2.8% of the

unique variance in pre-speech liking, *F change* $_{(1, 209)}$ = 11, 192, $p < .001$. Thus

identification with the leader's group had a direct effect on liking for the leader, and

an indirect effect through identification with the person of the leader. Table 7.9

shows that similar results were found for Post-speech liking. Therefore, the

prediction that identification with the leader would mediate the effect of

identification with the group on liking for the leader (P7.6) was partially supported.

Predictions were also made about the mediating role of identification with the

leader on the effect of identification with the group on explicit and implicit

attributions of charismatic leadership (P7.3). Similar results were found for all leader

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[4] Note: the β-value within parentheses is the regression coefficient after entry of potential mediator.

ratings. PID partially mediated the effect of GRID on Charismatic qualities, Overt

charisma, and Job approval. Table 7.9 shows the comparison regression weights for

the relevant pathways and Sobel test results for all post-speech leader ratings. In each

case the mediator (PID) as a single criterion predicted the dependent variable; the

independent variable (GRID) as a single criterion predicted the dependent variable;

and when the mediator was entered into the model the effect of the independent

variable was reduced. Sobel tests indicated that all these partial mediation effects

were significant.

Table 7.9.
Mediation pathway standardised regression weights and Sobel tests for PID.

	PID as sole predictor	GRID as sole predictor	GRID when PID is controlled for	Sobel z-test
Post-speech liking	0.489***	0.491***	0.237***	5.858***
Charismatic qualities	0.328***	0.342***	0.171*	4.005***
Overt charisma	0.221***	0.267***	0.152*	2.732**
Job approval	0.359***	0.414***	0.228**	4.445***

Note: ***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$.

Thus the hypothesis that identification with the leader as a specific group

member, would mediate the effect of identification with the group on leader ratings

was partially supported. This repeated pattern strongly indicated that identifying with

a group has a small direct effect on reactions to that group's leader but has a larger

indirect effect through identification with the person with respect to affect for, and

charismatic attributions about, the leader.

Pre-speech liking mediations

Liking before exposure to the speech was hypothesised to mediate the effect

of group identification on reactions to the leader (P7.5). Figure 7.8 illustrates the

generic causal mediation pathway being tested. Pathway B represents the effect of group identification on the dependent variable when it is the sole criterion. It is hypothesised that when pre-speech liking is added to the model (pathway A), the effect of group identification will become non-significant (pathway C)
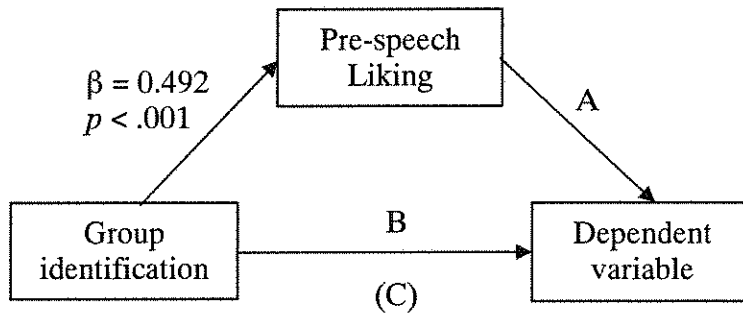
Figure 7.8. Mediation effect diagram of pre-speech liking on group identification post-speech variables.

Table 7.10 shows the standardised regression weights for the three relevant pathways in each model for each dependent variable. The results of each Sobel test and the variance explained by the two pathways are also shown. It was predicted that pre-speech liking would fully mediate the effect of group identification on post-speech liking (P7.5a), charismatic leader attributions (P7.5b), and job approval (P7.9).

Partial mediation of GRID occurred for Post-speech liking and Job approval. Group identification had both a direct effect (β = 0.164) and a larger indirect effect through Pre-speech liking (β = 0.327) on Post-speech liking. Similarly group identification had a direct effect (β = 0.188) and an indirect effect on job approval (β = .227).

For Charismatic qualities and Overt charisma, full mediation of GRID by Pre-speech liking occurred. In each case, when pre-speech liking was included in the model, the indirect effect of GRID was significant (β = 0.271, 0.183, and 0.359,

respectively) while the direct effect became non-significant (see column C in Table

7.10). Clearly liking generated by group identification acted as a partial or full

mediator of the effect of group identification on evaluations of the leader and

therefore coloured and assisted in the formation of those perceptions and attributions.

Table 7.10.
Mediation pathway standardised regression weights and Sobel tests for Pre-speech liking.

	A	B	C	Sobel z-test	Adj. R^2
Post-speech liking	0.664***	0.491***	0.164**	6.888***	57.1%
Charismatic qualities	0.551***	0.342***	0.071	5.925***	34.1%
Overt charisma	0.373***	0.267***	0.083	4.401***	16.9%
Job approval	0.461***	0.414***	0.188**	5.342***	32.6%

Note: ***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$.

Modelling

Structural equation modelling was used to summarise the mediating role of

liking on the effect of group and personal identification on attributions of leader

charisma. It was also used to investigate the relationship between liking and

charismatic attributions. As found above, group identification had both direct and

indirect influence on pre-speech liking through personal identification with the

leader and set of relationships is held constant between models. Results above also

showed that pre-speech liking fully mediated the effect of group identification on

charismatic qualities and overt charisma. In the models below three alternate

pathway configurations between pre-speech liking, charismatic qualities and overt

charisma are theorised.

Model one
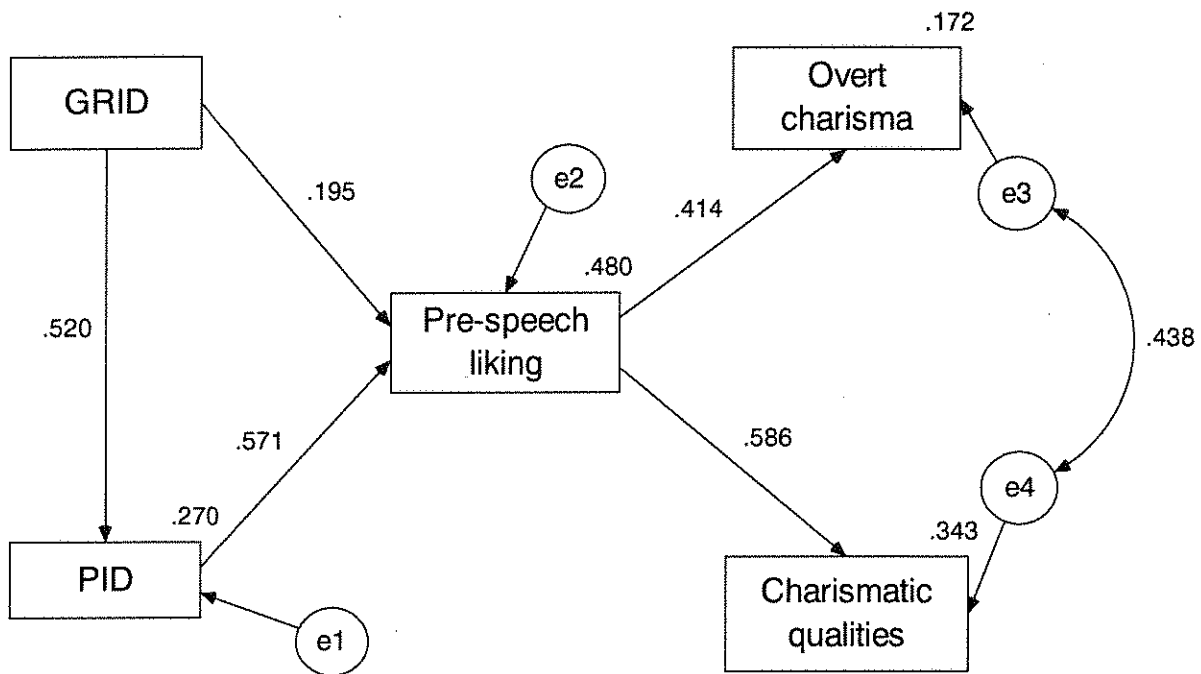
Figure 7.9. Liking mediation model one with standardised regression weights and squared multiple correlations.

In model one (see Figure 7.9), pre-speech liking mediates the effects of both identification with the group and the leader on explicit and implicit attributions of charismatic leadership. No directional pathway between these two charismatic attributions was theorised. The model did not differ significantly from the data, $\chi^2(4) = 1.863$, $p = .761$, $Cmin/df = .466$, and fit indices showed an excellent fit, $NFI = .995$, $RFI = .998$, $IFI = 1.006$, $TLI = 1.014$, $CFI = 1.000$. $Fmin = 0.009$, $RMSEA < .001$, $p = .889$. $AIC = 33.863$, $BCC = 34.800$.

Table 7.11 shows the direct, indirect, and total effects in the model. Through direct and indirect paths, group identification had a strong effect on pre-speech liking, which in turn predicted both implicit and explicit charismatic leadership attributions.

Table 7.11.
Standardised effects in model one.

	Direct effects			Indirect effects			Total effects		
	GRID	PID	Pre-speech liking	GRID	PID	Pre-speech liking	GRID	PID	Pre-speech liking
PID	.520	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.520	.000	.000
Pre-speech liking	.195	.571	.000	.297	.000	.000	.492	.571	.000
Charismatic qualities	.000	.000	.586	.288	.334	.000	.288	.334	.586
Overt charisma	.000	.000	.414	.204	.236	.000	.204	.236	.414

Note: N = 212. All regression weights: $p < .001$.

Model two
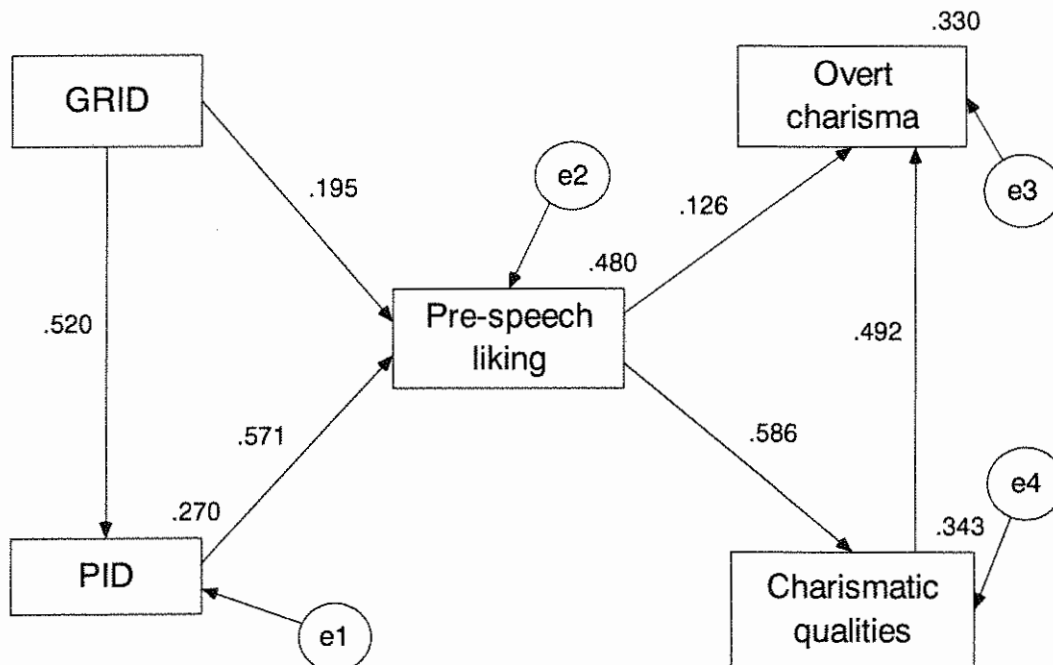
Figure 7.10. Charismatic qualities mediation model two.

Model two differs only from model one in that explicit charismatic leadership attribution was theorised to be predicted directly by liking and indirectly through implicit charismatic leadership attribution (see Figure 7.10). When Charismatic

qualities predicted Overt charisma, $\beta = .492$, $p < .001$, the pathway from Pre-speech liking to Overt charisma became non-significant, $\beta = 0.126$, $p = .070$, indicating that the effect of liking on explicit attributions of leader charisma were mediated by the implicit attribution of charismatic leadership. The fit indices for model two were identical to those for model one.

Table 7.12 shows that with the inclusion of the directional pathway, the direct effect of Pre-speech liking on Overt charisma has been redirected from the direct pathway ($\beta = 0.414$, model one; $\beta = 0.126$, model two) to the indirect pathway through Charismatic qualities ($\beta = 0.000$, model one; $\beta = 0.586 \times 0.492 = 0.288$, model two). The total effect of Pre-speech liking on Overt charisma was identical for both models ($\beta = 0.414$). While this model includes a non-significant pathway, there is a substantial increase in the explained variance of Overt charisma.

Table 7.12.
Standardised effects in model two.

	Direct effects			Indirect effects			Total effects		
	GRID	PID	Pre-speech liking	GRID	PID	Pre-speech liking	GRID	PID	Pre-speech liking
PID	.520	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.520	.000	.000
Pre-speech liking	.195	.571	.000	.297	.000	.000	.492	.571	.000
Charismatic qualities	.000	.000	.586	.288	.334	.000	.288	.334	.586
Overt charisma	.000	.000	.126	.204	.236	.288	.204	.236	.414

Note: $N = 212$. All regression weights: $p < .001$.

Model three

Model three differs from model two in that the regression weight of the non-significant pathway between Pre-speech liking and Overt charisma was set to zero

(see Figure 7.11). That is, Charismatic qualities fully mediated the effect of Pre-speech liking on Overt charisma (β = .566, p < .001). Like the two previous models, this model did not depart significantly from the data, $\chi^2(5)$ = 5.130, p = .400, *Cmin* = 1.026, and indices signified strong fit, *NFI* = .986, *RFI* = .973, *IFI* = 1.000, *TLI* = .999, *CFI* = .999, *Fmin* = 0.024, *RMSEA* = .011, p = .664, *AIC* = 35.130, *BCC* = 36.008. The model was more parsimonious, *PNFI* = .493, *PCFI* = .500, than the previous two models, *PFNI* = .398, *PCFI* = .400. However, the improvement in fit for model three over the two previous models only approached significance, χ^2 *change*(1) = 3.267, p = .071.
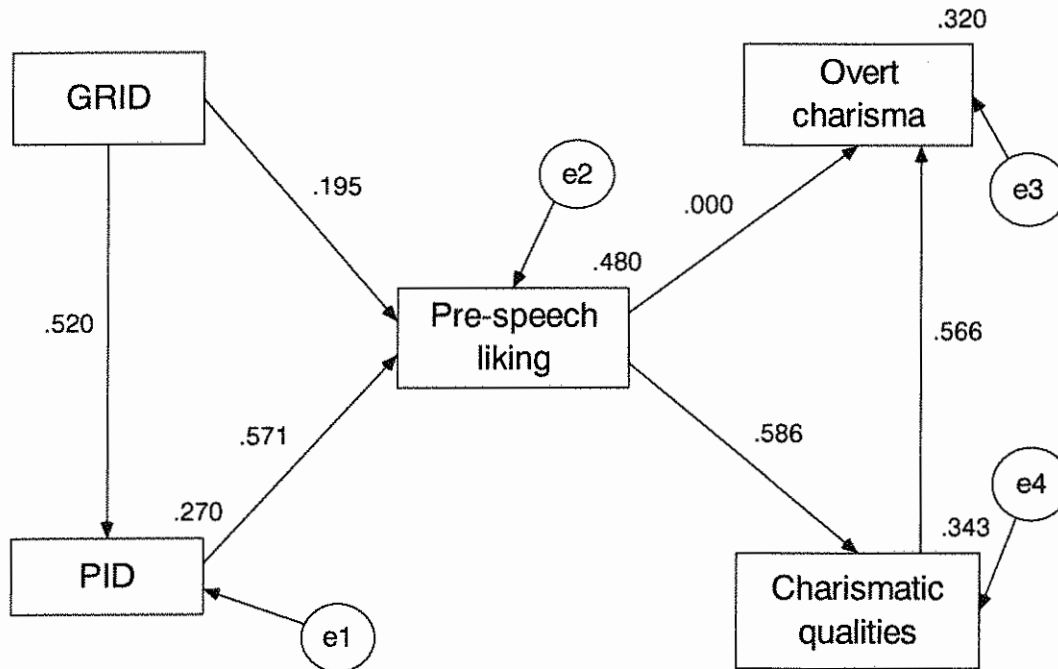
Figure 7.11. Charismatic qualities mediation model three.

Table 7.13 shows that fixing the direct effect of Pre-speech liking on Overt charisma to zero increased the mediation effect of Charismatic qualities further (β = 0.586 × 0.566 = 0.331). However this also reduced the total effects of group (β = 0.163) and personal (β = 0.189) identification and of pre-speech liking on overt charisma (β = 0.414, model one and two, β = 0.331, model three).

Table 7.13.
Standardised effects in model three.

	Direct effects			Indirect effects			Total effects		
	GRID	PID	Pre-speech liking	GRID	PID	Pre-speech liking	GRID	PID	Pre-speech liking
PID	.520	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.520	.000	.000
Pre-speech liking	.195	.571	.000	.297	.000	.000	.492	.571	.000
Charismatic qualities	.000	.000	.586	.288	.334	.000	.288	.334	.586
Overt charisma	.000	.000	.000	.163	.189	.331	.163	.189	.331

Note: N = 212. All regression weights: $p < .001$.

In conclusion, indices showed that all three models were a good fit with the data. Model one suggests that liking produces both implicit and explicit attributions of leader charisma and that these two may covary but not be a product of the other. Models two and three indicated that if explicit attributions of charismatic leadership are influenced by implicit attributions of charismatic leadership then full mediation of the effect of liking on explicit attributions occurred. Model three was a marginal improvement in fit over the other two models. It is clear that the main pathway of charismatic attribution starts with social identification, which produces identification with the leader and evokes social liking for the leader. Liking for the leader fully mediates the influence of identification with group and leader on leader judgements. It colours judgements of the leader including attributions of charismatic leadership.

Perceptions of the speech

Items used to measure evaluations of the speech itself are found in Table 7.14. Cronbach's alphas indicated that the persuasiveness and emotiveness scales

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had good to very good internal consistency whereas the manipulativeness scale had

barely adequate consistency. The final two items were used as single measures.

Table 7.14.
Perceptions of speech items.

Items	Cronbach's α
Persuasiveness scale	.840
44. The message of the speech was persuasive.	
45. The arguments put forward were important.	
46. The message was a strong one.	
47. The speech was logical.	
Emotiveness scale	.910
52. The speech struck a chord with me.	
53. The speech was moving.	
Other items	–
50. The speech had a high charismatic content.	
51. The speech was well-written.	
Manipulativeness scale	.663
48. The use of emotion in this speech was manipulative.	
49. The speech used Australian identity in an attempt to influence people.	

Table 7.15 displays the means and correlations of the speech measures. All

items intercorrelated positively except Manipulativeness. Manipulativeness

correlated with Charismatic content only, such that the higher the charismatic

content, the more manipulative in intent the speech was perceived. Surprisingly,

participants did not relate the emotiveness of the speech to its manipulative intent.

Means indicate that on average the speech was perceived as good at influencing

emotion, well-written, and persuasive but also quite manipulative.

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Table 7.15.
Correlations between speech items

Perceptions of speech items	1	2	3	4	5
1. Persuasiveness	1				
2. Emotiveness	.784***	1			
3. Charismatic content	.478***	.547***	1		
4. Well-written	.626***	.663***	.533***	1	
5. Manipulativeness	-.052	-.047	.198**	.116	1
Mean	5.26	4.78	5.11	5.62	5.54
Standard Deviation	1.05	1.50	1.26	1.23	1.12

Note: $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$. $N = 212$ for all correlations.

Table 7.16 reveals the intercorrelations between post-speech perceptions of the leader and speech judgements. Manipulativeness only had a small inverse relationship with Post-speech liking. Charismatic content correlated strongly with Overt charisma, showing that overt observations about the speech and the leader were closely related. In general, liking and charisma attributions all correlated strongly with speech perceptions.

Table 7.16.
Intercorrelations between post-speech leader perceptions and speech qualities.

Speech scales & items	Pre-speech liking	Post-speech leader perceptions		
		Post-speech liking	Charismatic qualities	Overt Charisma
1. Persuasiveness	.528***	.626***	.744***	.503***
2. Emotiveness	.574***	.699***	.692***	.534***
3. Charismatic content	.382***	.439***	.532***	.700***
4. Well-written	.433***	.484***	.568***	.476***
5. Manipulativeness	-.132	-.162*	-.060	.093

Note: $N = 212$. $***p < .001$, $**p < .01$, $*p < .05$.

To test whether group identification influenced judgements about the speech, a MANCOVA was run with GRID as a continuous independent variable. There was a significant multivariate main effect for GRID, Wilk's $\Lambda = .731$, $F_{(5, 206)} = 15.152$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .269$. Follow-up ANOVAs indicated that GRID significantly predicted all speech perceptions (see Table 7.17). As predicted (P7.10), regression weights indicated that as identification with the group increased, the speech was perceived to be more persuasive, more emotionally moving, higher in charismatic content, and better written. It was also predicted and found that greater group identification led to lower attributions of manipulative intent (P7.11).

Figure 7.17.
<u>Follow-up ANOVA significance tests and regression coefficients for GRID.</u>

Speech perception	B	SE B	constant	$F_{(1, 204)}$	p	partial η^2
Persuasiveness	0.320	0.050	4.171	41.324	< .001	.164
Emotiveness	0.522	0.069	3.009	57.495	< .001	.215
Charismatic content	0.256	0.063	4.246	16.601	< .001	.073
Well-written	0.275	0.061	4.691	20.600	< .001	.089
Manipulativeness	-0.196	0.056	6.200	12.032	< .001	.054

Note: $N = 212$ for all correlations.

Constants and the direction of the regression coefficients revealed that the speech was viewed as persuasive, high on charismatic content, and well-written by both high and low identifiers whereas low identifiers did not rate the speech above the midpoint on emotionality. The perception of manipulativeness was extremely high for low identifiers however the regression equation (see Equation 1) showed that on average even high identifiers (X = 7) rated the speech above the midpoint on this scale:

$$Manipulativeness = A - 0.196 \times GRID \qquad (1)$$

$$= 6.200 - 0.196 \times 7$$

$$= 4.828$$

Perceptions of Audience

To test the effect of group identification on judgements of the reactions of speech supporters and protesters, a doubly MANCOVA was executed. Audience (supporters, protesters) was a within-subjects independent variable and GRID was a continuous between-subjects independent variable. Dependent variables were four ratings of the supporter and protester reactions found in Table 7.18.

Table 7.18.
Audience reaction item and variable names.

Items
a. Easily swayed or persuaded (persuadable)
b. Responding rationally rather than emotionally (rational)
c. Responding on a superficial level to the leader rather than really grappling with the issues (superficial)
d. Just responding naturally (natural)

There was a large to very large multivariate effect for audience, $F_{(4, 206)} = 24.288, p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .320$, which was modified by a medium to large multivariate interaction effect for Audience × GRID, $F_{(4, 206)} = 12.911, p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .200$. There was no main effect for GRID, $F_{(4, 206)} = 1.056, p = .379$. Follow-up ANOVAs, as shown in Table 7.19, revealed that GRID moderated the effect of audience on all four items. These interactions will be outlined in the next four sections.

Table 7.19.

Follow-up ANOVA significance tests for the effect of audience and Audience ×

GRID on audience reactions.

Effect	Audience reaction	$F_{(1, 209)}$	p	partial η^2
Audience	Persuadable	58.278	< .001	.218
	Rational	55.450	< .001	.210
	Superficial	66.122	< .001	.240
	Natural	0.513	.475	.002
Audience × GRID	Persuadable	15.306	< .001	.068
	Rational	37.220	< .001	.151
	Superficial	29.277	< .001	.123
	Natural	13.048	< .001	.059

Note: N = 212.

Persuadable
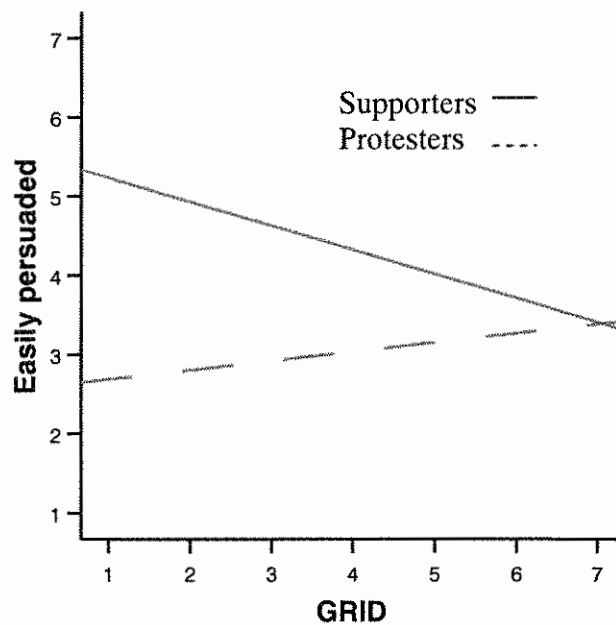
Figure 7.12. Scatterplot of persuadable by GRID split by audience.

Figure 7.12 shows the interaction effect for Audience × GRID on

persuadable. As identification with the leader's group increased supporters of his

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speech were viewed as less persuadable, $B = -0.304$, $SE\ B = 0.067$, $t_{(207)} = -4.564$, $p < .001$, $A = 5.539$. In contrast, identification with the leader's group was not significantly related to attributions of protester persuadability, $B = 0.116$, $SE\ B = 0.078$, $t_{(207)} = 1.481$, $p < .140$, $A = 2.572$. Protesters were generally viewed as low on persuadability. Therefore low levels of identification with the leader's group saw a pathologisation of those who supported the leader as easily swayed or persuaded compared to those who were against the leader. High levels of identification saw a normalisation of both reactions as not being easily swayed or persuaded.

Rational
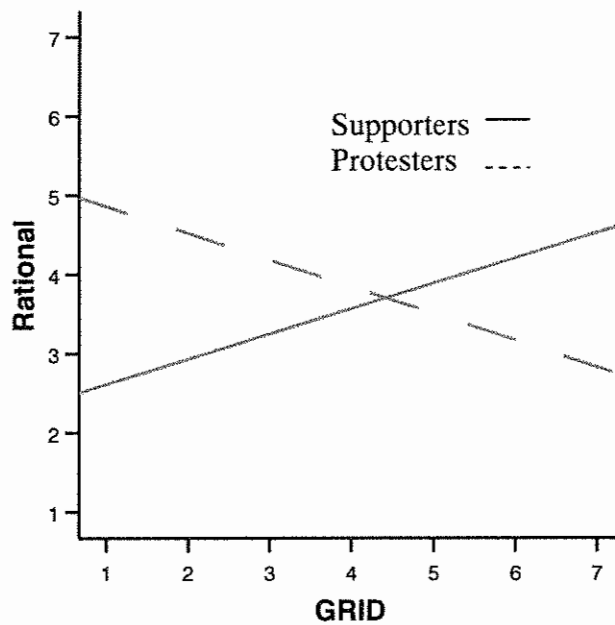
Figure 7.13. Scatterplot for rational by GRID split by audience.

A strong crossed-interaction effect of audience and group identification on rational can be seen in Figure 7.13. As GRID increased, supporter reactions were viewed as more rational and less emotional, $B = 0.319$, $SE\ B = 0.065$, $t_{(207)} = 4.942$, $p < .001$, $A = 2.293$. The reverse occurred for protesters. As GRID increased, protester reactions were viewed as less rational and more emotional, $B = -0.339$, SE

$B = 0.080$, $t_{(207)} = -4.244$, $p < .001$, $A = 5.200$. Clearly the reactions of similar others were normalised as more rational and less emotional while reactions of dissimilar others were pathologised as more emotional and less rational.

Superficial

As shown in Figure 7.14, a similar pattern to rational was found for superficial. As GRID increased, supporter reactions were seen as less superficial, $B = -0.362$, $SE\ B = 0.068$, $t_{(207)} = -5.350$, $p < .001$, $A = 5.885$, while protester reactions were perceived as increasingly superficial, $B = 0.239$, $SE\ B = 0.078$, $t_{(207)} = 3.051$, $p < .001$, $A = 2.616$. Those who did not identify with the leader's group pathologised support for him as highly superficial and unthinking whereas they normalised reactions against the leader as being thoughtful and not superficial. Those who did identify with the leader's group normalised support for him as being non-superficial and thoughtful and were more neutral about dissimilar others.
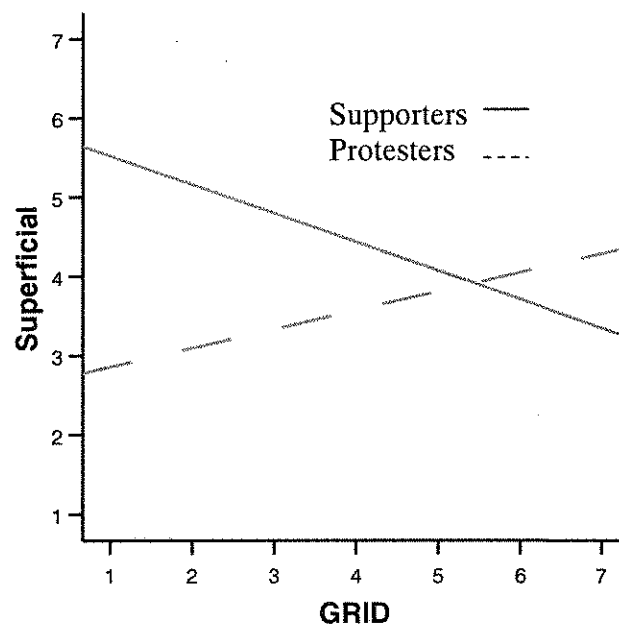
Figure 7.14. Scatterplot for superficial by GRID for each audience group.

Natural

Natural followed a similar pattern to persuadable (see Figure 7.15). As GRID increased, supporter reactions were seen as increasingly natural, $B = 0.176$, $SE\ B = 0.056$, $t_{(207)} = 3.145$, $p = .002$, $A = 4.367$. In contrast, as GRID increased, protester reactions were seen as increasing unnatural, $B = -0.150$, $SE\ B = 0.074$, $t_{(207)} = -2.018$, $p = .045$, $A = 4.601$. At low levels of identification with the ADF there was no difference between how similar and dissimilar others were viewed. However at high levels of identification with the ADF responses of similar others were viewed as far more natural than responses of dissimilar others.
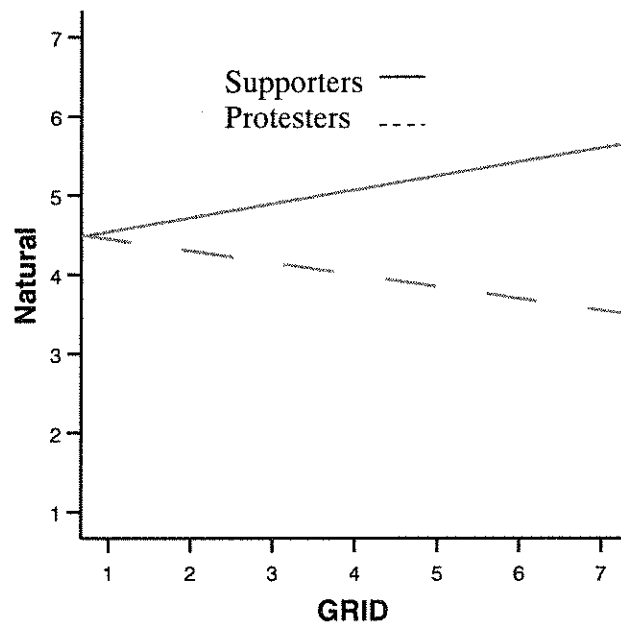
Figure 7.15. Scatterplot for natural by GRID for each audience group.

A clear pattern emerges from these audience results. As expected, as identification with the leader's group increased, attributions about supporters were increasingly normalised or positive (P7.12), and attributions about protesters were increasingly pathologised or negative (P7.13).

Summary

Taken together these results confirm that identification with the group and with the leader as a group member play a large role in evaluating leader charisma. Liking for the leader is an artefact of the identification process and can be generated before exposure to the detailed views by the leader. This influences all attributions made about the leader, the leader's speech, and about those who are both attracted to, or repelled by, the leader. While those outside the influence process normalise their own behaviour, they pathologise the behaviours of those under the influence process. Furthermore, those within the influence process will partially pathologise negative reactions to the leader while perceiving their own reactions to be normal.

Discussion

The results of the study gave clear indications about the effects of social identity on attributions about leader charisma, the leader's charismatic speech, and about followers and detractors of the charismatic leader. The study also provided insight into the presumption of intimate knowledge of the leader from which attributions may stem. These results will be discussed in detail below.

Identification with group and leader

Despite the failure of the group identification manipulation, a continuous group identification scale provided very strong support for the role of social identity in the charismatic attribution process. Consistent with the previous study, group identification was shown to directly predict leader ratings including liking for the leader (both before and after the speech) and explicit and implicit attributions of leader charisma. Furthermore, group identification also predicted social popularity, a commonly-used indicator of charisma.

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As predicted, identification with the leader's group was strongly related to identification with the person of the leader as an exemplar of the group. The effect of group identification on leader ratings was partially or fully mediated by personal identification with the leader and this indirect pathway had the greater influence in each case. In answer to Yukl's (1999) question about the effect of the interaction of personal and social identification on follower behaviour, the social identity analysis argued and supported here suggests that in salient intergroup contexts, the effect of personal identification is a special case of the more general effect of group identification, magnified by the leader's representativeness of the group. Therefore follower (and detractor) reactions to the leader and outcomes such as productivity levels are the direct result of group processes rather than about the unique qualities of the leader.

The strong relationship between identification with the group and the leader adds further support to Deluga's (2001) conclusion that personalised and socialised charismatic leadership are not mutually exclusive. Followers can be deeply committed to both the group and its goals while being enamoured with the leader as these feelings are born out of social attraction between ingroup members.

Furthermore, social identity also facilitated confidence in judgements about the leader. When social identification was more neutral the assumption that the speech gave insight into the leader was lower. The assumption of intimate knowledge about the leader was greater for those who either identified more strongly with the group or felt more alienated from it. This is explained by social identity theorists (McGarty, Haslam, Hutchinson, & Turner, 1994; Oakes & Haslam, 2001). The stronger the social identity, the more distinct the social stereotyping about similar and dissimilar others. Stronger social identity provides greater meaning; it

gives greater confidence about categorising self in relation to the leader in the social situation. As such, attributions of charismatic leadership are more clearly and confidently made.

Liking and causality

This study clearly shows that liking for the leader plays a pivotal role in the evaluation of a leader and particularly in the charismatic attribution process. This study supported the hypothesis that liking is a causal mediator of the effect of identification with group and leader on attributions of charisma. Liking for the leader was shown to be present before the speech was read and remained at similar levels after the speech.

Moreover, the liking generated before the speech was strongly predicted directly by identification with the leader's group and more strongly predicted indirectly through identification with the leader himself. Structural equation modelling showed that liking fully mediated the effect of group and leader identification on attributions of charismatic leadership. Similarly, liking partially mediated the effect of group identification on job approval.

This suggests that categorisation of the self as sharing a social identity is enough to produce social liking which acts to colour our view of a leader, in the way Howard was viewed differently by those who perceived him to be an ingroup versus an outgroup leader in the World Leader Study. In seeking to make meaning of the impact of the underlying social identification processes that drive the fealty to the group, persuasiveness of the messages, and adoration for the leader, the more obvious surface feelings of social attraction to the leader may drive the fundamental errors of attribution to charismatic leadership.

The mediation of pre-speech liking suggests that the strong emotional "gut response" associated with charismatic leadership may actually be a "gut response" to the perception of similarity in the salient intergroup context that drives group identification. That is, the knowledge of a common group membership would predispose members to feelings of social attraction, which are then directed towards the leader. However, this could not be strongly inferred from the study as knowledge of the leader had existed prior the study.

Social popularity

This study confirmed that the popularity associated with charismatic attributions is group-based. Social popularity was measured by one of the media's loose yardsticks for charisma: job approval ratings of public figures. Job approval was strongly associated with charismatic leadership qualities and to a lesser extent liking for the leader. Job approval was strongly predicted by identification with both the leader's group and the leader himself. Liking also mediated the effect of group identification on job approval. This adds weight to Hogg and Hardie's (1991) group-based conception of social popularity and to this study's contention that this measure is a group-based measure of charismatic attribution.

It is clear that job approval ratings wax and wane, and that public figures are seen to lose or gain charisma, because job approval ratings are strongly based in group identification and therefore tied to relative ingroup prototypicality. The leader is expected to represent the group and act in its best interests, so decisions or actions that appear to affirm the group attest to the leader's prototypicality and should garner greater approval. Those decisions or actions that appear to undermine the group, suggest the leader is not representing the group's interests and should lead to a drop in prototypicality and therefore the level of approval.

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Organisational success

The success or failure of the group in the different organisational success conditions had very little impact on most leader ratings and certainly did not reflect the findings of Meindl (1993) or Haslam et al (2001). Only one significant main effect was found to support Meindl's contention that organisational performance predicts perceptions of charisma. The leader's involvement in a successful military action produced higher approval ratings than his involvement in an unsuccessful one. Participants appeared to be literally evaluating whether the leader had "done a good job" for his group in each situation.

Haslam et al (2001) found that organisational performance correlated with perceptions of charisma when the leader was neutral or identity-negating. In contrast, organisational performance correlated poorly with perceived charisma for the ingroup when the leader was identity-affirming. They argued that group success/failure cues were unnecessary in the formation of attributions of charismatic leadership when the leader had followed group norms because failure would not be blamed on these norms. The current study found no significant effects for the interaction between organisational success and group identification. Although organisational success and group identification both had similar effect sizes on the manipulation checks, liking and charisma were only related to identification with the leader's group and the person of the leader, not to the perception of leader success.

There was a major limitation for the organisational success variable with respect to the age of participants. While the Iraq war was current during the time of testing, the East Timor conflict had been over for six years. During feedback sessions it was pointed out that the majority of participants were twelve or thirteen at the time of the East Timor action and therefore less generally aware of the issues and

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results of the intervention. This may have reduced the positive impact of the East Timor presentation and therefore undermined the overall effect of the organisational success manipulation.

Perceptions of the speech

As predicted, social identity also affected judgements about the qualities of the speech. As identification with the leader's group increased, the speech was judged as more persuasive, higher in charismatic content, better written, less manipulative, and it evoked a more positive emotional reaction. While the effect of group identification on perceived manipulative intent, charismatic content, and writing quality was small to medium, the effect on persuasiveness and emotiveness was medium to large.

Of interest is the result that judgements of most speech qualities were strongly correlated with both liking and charisma scales, however manipulativeness was only correlated with liking for the leader. That is, the less liked the leader was the more manipulative the speech was viewed.

It is not being argued that judging the qualities of speeches traditionally associated with charisma is a totally subjective exercise, rather that viewing a speech through the lens of social identity will cause the reader to be more favourably disposed to ingroup-affirming speeches and less favourably disposed to outgroup-affirming speeches. The writing will seem more logical and persuasive, more moving, less intended to manipulate, and better presented. This should enhance confidence in attributing charisma to the leader as the source of the speech.

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Perceptions of the audience

Intergroup bias was clearly shown not only towards supporters of the leader but also towards detractors of the leader. In line with predictions, as identification with the leader's group increased, the reactions of those influenced by the leader were normalised or viewed more positively. Specifically, supporters of the leader were viewed as less persuadable and superficial, and their support was viewed as more rational and natural. In contrast, the reactions of those rejecting the leader were pathologised or viewed more negatively as identification with the leader's group increased. Detractors were viewed as less rational, more superficial and as reacting in a less natural way.

However, there was little change in perceptions of detractor persuadability. Understandably, those protesting were generally viewed as more intransigent than supporters as the fictitious account of the incident gave clear examples of supporter persuasion and detractor intractability. Nevertheless, in general it has been clearly demonstrated that social identity plays a major role in determining how the reactions to a charismatic leader are explained. In concordance with the World leader study, those within the charismatic influence process will normalise positive responses to the leader and those outside the process will pathologise them. This study also shows that those within the process will pathologise negative responses to the leader while those outside will normalise them. Thus, due to group processes, the ingroup and the outgroup may have great trouble understanding the other group's reactions and therefore, using a fundamental attribution error, internal explanations of the other group's mental processes are ascribed.

Based on group identification the assumption of some intimate knowledge about the personality of leader also gives rise to the assumption of knowledge about

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the personality of the followers. A perceiver is less likely to find an outgroup leader's views convincing and if others follow that leader, attributions about why they have been convinced will involve personal deficits in the leader, such as being tricky or manipulative, and personal deficits in the followers, such as gullibility and poor thinking. On the other hand a perceiver is more likely to find an ingroup leader's views convincing and if others reject that leader, attributions would logically involve personal deficits in those people, such as being illogical or stubborn.

Summary

In summary, this study provided significant insight into how identification with the group and the leader work to influence attributions of charisma via the strong emotional response of liking for the leader. The main charismatic attribution pathways modelled suggest that personal identification with the leader is a product of a salient social identity and evokes liking for the leader and this in turn directs attributions of charisma towards the leader and colours them. The more strongly the leader is identified as an ingroup or outgroup member, the more confidence perceivers have in presuming intimate knowledge about the leader with which to make these attributions of leader charisma.

CHAPTER 8

PERSONALITY STUDY

The previous studies reported in this thesis have shown that social identity plays an important role in the attribution of leader charisma. In the next two chapters, a final study is reported which differed from the previous studies in two significant ways. First, rather than using a leadership context, the study focussed on a self-help expert—the aim being to show that the same social identity and charismatic influence processes operate. Second, rather than focussing on similarity or difference involving previously-held beliefs, values, attitudes, or identities, the point of comparison between perceiver and target was a newly-created social identity— a personality type. The primary aim was to manipulate identity and, therefore, charismatic attributions. This chapter reports how charismatic attributions were affected by the allocation of a new social identity, the next chapter reports how these charismatic attributions were altered by changing the salient social identity.

Non-leader charisma

Attributions of charisma are not only associated with leaders of clearly-defined groups such as the government (Chapter 5), social movements (Chapter 6), or the military (Chapter 7). In fact, charisma is often used in reference to those who appear to have little institutionalised authority or influence over others, such as celebrities or media personalities. However, some of these "charismatic personalities" wield enormous influence. American celebrity psychologist, Phil McGraw (commonly known as "Dr. Phil"[1]), is part of the self-improvement industry and is regularly referred to as "charismatic". His online biography states, "Dr. Phil

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[1] For clarity and simplicity, Phil McGraw will henceforth be referred to as Dr. Phil.

McGraw has galvanized millions of people to 'get real' about their own behavior and create more positive lives. *Dr. Phil*, his syndicated, daily one-hour series, is the second highest rated daytime talk show in the nation" (McGraw, 2007).

Although not in a position of leadership, Dr. Phil is explicitly attributed charisma and garners strong positive emotional responses, loyalty, and obedience in the way that charismatic leaders do (e.g., Anon, 2006; Havrilesky, 2002). In a radio interview, Stephanie Dowrick, an Australian self-improvement author and psychologist, argues that there is a strong tradition of personality worship and charismatic leadership in the self-improvement industry:

> What a lot of people are very attracted to is a very hierarchical relationship between the writer and their readers. I mean Dr. Phil, for example, is the most successful self-help writer ever, and he definitely writes, and speaks and teaches through his television program, from the point of view of the expert: "I know how you could and should be doing better" (Dowrick, 2005).

Expertise or certain personality traits may accord non-leaders strong charismatic stature (see Chapter 5). However, it is argued that, even in cases of non-leadership, whenever the social environment is perceived as an intergroup context, a salient social identity will operate (Oakes, 1987), and the same charismatic influence and attribution processes reported in the previous chapters will apply. Attributions of charisma will still be affected by the level of social identification.

Manipulating social identity

Results of the three previous chapters clearly demonstrate that the attribution of charisma to a leader is affected by social identification—the categorisation of the self as sharing, or not sharing, a social identity with the leader. This self-

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categorisation can be based on agreement with the tenor of a leader's political values and beliefs (see Chapter 5), a single shared social attitude (see Chapter 6), or identification with the leader's group (see Chapter 7). In each case the level of social identification—how strongly the leader was perceived to share the social identity— was associated with greater levels of attributed charisma.

The social identity perspective states that it is the process of categorising and identifying that underpins social attraction (Hogg, 2001a, 2005) and social influence (Turner, 1991), and that the content of that shared identity is irrelevant to the effect. In other words, it is the level of social identification, rather than which identity is salient, that affects our perceptions of, and responses to, the charismatic leader. As such, manipulating the level of social identification should affect the level of charismatic attribution.

In the previous three studies, pre-existing attitudes, values, beliefs, and identities were tapped. Social identity, and thus the level of charismatic attribution, were not manipulated. In the current study, social identity was operationalised as a personality type. Participants filled out a personality test and, through bogus feedback, were randomly assigned to one of two fictional "personality types", thus making a new social identity salient. To manipulate the level of shared social identity, half the participants were informed that they were the same personality type as the self-help expert, while the half were informed that they differed. After reading a motivational speech by the expert, participants rated him for charisma and other leader qualities. As in the two previous studies, charismatic attributions were operationalised as responses to both a single explicit item about charisma, and a scale consisting of implicit charismatic leadership qualities. It was hypothesised that

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if this newly-created social identity was salient, the level of social identification with the self-help expert would affect charismatic attributions. It was predicted that:

P8.1. The more participants perceived their personality to be similar in type to the target's, the more implicit and explicit charisma would be attributed to him.

Social liking as mediator

The World Leader Study (Chapter 7) supported the contention that we use a commonly-agreed upon subtype (Gardner & Avolio, 1998) to attribute the level of charismatic leadership, which is then augmented or diminished by social identification. It was suggested that social identification acts like putting on rose- or grey-tinted glasses through which the actions of the leader were viewed and assessed.

In the Gay Marriage and Cosgrove studies (Chapter 6 & 7), it was argued that the effect of the social identity glasses on assessments of the leader is due to the social like or dislike that is evoked by that level of social identification. In other words, social liking for the leader mediates the effect of social identification on charismatic attributions—it is a strong visceral reaction to the leader. This contention was strongly supported for an emergent (previously unknown) leader in Chapter 6 and for a well-known leader in Chapter 7. Similar to those two studies, liking was operationalised here as self-report ratings of social attraction towards the expert. It was hypothesised that social liking will play a similar role in the charismatic attribution process in this study. It was predicted that:

P8.2. Liking for the target would mediate the effect of social identification on his attributed implicit and explicit charisma.

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The halo effect

One of the striking results from the Gay Marriage study was that participants were willing to make consistent judgements about a relatively unknown leader, based merely on the level of shared attitude to gay marriage, and that these were entirely mediated by social liking of the leader. The Cosgrove study showed that the mediating role of social liking was already in play before the leader's speech was read, suggesting that liking colours subsequent experiences involving the leader, and helps to confirm previous assessments. Given the profound effect that social liking has on judgements about charisma, it is hard to imagine that this effect would only be confined to charismatic attributions. Being such a strong emotional reaction to the leader, it is also theorised that social liking colours, not only judgements about the leader's charismatic qualities, but many other judgements about the leader as well. In other words, the permeation of social liking throughout the charismatic influence process suggests some sort of halo effect on all leader judgements (Berndsen, McGarty, van der Pligt, & Spears, 2001).

The halo effect is a well-known phenomenon. In a landmark study, Nisbett and Wilson (1977) demonstrated that the same person appearing "warm and friendly", versus "cold and distant", could be judged differently for appearance, mannerisms, and accent, even though these things remained constant in the videotapes. They concluded that "global evaluations of a person can induce altered evaluations of the person's attributes, even when there is sufficient information to allow for independent assessments of them" (p. 250). Nisbett and Wilson also found that perceivers were totally unaware of this mechanism, and thought they had made global assessments from their knowledge of specific attributes, rather than the reverse. The researchers posit that even traits which the perceiver has little

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knowledge of, will be coloured by these global assessments. Jacobs and Kozlowski (1985) found that halo, as extrapolations from one aspect of job performance to all aspects, increased with interpersonal familiarity.

The social identity perspective conceives of halo as a form of the social stereotyping that occurs within and between groups as group members make meaning of their social environment (Berndsen et al., 2001). Rather than reflecting bias in judgements, halo reflects a consistency in the way reality is experienced by the group. With the shift from personal identity to a salient social identity, depersonalisation allows for the perception of the interchangeability of ingroup members and the strengthening of positive ingroup stereotypes. In addition, depersonalisation allows for the perception of outgroup member interchangeability and the strengthening of negative outgroup stereotypes (Oakes, Haslam, Morrison, & Grace, 1995; Simon, 1992; Simon & Pettigrew, 1990).

While many view the halo effect as conflating measured relationships and as having negative consequences (e.g., Holbrook, 1983; Tsui & Barry, 1986), others argue that all the major assumptions underlying this conception of halo are problematic or incorrect (Murphy, 1982; Murphy, Jako, & Anhalt, 1993; Murphy & Reynolds, 1988), that halo and accuracy are positively related (Nathan & Tippins, 1990), and that methods for detection and correction are also problematic (Balzer & Sulsky, 1992).

This concords with the social identity analysis. Leader stereotypes are the impressions formed about that leader, and are based on the perceptions shared amongst group members in response to the current intergroup context (Haslam, Oakes, Turner, & McGarty, 1995). These perceptions are strongly influenced by the level of social identification with that leader. They are formed in an effort to actively

differentiate ingroup members from the outgroup (Berndsen et al., 2001), and are therefore a real reflection of the group's experience. As such, they do not require correction.

It is argued that, rather than a conflation, to a large degree the halo effect reflects an extrapolation of their experience of other group members in operation during normal group processes. That is, in a salient intergroup context, the perceivers' experiences of an ingroup leader's known qualities will be imbued by feelings of social liking for him or her. They will naturally "fill in the blanks" about ambiguous or unknown qualities of the charismatic leader based on known ingroup stereotypes. The converse applies to those perceiving an outgroup leader. Thus, theoretically unrelated qualities about which the perceiver is unable to make informed judgements, will correlate due to the level of social identification and evoked social liking. Known and unknown qualities should correlate more uniformly. It was therefore predicted that:

P8.3. Attributions of two theoretically-unrelated qualities, honesty and intelligence, would correlate strongly when a social identity was salient.

P8.4. Attributions of honesty and intelligence would correlate strongly with social liking and attributions of charisma when a social identity was salient.

P8.5. The more participants perceived their personality to be similar in type to the target's, the more intelligence and honesty would be attributed to him.

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P8.6. Liking for the self-help expert would mediate the effect of social identification on attributions of intelligence and honesty.

Summary

The reader is reminded that this was a study in two parts. The first part of the study, reported in the current chapter, focussed on the effects of manipulating the level of social identity, and had three main aims: (a) to show that social identification processes still affect attributions of charisma in non-leadership situations; (b) to show that when the level of social identity is manipulated, attributions of charisma are affected; and (c) to show that charismatic attributions are part of a halo effect underpinned by social liking. The second part of this study, involving social identity change, will be reported in the next chapter.

Method

Participants

One hundred and four first-year psychology students at the Australian National University participated for course credit. Eighteen participants indicated that they were from a non-English speaking background and spoke English as a second language. Nine participants failed comprehension checks, therefore the final sample ($N = 95$) consisted of 66 females and 29 males with ages ranging from $17 - 50$ ($M = 19.82, SD = 5.74$).

Design

A one-way MANOVA design was used. The independent variable, social identity, had two levels. In the shared condition, participants shared the same social identity (a bogus personality type) with the expert. In the non-shared condition,

participants did not share the same social identity. Dependent variables consisted of social liking for the expert and attributions about the expert's charisma, honesty, and intelligence. These were measured as ratings on 7-point Likert scales.

Materials & Procedure

This part of the study consisted of three phases. The study was introduced by stating, "This study involves filling out a personality test and finding out which personality type you are—people are either naturalistic or representational. You'll be reading a speech by a speaker who is a certain personality type and rating the speaker".

Phase One: Personality type manipulation & scales

The first phase involved completing and self-scoring a questionnaire labelled, "Personality Test". The questionnaire was distributed and the scoring systems were explained. The personality test comprised the self-concept clarity scale (Campbell et al., 1996) and a shortened version of the relational, individual, and collective self-aspects scale (Kashima & Hardie, 2000). Please note that both these scales were used for the purpose of face validity only, and that due to time constraints, the RIC was not administered in the way it was intended.

Participants indicated they had completed the questionnaire by raising their hand and the experimenter pretended to make an assessment of the participant's personality by looking over the responses and interpreting the self-scored results. To complete the bogus assessment, the experimenter ticked a box on the personality questionnaire in full view of the participant indicating the resultant personality type. The experimenter then handed that participant a second questionnaire with the person's personality type clearly labelled on the front. In reality, participants were

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randomly assigned one of two bogus personality labels—"naturalistic" or

"representational". An anonymous but unique personal code was used to match the

two questionnaires.

Phase Two: Salience manipulation

The cover of the second questionnaire was entitled, "Information sheet for

the: [Naturalistic/Representational] personality type" and was followed by some

fictitious information about the test and a bogus personality summary which was

identical for both personality labels. The summary (see Appendix E) consisted of a

passage constructed by Forer (1949) which he used effectively to demonstrate the

ambiguity and gullibility involved in astrological personality assessments.

Phase Two initially involved reading both the personality summary and an

information passage designed to manipulate the salience of the comparison with a

fictitious target. The passage stated:

> You are about to read a speech by Michael Lawrence, a motivational speaker
>
> who has written a number of books on the Naturalistic and Representational
>
> personality types. He has often publicly stated that he himself has a
>
> [Naturalistic/Representational] personality.

To check that allocations had been comprehended and to reinforce the

manipulation, participants were asked to indicate (i) the result of their own

personality assessment, and (ii) whether it differed from the target's personality type.

Participants then completed a 4-item manipulation check (see Table 8.1, page 281).

Phase 3: Speeches

In phase three, participants read one of two speeches attributed to the target

(see Appendix F). The stimulus was an excerpt from an article on a motivational

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website (Danes, n.d.) adapted slightly to enhance face validity. The speeches were identical except that in one version the speaker addresses those with a naturalistic personality, and in the other he addresses those with a representational personality. In the shared condition (where speaker and participant share the same personality type), the speaker targets those with the same personality type. In the non-shared condition (where speaker and participant do not share the same personality type), the speaker targets those with the opposite personality type to the participant. Constant use of inclusive language by the speaker ("we" and "us") was designed to accentuate the exclusivity of the target audience and strengthen the comparative intergroup context.

After reading the speech, participants rated the speaker on the dependent measures and completed another manipulation check: their level of identification with the speaker. The explicit attribution of charisma was measured using the item, "Michael was charismatic", while implicit charisma was measured using nine items from the MLQ 3-subscale pool (Bass & Avolio, 1991). Social liking was measured on the same 5-item scale used in the previous two studies. Two scales measuring leader honesty and intelligence were constructed to measure the halo effect. Items for each of these scales are displayed in the results section.

Results

Data consisted of personality scores, social identification scores, and ratings of the speaker. Participants were asked to check their questionnaires before submission so there was very little missing data.

Personality scales

The self-concept clarity scale comprised twelve items on 7-point Likert scales, two of which were reversed scored. Items were averaged for each participant (M = 4.16, SD = 1.02, N = 104). Std. Cronbach's α = .846. indicated that internal reliability was very good.

The relational, individual, and collective self-aspects scale (RIC) comprised 10 items. Usually, every item produces a score for each of the three self-aspects. As the purpose of this scale was face validity only, for time's sake participants were instead asked to indicate which of the three self-aspects most suited each item. Thus, every participant generated three item-count scores, one for each self-aspect and the counts summed to ten for each participant. Counts were averaged for each orientation (N = 104) and revealed higher orientations towards individuality, M = 4.16, SD = 1.83, and personal relationships, M = 4.05, SD = 1.77, than for collectivism, M = 1.79, SD = 1.63. Self-concept clarity levels did not correlate with RIC item-counts (individual, r = -.075, p = .448; relational, r = .179, p = .069; collectivist, r = -.110, p = .265; N = 104).

Manipulation checks

Allocation checks

Success of the social identity manipulation required participants' awareness of their allocated "personality type" and whether that type was similar to, or different from, the speaker's. The speech very clearly targeted only one or other personality type. Participants who indicated a wrong allocation and/or target (n = 9) were excluded from all subsequent analyses (N = 95).

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Level of identification with personality type scale (GRID)

A 4-item scale was used to check participants' level of identification with those of the same personality type. An exploratory factor analysis with principal axis factoring was used to determine the factor structure of these items.

Table 8.1.
Principal axis factoring analysis for the GRID items.

Item	Factor Loading	Communality	
		Initial	Extraction
5. In most situations, I think I would react in the same way as people who have [my] personality type.	.769	.437	.592
4. I feel strong ties with people who have [my] personality type.	.741	.429	.549
3. In general, I see myself as similar to people who have [my] personality type.	.674	.347	.455
6. I see myself as having similar values to people who have [my] personality type.	.561	.260	.314
Extraction sums of squared loadings	1.909		
% of variance	47.729		

Note: N = 95.

No rotation occurred as only one factor, with an initial eigenvalue of 2.414, was found. The items and their factor loadings and communalities can be found in Table 8.1. The four items were averaged to produce a group identification scale (GRID). Internal consistency was fair, std. Cronbach's α = .779.

Labelling and allocation effects

It was expected that being labelled one of the two fictitious personality types and being a similar or different personality type to the speaker would not affect the level of identification with others of that personality type. A crossed two-way ANOVA was used to check this. Independent variables were personality type

(naturalistic/representational) and social identity (shared/non-shared). The dependent variable was GRID.

There was no significant interaction effect for Personality type × Social identity, $F_{(1, 91)} < .001$, $p = .985$, or a main effect for personality type, $F_{(1, 91)} = 0.641$, $p = .425$. It was concluded that the different labels had no effect on the level of identification with others of the same personality type and, therefore, the conditions could be collapsed. There was also no main effect for Social identity, $F_{(1, 91)} = 0.427$, $p = .515$. That is, sharing ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 0.90$, $CI_{.95} = [4.63, 5.20]$, $n = 47$) or not sharing ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.05$, $CI_{.95} = [4.77, 5.34]$, $n = 48$) the same personality type as the leader, did not effect the level of identification with others of that personality type. Neither confidence interval included the midpoint. In fact, the majority of participants (82%) scored above the midpoint on the GRID scale with scores in both conditions restricted from two to seven. When examining subsequent figures involving GRID, this restriction of range should be kept in mind.

These results indicated that the personality cover story had good face validity, that most participants believed that the bogus personality description was an accurate account of their personality, and therefore, that identification with each personality type was strong.

Post-speech identification checks

A single-item post-speech measure, "I have a lot in common with [the speaker]", gauged personal identification with the speaker (PID). An independent t-test was used to check the level of identification with the speaker after the speech, with social identity (shared/non-shared) as the independent variable and PID as the dependent variable. Those sharing the same personality type, $M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.43$,

$n = 47$, identified more with the speaker than those who had a different personality

type, $M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.36$, $n = 48$, $t_{(93)} = 3.172$, $p = .002$, partial $\eta^2 = .098$.
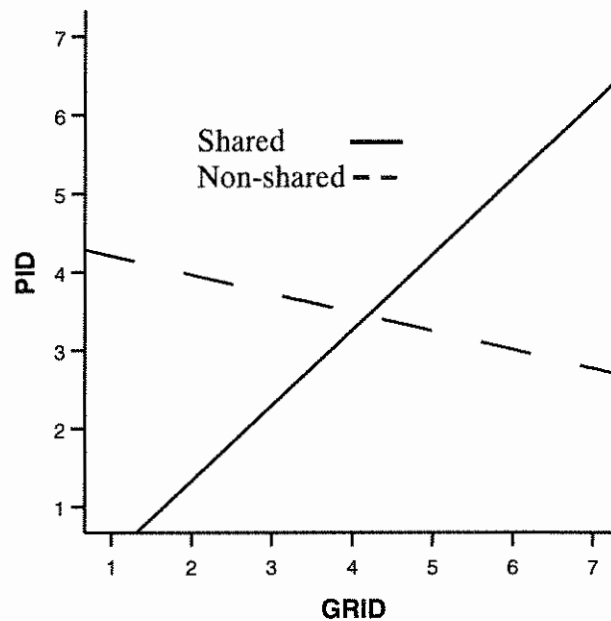
Figure 8.1. Lines of best fit for PID against GRID split by social identity.

Furthermore, for those with the same personality type as the speaker,

identification with one's personality group correlated strongly with identification

with the speaker, $r = .609$, $p < .001$, $n = 47$. In contrast, for those with a different

personality type to the speaker, identification with one's personality group did not

correlate with identification with the speaker, $r = -.184$, $p = .210$, $n = 48$. Figure 8.1

illustrates the strength of this identification alignment in the shared condition, as

opposed the lack of association in the non-shared condition.

Post speech speaker perceptions

Charismatic qualities and liking scales

For reasons of parsimony and cross-study comparison, nine implicit charisma

items from the MLQ (Form 5X) (Bass & Avolio, 1991) were averaged to form a

single scale (see Table 8.2 for sample items). Internal reliability was fair, std.

Cronbach's α = .768. Other measures were the overt charisma item and the liking

scale used in the two previous studies. The liking scale had very good internal

reliability, std. Cronbach's α = .891.

Table 8.2.
Charismatic qualities scale sample items[2].

Items: [The speaker] ...
14. displays actions which build my respect for him (AC)
15. displays a sense of power and confidence (AC)
16. emphasises the importance of being committed to our beliefs (II)
17. displays conviction in his ideals, beliefs, and values (II)
20. arouses awareness of what is essential to consider (IM)

Note: MLQ subscales abbreviations: Attributed charisma (AC); Idealised Influence (II); Inspirational Motivation (IM).

The effect of social identity on liking and charismatic attributions

To test the effect of the social identity manipulation on liking and speaker

attributions, a MANOVA was performed. The independent variable was social

identity (shared/non-shared). Dependent variables were overt charisma, charismatic

qualities, and liking.

There was a strong multivariate effect for social identity on liking and

charisma, Wilk's Λ = .820, $F_{(3, 91)}$ = 6.674, $p < .001$, multivariate η^2 = .180.

However, means and follow-up univariate ANOVA results indicated that the effect

was limited to liking (see Table 8.3). Disappointingly, the charismatic attributions

appeared not to be affected by the social identity manipulation.

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[2] Owners of the MLQ give permission for the display of up to five sample items (see Appendix H).

Table 8.3.
Charisma and liking means for each social identity condition.

Dependent variable	Shared		Non-shared		$F_{(1, 93)}$	p	η^2 *
	M	SD	M	SD			
Overt charisma	5.20	1.02	5.20	0.88	0.004	.948	< .001
Charismatic qualities	5.34	0.71	5.32	0.59	0.030	.862	< .001
Liking	4.39	0.93	3.57	1.10	15.351	< .001	.142

Note: Shared (n = 47); Non-shared (n = 48). * denotes partial η^2

To try to understand why there were no significant differences between conditions for the charisma measures, correlations within each condition were examined. The correlations between speaker ratings and identification measures showed that when the speaker was perceived to share a personality type, identification with others of that type, and with the speaker, correlated uniformly with the speaker ratings (see Table 8.4). On the other hand, when the speaker was perceived not to share a personality type, most correlations between speaker ratings and identification with others of that type, and with the speaker, were substantially weaker or non-existent.

Table 8.4.
Intercorrelations for charisma and liking for each social identity condition.

	Shared (n = 47)			Non-shared (n = 48)		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
1. Overt charisma	1			1		
2. Charismatic qualities	.475***	1		.411***	1	
3. Liking	.481***	.587***	1	.200	.451**	1
6. GRID	.380**	.585***	.527***	.010	.349*	-.096
7. PID	.358*	.632***	.621***	.093	.209	.573***

Note: *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

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This suggested that identifying with the personality type and knowing that the speaker was similar or different in personality type had some interactive effect on speaker attributions and liking. Therefore, post-hoc analyses of these effects were undertaken.

Post-hoc analyses for charismatic attributions and liking

To clarify, identification with the personality type (GRID) and with the speaker (PID) appeared to have differential effects on speaker attributions according to whether the self was perceived as sharing, or not sharing, the same personality type as the speaker (social identity).

A MANCOVA was used to assess whether social identity moderated the effect of group identification on charismatic attributions and liking. There was one dichotomous independent variable, social identity (shared/non-shared) and continuous independent variable, GRID. Dependent variables were overt charisma, charismatic qualities, and liking.

There was a significant multivariate interaction effect for Social identity × GRID, Wilk's $\Lambda = .887$, $F_{(3, 89)} = 3.774$, $p = .013$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .113$, a large multivariate main effect for GRID, Wilk's $\Lambda = .759$, $F_{(3, 89)} = 9.400$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .241$, and a marginal multivariate main effect for social identity, Wilk's $\Lambda = .921$, $F_{(3, 89)} = 2.543$, $p = .061$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .079$. Follow-up ANOVA indicated that all three dependent variables were affected by the interaction and main effects (see Table 8.5). Effects on each dependent variable are detailed below.

Table 8.5.

Follow-up ANOVA significance tests for the effects of social identity and GRID on speaker's post-speech charisma and liking ratings.

Independent variable	Dependent variable	$F_{(1, 91)}$	p	partial η^2
Social identity × GRID	Overt charisma	4.546	.036	.048
	Charismatic qualities	4.605	.035	.048
	Liking	9.555	.003	.095
GRID	Overt charisma	4.919	.029	.051
	Charismatic qualities	4.515	.036	.047
	Liking	27.820	< .001	.234
Social identity	Overt charisma	4.341	.040	.046
	Charismatic qualities	4.037	.047	.042
	Liking	4.999	.028	.052

Note: N = 95.

Liking

Social identity and group identification had a strong interactive effect on liking for the speaker. In the shared condition, as identification with one's personality group increased, liking for the speaker increased, $B = 0.542$, $SE\ B = 0.158$, $t_{(91)} = 3.422$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .114$, whereas change in identification with one's personality group had no effect on liking for the speaker in the non-shared condition, $B = -0.100$, $SE\ B = 0.134$, $t_{(91)} = -0.746$, $p = .457$ (see Figure 8.2). Note that low levels of identification with one's personality group produced values of liking below the neutral point in the shared condition.
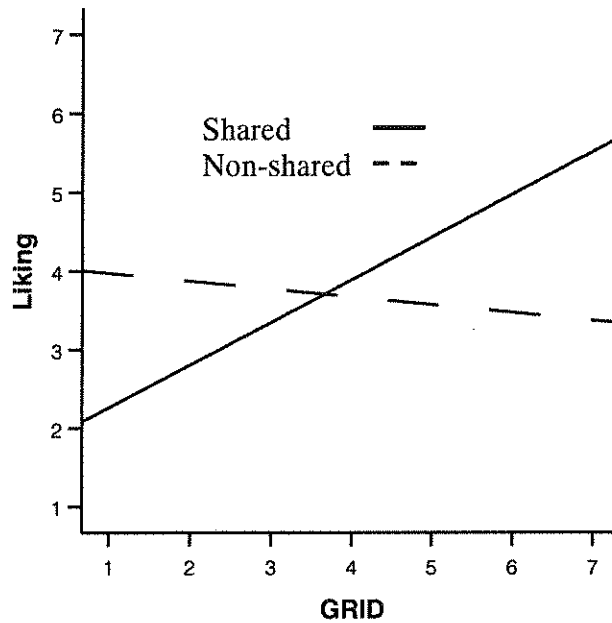
<u>Figure 8.2.</u> Lines of best fit for liking against GRID, split by social identity.

Overt charisma

There was a similar interaction effect of social identity and group identification on overt charisma (see Figure 8.3). An examination of the regression slope estimates revealed that increasing identification with one's personality group did not affect the level of overt charisma in the non-shared condition, $B = 0.008$, $SE\ B = 0.128$, $t_{(91)} = 0.066$, $p = .947$. However, in line with Prediction 8.1, identification with one's personalty group did predict overt charisma in the shared condition, $B = 0.429$, $SE\ B = 0.150$, $t_{(91)} = 2.854$, $p = .005$, partial $\eta^2 = .082$.
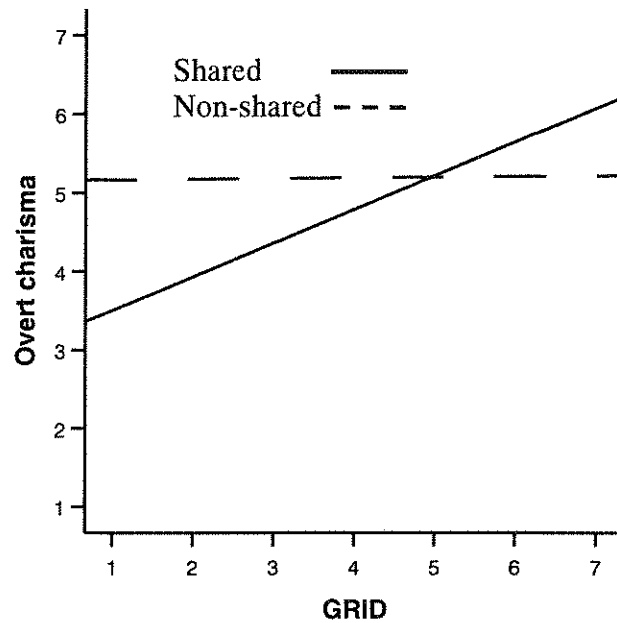
Figure 8.3. Lines of best fit for overt charisma against GRID, split by social identity.

Mediation analyses involving liking were undertaken for each condition.

Liking did not mediate any effect of group identification in the non-shared condition,

because GRID and liking were unrelated (see correlations in Table 8.4, page 285).

Furthermore, neither GRID nor liking were correlated with overt charisma. In

contrast, GRID, liking, and overt charisma were all related in the shared condition.

The beta values in Figure 8.4 show that the significant relationship between GRID

and overt charisma became negligible when liking was entered into the model.
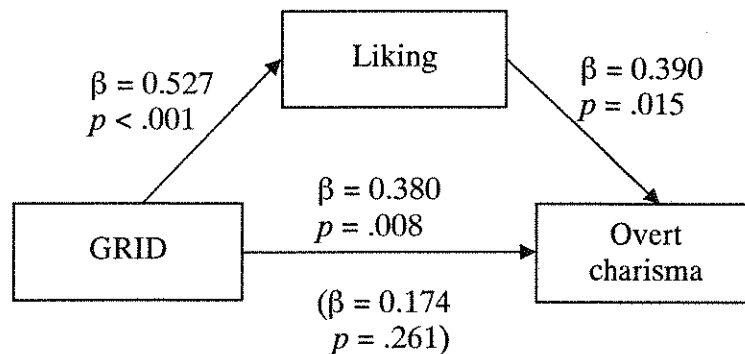
Figure 8.4. Liking mediates the effect of GRID on overt charisma in the shared
condition.[3]

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[3] Note: the β-value within parentheses is the regression coefficient after entry of potential mediator.

In line with Prediction 8.2, the Aroian version of the Sobel test confirmed that liking fully mediated the influence of group identification on overt charisma, $z = 2.125$, $p = .034$. Together support and liking explained 25.4% (adj. R^2) of the variance in overt charisma, $F_{(2, 44)} = 7.481$, $p = .002$.

Charismatic qualities

The pattern of this interaction was slightly different, with group identification predicting charismatic qualities in both conditions (see Figure 8.5). However, the effect was significantly stronger in the shared condition, $B = 0.456$, $SE\ B = 0.093$, $t_{(91)} = 4.905$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .209$, than in the non-shared condition, $B = 0.197$, $SE\ B = 0.097$, $t_{(91)} = 2.491$, $p = .015$, partial $\eta^2 = .064$. The strong effect of group identification on charismatic qualities in the shared condition provides support for Prediction 8.1.
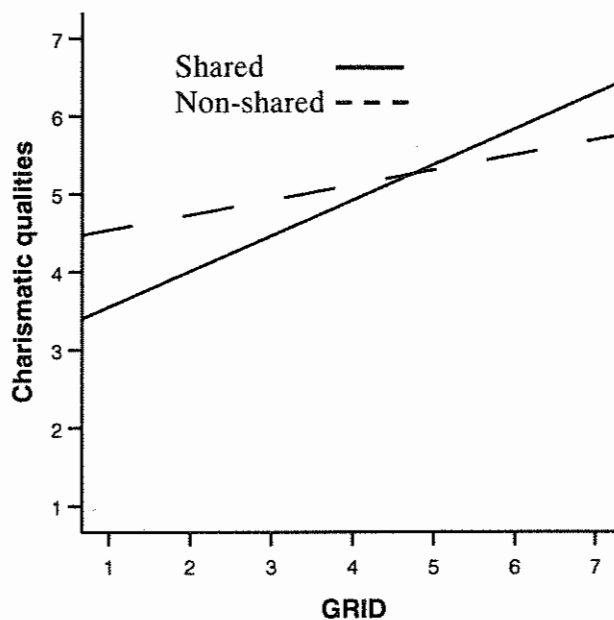
Figure 8.5. Lines of best fit for charismatic qualities against GRID, split by social identity.

Mediation analyses indicated that, although charismatic qualities correlated with both GRID and liking in the non-shared condition (Table 8.4, page 285), liking played no mediating role because it was unrelated to GRID ($\beta = -.096, p = .518$). As Figure 8.6 shows, group identification and liking made separate contributions to the prediction of charismatic qualities, explaining 32.1% (adj. R^2) of the variance, $F_{(2, 45)} = 12.108, p < .001$.
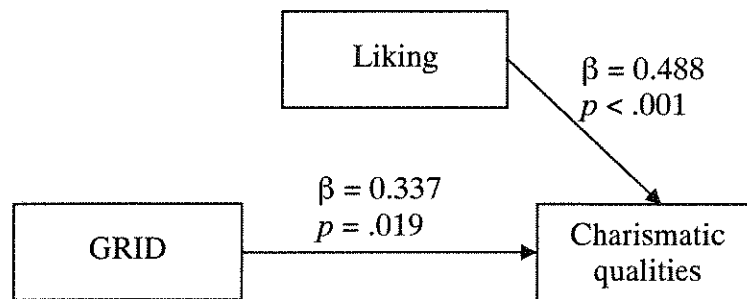
Figure 8.6. The prediction of charismatic qualities by liking and GRID in the non-shared condition.

In contrast, the beta values in the shared condition (see Figure 8.7) provided some support for Prediction 8.2 in that liking partially mediated the effect of group identification on charismatic qualities.
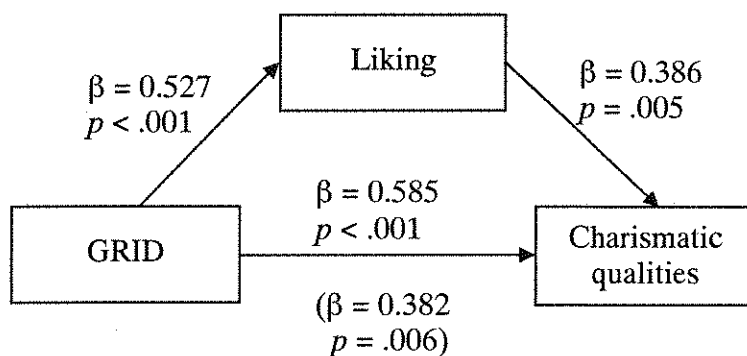
Figure 8.7. Liking mediates the effect of GRID on charismatic qualities in the shared condition.[4]

The significant relationship between GRID and charismatic qualities was reduced when liking was entered into the model. The Aroian version of the Sobel

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[4] Note: the β-value within parentheses is the regression coefficient after entry of potential mediator.

test indicated that significant partial mediation had occurred, $z = 2.350, p = .019$.

Together GRID and liking explained 42.5% (adj. R^2) of the variance in charismatic

qualities, $F_{(2, 44)} = 17.985, p < .001$.

Exploring the halo effect

Honesty and intelligence scales

Two theoretically unrelated scales were used to test the halo effect. Although

the two constructs are theoretically orthogonal, it was anticipated that they might

correlate due to a halo effect. Three items measuring intelligence and three

measuring honesty were analysed using exploratory factor analysis with principal

axis factoring and promax rotation ($\kappa = 4$). Promax rotation was deemed appropriate

because orthogonality is first tested before the condition is relaxed if no solution is

found (Russell, 2002).

Two factors with initial eigenvalues of 3.304 and 1.072 were found. Factor

loadings and communalities are displayed in Table 8.6. Factor one was made up of

the intelligence items while factor two was made up of the honesty items and the

factor correlation matrix indicated strong correlation between latent factors, $r = .539$.

The items for each scale were therefore averaged. The honesty scale had fair internal

reliability, std. Cronbach's $\alpha = .756$, while the intelligence scale had good reliability,

$\alpha = .849$. In line with Prediction 8.3, attributions involving these theoretically

unrelated qualities correlated to large effect, $r = .499, p < .001, N = 95$.

Table 8.6.

Principal axis factoring analysis for intelligence and honesty items.

Item	Factor Loading		Communality	
	1	2	Initial	Extraction
35. [The speaker] struck me as being quite bright (I)	.945	-.055	.670	.840
33. [The speaker] is intelligent (I)	.741	-.055	.647	.691
37. [The speaker] displayed good mental abilities (I)	.717	-.030	.462	.493
32. I could rely on [the speaker] (H)	-.155	.971	.445	.805
36. [The speaker] was honest (H)	.154	.536	.354	.400
34. I trusted [the speaker] (H)	.251	.520	.438	.474
Extraction sums of squared loadings	2.944	0.759		
% of variance	49.064	12.651		
Rotated sums of squared loadings	2.619	2.235		

Note: N = 95. Abbreviations: Honesty scale (H). Intelligence scale (I).

The effect of social identity on intelligence and honesty attributions

To examine the effect of the social identity manipulation on attributions of

honesty and intelligence, a MANOVA was executed with social identity

(shared/non-shared) as the independent variable. There was no effect for social

identity, Wilk's Λ = .960, $F_{(2, 92)}$ = 1.913, p = .153. Means and univariate ANOVA

results are displayed below (see Table 8.7). Both conditions exhibited the same

trend: those in the shared condition attributed greater intelligence and honesty to the

target than those in the non-shared condition. The difference between intelligence

means approached significance. Against Prediction 8.5, sharing a social identity with

the target, as opposed to not sharing, appeared to have no effect on attributions of

intelligence and honesty.

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Table 8.7.
Intelligence and honesty means for each social identity condition.

| | Shared | | Non-shared | | | | |
Dependent variable	M	SD	M	SD	$F_{(1, 93)}$	p	η^2*
Intelligence	4.94	0.80	4.60	0.99	3.446	.067	.036
Honesty	3.96	1.09	3.64	1.04	2.154	.146	.023

Note: Shared ($n = 47$); Non-shared ($n = 48$). * denotes partial η^2

Correlational patterns for intelligence and honesty

The correlations involving intelligence and honesty in Table 8.8 have been split by condition. They showed a similar interactional pattern to one involving identification and charismatic attributions (see Table 8.4, page 285). That is, stronger and more uniform correlations occurred in the shared condition in comparison to the non-shared condition. In particular, identification with one's personality type, and with the speaker, correlated very strongly with honesty and intelligence attributions in the shared condition, but were much weaker in the non-shared condition.

Table 8.8.
Intelligence and honesty correlations for each social identity condition.

| | Shared ($n = 47$) | | Non-shared ($n = 47$) | |
	1	2	1	2
1. Intelligence	1		1	
2. Honesty	.586***	1	.406**	1
3. GRID	.477***	.497***	.216	.294*
4. PID	.549***	.527***	.236	.091
5. Overt charisma	.580***	.307*	-.043	.216
6. Charismatic qualities	.488***	.582***	.361*	.492***
7. Liking	.515***	.601***	.387**	.370**

Note: *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Attributions of honesty and intelligence were expected to correlate strongly with respect to attributions of charisma and liking (P8.4). However, these only occurred consistently in the shared condition. As a result of these patterns, post-hoc analyses comparing each condition were undertaken and are reported in the next section.

Post-hoc analysis for honesty and intelligence

A MANCOVA was used to gauge whether social identity moderated the effect of group identification on dependent variables intelligence and honesty. There was one dichotomous independent variable, social identity (shared/non-shared) and continuous independent variable, GRID.

Results showed that there was no strong multivariate moderating effect, Social identity × GRID, Wilk's $\Lambda = .972$, $F_{(2, 90)} = 1.313$, $p = .274$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .028$, or multivariate main effect for social identity, Wilk's $\Lambda = .985$, $F_{(1, 90)} = 0.673$, $p = .512$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .015$. However, there was a main effect for GRID, Wilk's $\Lambda = .809$, $F_{(3, 89)} = 10.640$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .191$. Follow-up ANOVAs indicated that GRID affected both intelligence, $F_{(1, 91)} = 11.686$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .114$, and honesty, $F_{(1, 91)} = 18.002$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .165$. This result appeared counterintuitive, therefore post-hoc analyses of trend patterns for each scale were examined. Results are detailed below.

Intelligence

The absence of a clear moderating effect can be seen in Figure 8.8. Follow up ANOVA confirmed that the two slopes do not differ significantly for Social identity × GRID, $F_{(1, 91)} = 1.466$, $p = .229$, partial $\eta^2 = .016$. Despite this, the slope pattern was similar to the preceding significant interactions involving liking and overt

charisma. The shared condition provided support for Prediction 8.5, showing a

significant relationship between intelligence and GRID, $B = 0.424$, $SE\ B = 0.140$,

$CI_{.95} = [0.147, 0.702]$, $t_{(46)} = 3.037$, $p = .003$, partial $\eta^2 = .092$. While not

significantly different, this relationship was stronger in comparison to the non-shared

condition, $B = 0.202$, $SE\ B = 0.119$, $CI_{.95} = [-0.033, 0.438]$, $t_{(47)} = 1.705$, $p = .092$,

partial $\eta^2 = .031$.
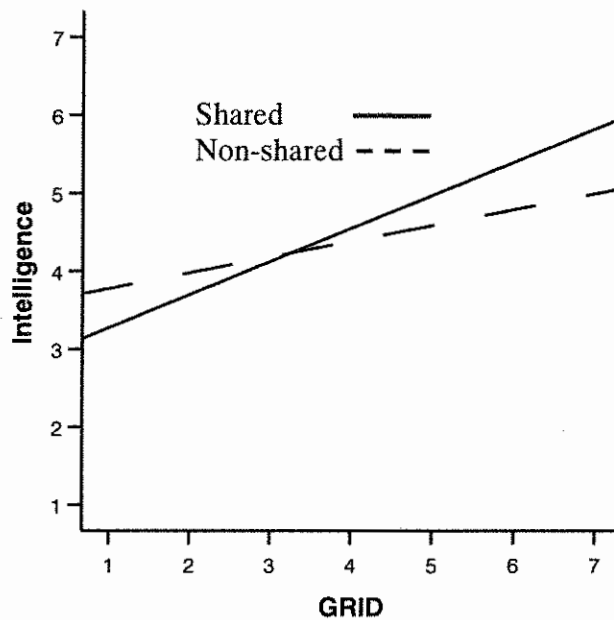
Figure 8.8. Lines of best fit for intelligence against GRID, split by social identity.

Liking did not mediate the effect of group identification on the attribution of

intelligence in the non-shared condition because group identification was

uncorrelated with both intelligence (see Table 8.8 on the previous page) and liking

(see Table 8.4, page 285). In contrast, beta values indicated that, in line with

Prediction 8.6, liking fully mediated the effect of group identification on intelligence

in the shared condition (see Figure 8.9). The relationship between GRID and

intelligence became non-significant when liking was entered into the model. The

Aroian version of the Sobel test verified that full mediation had occurred, $z = 2.100$,

$p = .036$. Together GRID and liking explained 29.3% (adj. R^2) of the variance in

intelligence, $F_{(2, 44)} = 10.533, p < .001$.
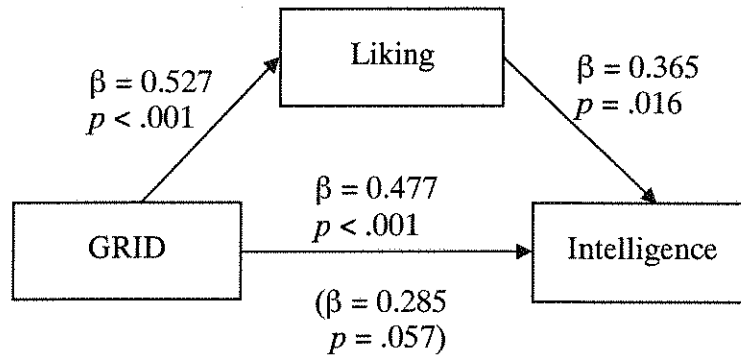
Figure 8.9. Liking mediates the effect of GRID on intelligence in the shared condition.[5]

Honesty

The pattern for honesty was similar to that of charismatic qualities with both

the regression coefficients of both slopes differing significantly from zero (see

Figure 8.10). The lack of moderation was confirmed by follow up ANOVA: Social

identity × GRID, $F_{(1, 91)} = 2.204, p = .141$, partial $\eta^2 = .024$.
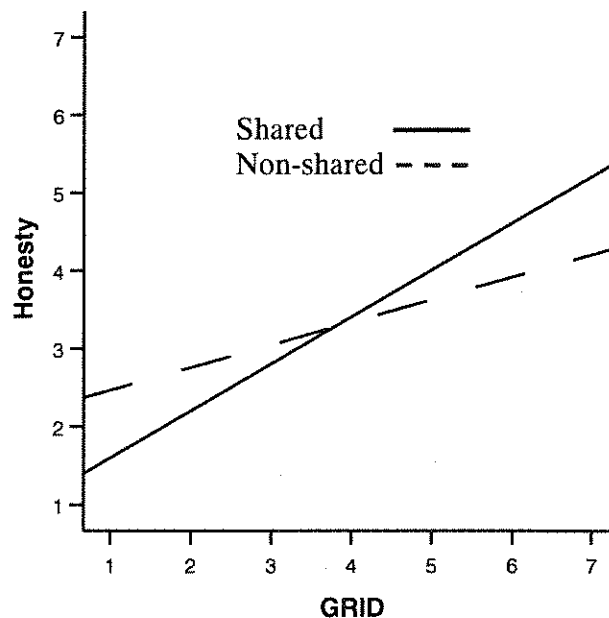
Figure 8.10. Lines of best fit for honesty against GRID, split by social identity.

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[5] Note: the β-value within parentheses is the regression coefficient after entry of potential mediator.

The two slopes did not differ significantly from each other. However, the shared condition provided further support for Prediction 8.5: identification with one's personality group strongly predicted attributions of honesty, $B = 0.602$, $SE\ B = 0.160$, $t_{(46)} = 3.757$, $p < .001$, $CI_{.95} = [0.284, 0.921]$, partial $\eta^2 = .134$, and despite the lack of moderation, the strength of the predictive relationship was double that of the non-shared condition, $B = 0.290$, $SE\ B = 0.136$, $t_{(46)} = 2.130$, $p = .036$, $CI_{.95} = [0.020, 0.561]$, partial $\eta^2 = .048$.

Liking did not mediate the effect of group identification on honesty in the non-shared condition because group identification and liking were uncorrelated. By contrast, as outlined in Prediction 8.6, liking mediated the effect of group identification on honesty attributions in the shared condition (see Figure 8.11). The effect of GRID on honesty became non-significant when liking was entered into the model.
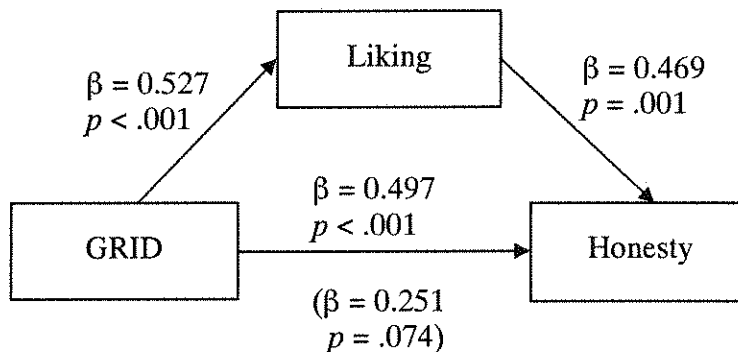
Figure 8.11. Liking mediates the effect of GRID on honesty in the shared condition.[6]

The Aroian version of the Sobel test confirmed that full mediation had occurred, $z = 2.601$, $p = .009$. Together GRID and liking explained 37.9% (adj. R^2) of the variance in charismatic qualities, $F_{(2, 44)} = 15.041$, $p < .001$.

In summary, the social identity manipulation produced differences for liking not charismatic qualities or over charisma. Post-hoc analyses revealed differences

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[6] Note: the β-value within parentheses is the regression coefficient after entry of potential mediator.

between the conditions. In the shared condition, social identification predicted all leader ratings, liking consistently partially or fully mediated this effect, and strong consistent correlations suggested a halo effect. In the non-shared condition, the effect of social identification on leader ratings was weak or non-existent, liking provided no mediation, and correlations were weaker or non-significant.

Discussion

The aims of this part of the study were: to examine the impact of social identity manipulation on charismatic attributions; to investigate whether those charismatic attributions were subject to a halo effect involving social liking; and to test charismatic attributions in a non-leader situation. The results, implications, and limitations of these explorations are discussed below.

Manipulating social identity

The study aimed to create a simple difference in the level of social identification, such that participants categorised themselves as either sharing or not sharing a social identity with the target. Under this manipulation, it was expected that the perception of sharing, versus not sharing, a social identity with the target would elicit greater liking for him, and stronger attributions of charisma. While sharing the social identity did educe greater liking, there was no straightforward effect on attributions of implicit or explicit charisma. However, post-hoc analyses revealed that the effects of sharing, or not sharing, the social identity on liking and charisma attributions, were moderated by how strongly participants in each condition internalised the relevant social identity. The effects for each condition are discussed separately.

The shared condition

Results in the shared condition were extremely consistent. For those told that

they shared the same personality type as the target, stronger identification with

others of that personality type was related to: stronger personal identification with

the target; attributions of being more charismatic, more intelligent, and more honest;

and greater social attraction. Furthermore, this educed liking mediated the effect of

social identification on the attributions.

Although the above findings have all been couched in positive terms, it is

important to acknowledge that findings also show the "other side of the coin": that

lower social identification was associated with attributions of being less charismatic,

less intelligent, and less honest; and that social dislike mediated these effects.

These findings clearly replicated the results of the previous studies.

Whichever social identity is salient, be it based on values and beliefs, a single

attitude, or a social group, the more intensely one shares that identity with the target,

the greater the social attraction to that target and the stronger the attributions of

charisma.

The non-shared condition

The results in the non-shared condition were more mixed. For those told that

they had a different personality type from the target, stronger identification with

others of their personality type were completely unrelated to: personal identification

with the target; his social attractiveness; and attributions about his explicit charisma

and intelligence. Stronger identification with the personality type (which excluded

the target) were mildly related to: attributions of implicit charisma and honesty.

However. since liking was unrelated to this social identification, it did not mediate

the effect of this social identity on these attributions.

An explanation of these findings

The key to understanding the differences between these conditions may be the amount of information each condition received. Although both conditions were given the same description of their personality type and similar speeches, the shared condition were told that the description they were given also described the target. In other words, they were given far more information about the target.

The real life equivalents to the shared and non-shared conditions are "insiders" versus "outsiders", respectively. People in both groups may vary in their identification with the target. Nevertheless, insiders have greater contact with the target than outsiders. They have access to far more personal information about their target and are therefore able to make more informed judgements about the comparative similarity of their personality to the target's. Therefore, level of their social attraction should be more polarised and their attributions of the target should be stronger and more consistent.

Insiders

In the current study, insiders took their allocated personality type with a grain of salt. This was not an artefact of the sample. Participants were tested within the first two weeks of their arrival at university and had little theoretical or methodological knowledge. It was, therefore, concluded that their reactions were naïve. Rather than accepting their allocated type unreservedly, they used it as a template with the target as its embodiment. They gauged how similar they were to the template, and were able to draw conclusions about their similarity to the target. This level of similarity determined the strength of their social attraction to the target, which in turn augmented or discounted their attributions of his charisma, intelligence, and honesty. For these participants, the similarity between their

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personality and the target's, was highly germane to their experience of him. Telling those participants that they shared the same social identity as the target made the identity relevant to their evaluations of him, and the description of the identity gave them the means by which to judge their level of similarity. Attributions followed accordingly.

Outsiders

Outsiders have access to far less personal information about their target. They must draw inferences from a variety of indirect sources to glean a picture of the target's personality. Inferring similarity of personality is harder and judgements should be less certain. Therefore, their feelings of social attraction should be more diffuse and their attributions of the target should be weaker and less consistent.

In the current study, outsiders were also able to gauge their similarity to the personality type but this gave them little personal insight into the target's personality and its similarity to theirs. Therefore, social attraction and personal identification with the target were unrelated to their personality type.

However, they were given a description of their prescribed personality type and told that the target was an advocate of this personality typology. The more they felt the personality description fitted their self-assessment, the greater the confirmation that the target was a legitimate and credible source. Through this and the speech, they were therefore able to make an indirect assessment of the target's implicit charisma, his intelligence, and his honesty. This may explain why these three attributes of the target were mildly predicted by identification with their personality type even though the target did not share that type.

When a social identity is not salient, we may fall back on implicit theories of the charismatic leader subtype to inform our attributions of charisma. This would

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explain the way the relatively flat non-shared lines seem to bisect the shared lines in many of the interaction figures. The non-shared condition may indicate a neutral or base level of charismatic stature (see Chapter 5) determined by implicit theories, neither augmented by social identification, nor discounted by social alienation.

It is hard to know exactly whether a consistently-salient social identity was evoked in this condition, let alone the nature of it. As such, the only firm lesson to be drawn from the non-shared condition is that these post-hoc analyses point to the necessity of social identity salience (Oakes, 1987). When the social environment gives us enough information, a relevant social identity becomes salient and we can clearly delineate "us" from "them". We identify with, and are attracted to, similar others. Furthermore, we are alienated from, and repulsed by, dissimilar others. The categories help us to make meaning of the social situation and inform our judgements, our feelings, and our actions—they give us clarity and empower us to act. They validate the use of previously-held stereotypes or enable us to form new impressions of others. In this environment we augment or discount our attributions of charisma and other qualities accordingly.

The halo effect

It was theorised that attributions of charisma are part of a wider set of fairly uniform evaluations made about a person and that this uniformity is the result of social liking. It was hypothesised that, across all measured judgements—even theoretically unrelated ones—those in the shared condition would consistently produce more positive evaluations of the target than those in the non-shared condition. It was therefore expected that the attributions of two theoretically unrelated qualities, intelligence and honesty, would correlate strongly with each other and with other responses to the target, namely charismatic attributions and

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liking. It was also expected that, in a similar way to charismatic attributions, the

attributions of intelligence and honesty would be influenced by social identity

processes and that this influence would be mediated by social liking. However, due

to the moderation effects reported and discussed above, post-hoc analyses were

undertaken and each condition is discussed separately below.

The shared condition

While intelligence correlated strongly with honesty in both conditions, the

two attributes correlated more strongly in the shared condition where social identity

was germane to judgements and information was available to make those

judgements. In the shared condition, intelligence and honesty correlated in a

uniformly strong way with personal identification, social liking, and with attributions

of charisma. Furthermore, identification with the personality type strongly predicted

attributions of intelligence and honesty, and similar to attributions of charisma,

social liking mediated this effect. Taken together, these results provide evidence of a

halo effect and support the role of social liking in this effect. When a social identity

is salient, social liking clearly colours many of the judgements about others with

whom we identify, or do not identify.

The non-shared condition

All measures of association in the non-shared condition were all smaller than

their corresponding measures in the shared condition. Furthermore, they were

inconsistent in size. Intelligence and honesty correlated with liking and the

attribution of implicit charisma but neither correlated with the attribution of explicit

charisma. As noted previously, the attribution of explicit charisma was also unrelated

to liking. Personal identification with the target was unrelated to attributions of

intelligence and honesty, as well as attributions of implicit and explicit charisma. Moreover, identification with the personality type was not significantly correlated with intelligence but was correlated with honesty. These weaker and inconsistent associations point to the lack of halo for this condition. Although liking was related to intelligence and honesty, it played no mediating role because it was unrelated to identification with the personality type.

In summary, in this condition, attributions about the target were not consistently underpinned by social or personal identification, nor by liking. Again, it is difficult to draw specific lessons from the non-shared condition other than to conclude that a halo effect was only evident under a salient social identity. The contrast in consistency and size of correlations does add weight to the contention attributions of charisma are part of a wider set of attributions influenced more globally by social liking when a social identity is salient.

Limitations to the next part of the study

The results of the shared condition concord with previous findings and provide important support to this social identity analysis of charismatic attribution. However, definitive conclusions about the results of the non-shared condition cannot be drawn because it is unclear whether any one social identity was salient, let alone its nature. This had consequences for the next part of the study. The first part of the study aimed to successfully evoke a social identity, to create a difference in the level of social identification between two conditions and show charismatic attributions were affected. The aim of the second part of the study was to change the salient social identity and show that charismatic attributions followed suit. Given that a clear social identity involving the target was only successfully evoked in the shared condition, only those participants were included in the second part of the study. It

was felt that the confusion surrounding identity in the non-shared condition would make it difficult to draw firm conclusions about their subsequent responses. The impact of social identity change on the charismatic attributions will be reported in the next chapter.

Conclusions

One of the aims of this study was to confirm that social identification processes still affect attributions of charisma in non-leadership situations. When the self-help expert was perceived to share the same social identity, the pattern of responses for this non-leadership situation mirrored the results involving leaders reported in the previous chapters: the strength of identification with that social identity clearly predicted attributions of charisma and this effect was mediated by liking. This should not be surprising. It is not any innate qualities of leaders or leadership that cause charismatic attributions to be affected by social identity. Rather, when a social identity is salient, attributions of charisma are influenced by the level of social identification through social liking, and the leadership by its very nature is a social influence process within an intergroup context. That is, leadership cannot help but make social identities salient. Therefore, be it involving a leader, a leaderless group, a famous celebrity, an expert, or even a friend, whenever a social identity is salient, social identification processes will drive social attraction and social influence, and any potential attributions of charisma will be affected.

In spite of the confusion in the non-shared condition, the importance of the results in the shared condition cannot be overstated. The social identity evoked by the manipulation was not pre-existing—participants had no history of thinking of themselves or others as having a naturalistic or representational personality type. Nor did they have any previous experience with the target from which to draw: they did

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not seen him demonstrate any previous leadership behaviours or style; they had no evidence of his social influence through follower outcomes; and they had no prior emotional reactions to him. Despite this, attributions about the charisma, honesty, and intelligence of this unknown person were consistently and strongly affected by participants' identification with an intangible novel personality-based group, and this effect was mediated by affective responses of like or dislike. This testifies to the powerful influence that social identity processes have on us and to the fundamental role they play in our perceptions as we negotiate our social environment.

CHAPTER 9

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL IDENTITY CHANGE
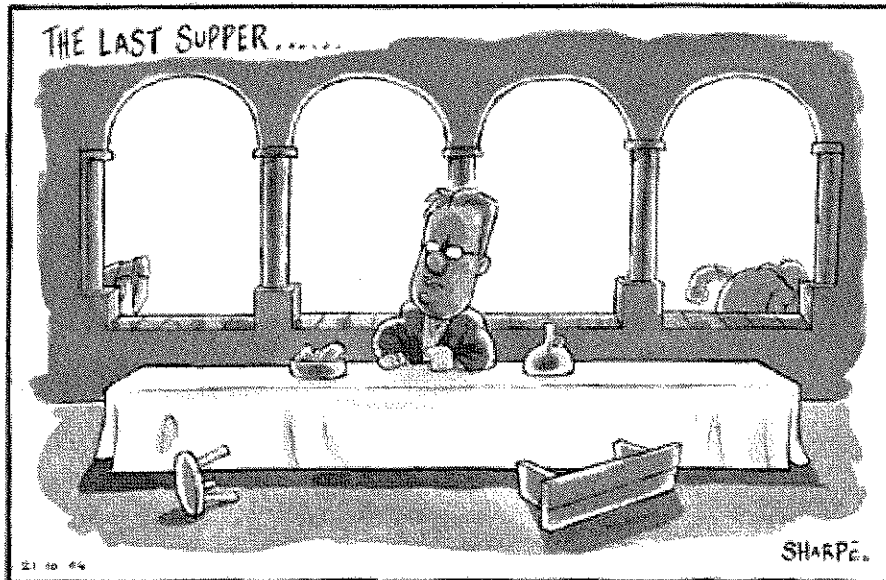
Figure 9.1. The Last Supper (Sharpe, 2004).

The political cartoon above illustrates that charisma can be lost as quickly as it can be gained (Figure 9.1, Sharpe, 2004). Prior to the 2003 Australian Federal election, the opposition leader, Mark Latham, experienced a meteoric rise in popularity and was viewed as charismatic and "messiah-like" by his party. After his election loss in 2004 and subsequent revelations of his misbehaviours, perceived charisma and support dropped dramatically and Latham was abandoned by his party and the party faithful (Grattan, 2005).

The ephemeral nature of charisma is a reoccurring theme in the literature. Weber viewed charisma as fleeting (Schneider, 1971). In his conception, today's wild and untamed zealots of a fledgling social movement become tomorrow's tax payers under the new order: "Every charisma is on the road from a turbulently emotional life that knows no economic rationality to a slow death by suffocation under the weight of material interests" (Weber, 1968, p. 1121).

However, Shamir (1999a) argues that Weber's conceptualisation suited an earlier age when radical change was not so common. Under the constant barrage of change in current times, he suggests the role of the charismatic leader should be one of meaning maker and safety provider. The constant change within many organisations may make it difficult for both the group and the leader to adapt.

Prototypicality changes

Previous social identity research on charisma has concentrated on charismatic leader attributions within the ingroup (see Chapter 4). If there is a salient shift in social identity, the group may no longer be defined by its original features. This may cause problems for the leader who, as the group's previously most representative member, risks losing social influence, social attraction, and ultimately, his or her position. Due to the changing nature of the intergroup context, a leader that was highly prototypical of the ingroup in one social context may become less prototypical as the salient group comparison changes (Turner & Haslam, 2001).

To remedy this, social identity theorists argue that leaders need to act as "entrepreneurs of identity" (Reicher, Haslam, & Hopkins, 2005; Reicher & Hopkins, 1996a, 1996b). In other words, they need to continually take the initiative to shore up any sagging in relative ingroup prototypicality levels. This can be achieved by using strategies such as reframing the social context or scapegoating opponents, which establish or re-affirm their position as the most representative group member. Thus, some of the leader's meaning-making in the face of change, as described by Shamir (1999a), will not only provide comfort and direction for group members, but also serve to keep their support.

Social identity research has shown that, within the ingroup, charismatic leadership attributions are related to the leader's relative ingroup prototypicality

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(Haslam et al., 2001; Platow, van Knippenberg, Haslam, van Knippenberg, &

Spears, 2006; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). Failure to retain or

regain that prototypical position would result in a loss of perceived charisma (Hogg,

2001a, 2001b, 2005).

Social identity changes

This thesis has focussed on the wider implications of shared social identity

on attributions of leader charisma. One of the great strengths of the social identity

perspective is the acknowledgement of, and allowance for, the changing nature of

social contexts that result in constant changes in the perceiver's social identity

(Turner, 1987). As outlined in Chapter 4, the social identity perspective theorises

that the social context highlights relevant comparative similarities and differences

between the self and others, and these comparisons make salient the appropriate

social identity (Oakes, 1987). With changes in the social context, other similarities

and differences may become more relevant, and the new salient social identity may

no longer be shared by some or many of the original ingroup members, and this

could include the leader. Conversely, original outgroup members may now be

perceived to share the new social identity.

The studies reported in this thesis have repeatedly shown that charismatic

leadership attributions are influenced by the perception of a shared social identity.

As social identification increases, attributed leader charisma is augmented; whereas,

when social identification decreases, attributed leader charisma is diminished. These

phenomena have been shown as a static contrast between lower or higher social

identification levels.

This final phase of the Personality Study (see Chapter 8 for the previous

phase) charted the change in attributed leader charisma associated with a change in

the salient social identity. Only those participants who had been allocated to the shared social identity condition in the previous phases were included, that is, this analysis examined the impact of social identity change on the charismatic attributions of ingroup members. Change in social identity was operationalised as exposure to a scenario involving a different social identity (student) to the one previously evoked (personality type). The level of newly-salient social identification was measured as indicated agreement or disagreement with the leader's comments about the treatment of the newly-salient social group (students) by another group (police).

It was hypothesised that original attributed levels of charisma would realign so as to reflect the new salient social identity. A leader identified as no longer sharing a social identity should experience a drop in attributed charisma; whereas a leader identified as continuing to share a social identity—albeit a different one—should experience little change in attributed charisma. Given how strongly social liking is associated with the shared social identity, it is theorised that liking for the leader would also reflect any changes in perceived shared social identity. Changes in charismatic attribution and liking were operationalised as repeated-measures. It was therefore predicted that:

P9.1. Changing the salient social identity would alter previous levels of social liking, so that those who now perceived the leader to be an outgroup member would like the leader less than those who continued to perceive the leader to be an ingroup member.

P9.2. Changing the salient social identity would alter previous levels of attributed leader charisma, so that those who now perceived the

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leader to be an outgroup member would attribute lower levels of charisma than those who continued to perceive the leader to be an ingroup member.

Furthermore, previous studies in this thesis have shown the strong mediating role of social liking in the charismatic attribution process. It was theorised that the perception of the newly-salient shared social identity will influence levels of social liking and that this target-specific affect for the leader will change the levels of perceived charisma. It was therefore predicted that:

P9.3. When a new social identity was made salient, liking for the leader would mediate the effect of the new level of social identification on charismatic leader attributions.

Method

Participants

Participants in this phase of the study were the same as those who took part in the Personality Study described in Chapter 8, however only those in the shared condition were analysed. These were forty-seven first-year psychology students at the Australian National University participating for course credit.

Design

The design for this part of the study was a repeated-measures ANOVA. Social identity was a between-subjects variable with two levels—the leader either sharing (pro-student) or not sharing (anti-student) a social identity. The within-subjects variable was time, with dependent variables measured twice. The three

dependent variables were repeated measures of leader charismatic qualities, explicit labelling as "charismatic", and liking for the leader.

Materials & Procedure

Participants had previously compared themselves to the speaker in terms of similar or different personality type and had subsequently: rated the leader's charismatic leadership qualities on nine items from the MLQ 3-subscale pool (Bass & Avolio, 1991); rated his explicit charisma on the item "Michael was charismatic"; and had indicated their level of liking for him on the 5-item liking scale developed for this thesis.

This final phase of the study involved reading a fictitious excerpt of a newspaper article. The article was based on reports of an actual incident where police attacked Australian university student protesters with capsicum spray (Munckton, 1993). In this adaptation the speaker was present on campus for a speaking engagement and his opinion of the incident is reported. There were two versions of the article (see Appendix G). In the pro-student condition, the speaker supported the student protest and condemned the use of capsicum spray. In the anti-student condition, the speaker described the student protest as inappropriate and the use of capsicum spray as deserved. A manipulation check measured agreement or disagreement with the leader's stance on a dichotomous scale. Participants then rated the leader on the afore-mentioned liking and charisma items.

Results

Data consisted of repeated-measures ratings of the speaker on 7-point Likert scales. Participants were asked to check their questionnaires before submission so very little missing data occurred. After reading the randomly allocated vignette, a

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manipulation check tested whether participants shared a social identity. Participants indicated either agreement or disagreement with the speaker's pro-student or anti-student stance. It was expected and found that, as university students, all participants ($N = 47$) would agree with the pro-student stand and disagree with the anti-student stand. Therefore social identity had two conditions, pro-student ($n = 26$) or anti-student ($n = 21$).

Scales

For purposes of within-subjects comparison, the nine charismatic qualities items (for sample items see Table 8.2, page 284) were averaged producing a Charismatic qualities scale for Time One and Time Two. Internal reliability was good at Time One, std. Cronbach's $\alpha = .821$; and Time Two, std. Cronbach's $\alpha = .868$. In comparison, reliability for the 5-item liking scale was very good at Time One, std. Cronbach's $\alpha = .892$, and at Time Two, std. Cronbach's $\alpha = .941$.

The effect of identification change

A repeated measures MANOVA was used to assess whether there were significant changes in charismatic leadership attributions and liking of the speaker after reading the vignette. There were large to very large multivariate effects for time, Wilk's $\Lambda = .437$, $F_{(3, 43)} = 18.435$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .563$, support, Wilk's $\Lambda = .619$, $F_{(3, 43)} = 8.831$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .381$, and for Time $\times$ Support, Wilk's $\Lambda = .602$, $F_{(3, 43)} = 9.490$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .398$.

Follow-up ANOVAs (see Table 9.1) revealed that the interaction affected all three speaker attributions. Levene's test indicated that the assumption of equality of variances was violated for overt charisma at Time Two so critical alpha was raised to .01 for this scale. This did not affect the results which are detailed below.

Table 9.1.

Follow-up ANOVA significance tests for the effect of Time × Social identification

on speaker perceptions.

Independent variable	Dependent variable	$F_{(1, 45)}$	p	partial η^2
Time	Overt charisma	16.945	< .001	.274
	Charismatic qualities	46.682	< .001	.509
	Liking	43.856	< .001	.494
Social identification	Overt charisma	0.438	.512	.010
	Charismatic qualities	13.761	< .001	.234
	Liking	21.320	< .001	.321
Time × Social identification	Overt charisma	10.815	.002	.194
	Charismatic qualities	25.475	< .001	.361
	Liking	20.079	< .001	.309

Note: N = 47.

Liking

Liking levels for the pro-student condition did not change between Time

One, M = 4.60, SD = 0.73, and Time Two, M = 4.32, SD = 0.86, $t_{(25)}$ = 1.860,

p = .075. However, in the anti-student condition, liking levels at Time One,

M = 4.13, SD = 1.09, were no different to the pro-student condition, $t_{(45)}$ = 1.755,

p = .086, but dropped dramatically at Time Two, M = 2.66, SD = 0.96, $t_{(20)}$ = 6.489,

p < .001, and were much lower than the pro-student condition, $t_{(45)}$ = 6.248, p < .001.

Liking levels before and after the manipulation correlated strongly for the pro-

student condition, r = .526, p = .006, N = 26, though surprisingly, they also

correlated for the anti-student condition, r = .490, p = .024, N = 21. Figure 9.2

presents this interaction. Therefore, liking levels changed so that those who

subsequently perceived the speaker to be an outgroup member liked him less than those who perceived him to be an ingroup member (P9.1).
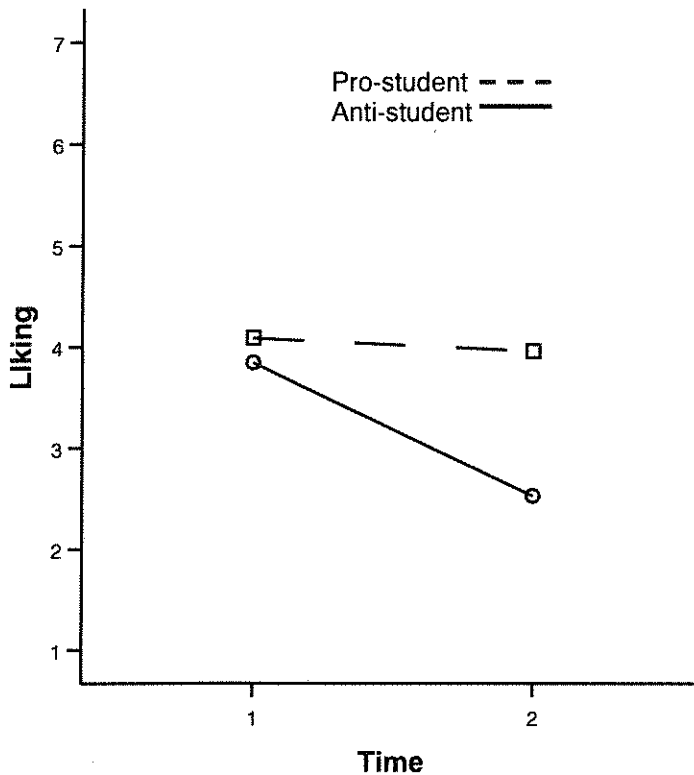
Figure 9.2. Average liking levels before and after identification change, split by social identification.

Overt charisma

Prior to the manipulation, ratings of the speaker's overt charisma were similar for the anti-student condition, $M = 5.42$, $SD = 1.09$, and the pro-student condition, $M = 5.00$, $SD = 0.94$, $t_{(45)} = 1.434$, $p = .158$. However, after the manipulation, overt charisma ratings in the pro-student condition, $M = 4.85$, $SD = 0.93$, remained steady, $t_{(25)} = 1.072$, $p = .294$, while those in the anti-student condition, $M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.63$, dropped considerably, $t_{(20)} = 3.677$, $p = .001$. The difference between conditions at Time Two was borderline significant, $t_{(30.157)} = 2.003$, $p = .054$ (using a t-test for unequal variances). This is illustrated in Figure 9.3.
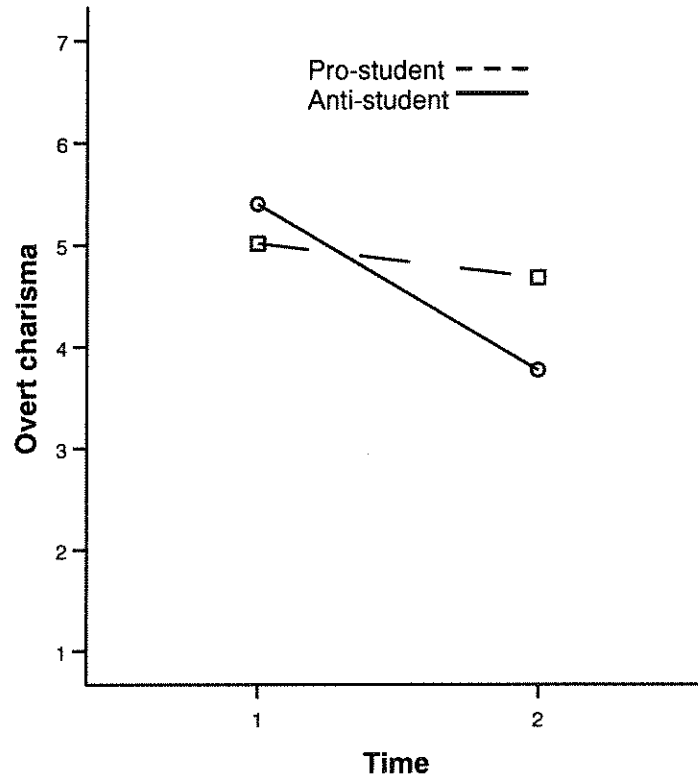
Figure 9.3. Average overt charisma levels before and after identification change, split by social identification.

Overt charisma ratings at Time One and at Time Two correlated for the pro-student condition, $r = .692, p < .001, N = 26$, but not for the anti-student condition, $r = .251, p = .273, N = 21$. Thus Prediction 9.2 was confirmed: the level of the speaker's explicit attributed charisma dropped when he was viewed as an outgroup leader, but remained the same when he was viewed as an ingroup leader.

Mediation analysis found strong support for the mediating role of liking in the influence of social identification on overt charisma (P9.3). Figure 9.4 illustrates this mediation.
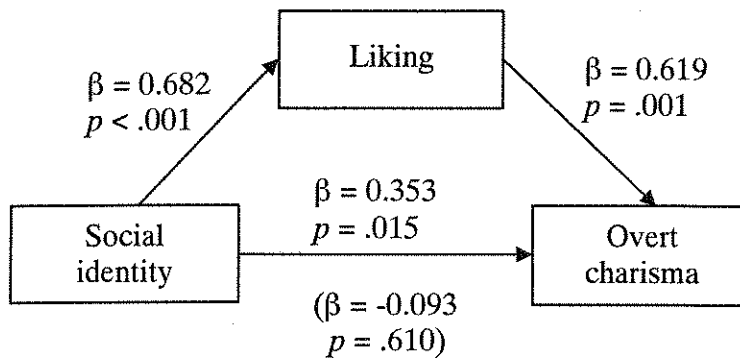
Figure 9.4. Mediation of liking on the effect of social identification on overt charisma[1].

On its own, social identity predicted overt charisma. When liking was added into the model, the influence of social identification became insignificant. The Aroian version of the Sobel test confirmed full mediation, $z = 2.975, p = .003$. Jointly, social identification and liking explained 27.7% (adj. R^2) of the variance in overt charisma, $F_{(2, 44)} = 9.831, p < .001$.

Charismatic qualities

Before the manipulation, the perception of charismatic qualities was also slightly higher for the anti-student condition, $M = 5.34, SD = 0.82$, than the pro-student condition, $M = 5.34, SD = 0.61$; however, this difference was negligible, $t_{(45)} = 0.016, p = .988$. After the reading of the speaker's level of support, the pro-student condition rating, $M = 5.10, SD = 0.82$, did not drop significantly, $t_{(25)} = 1.902, p = .069$, while the anti-student condition rating dropped greatly, $M = 3.75$, $SD = 0.86, t_{(20)} = 6.248, p < .001$. Again the difference between conditions at Time Two was considerable, $t_{(45)} = 5.552, p < .001$. This is illustrated in Figure 9.5. Ratings at Time One and Time Two were correlated to a large degree for the pro-student condition, $r = .628, p < .001$, but uncorrelated for the anti-student condition,

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[1] Note: the β-value within parentheses is the regression coefficient after entry of potential mediator.

$r = .026, p = .911$. Thus levels of implicit attributions of leader charisma also

supported Prediction 9.2.
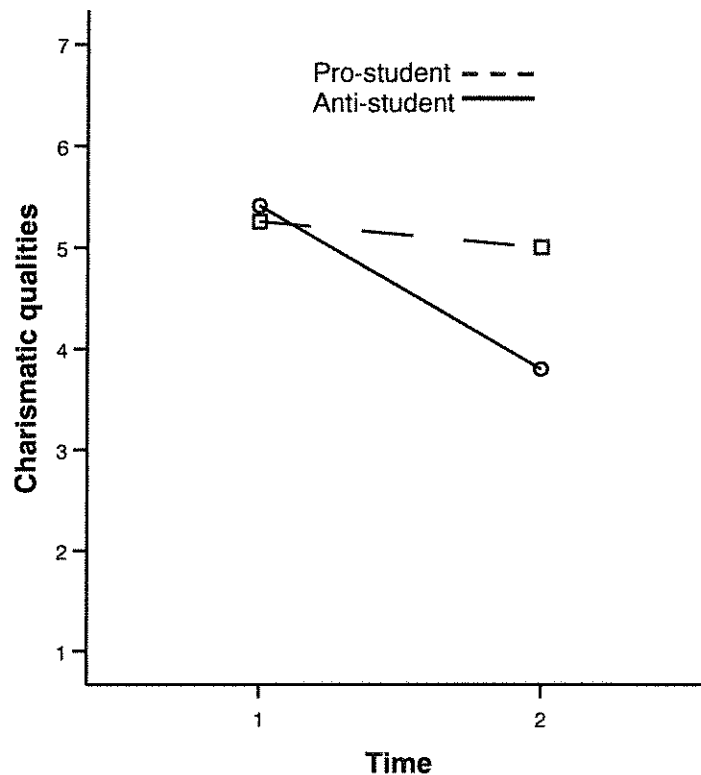
Figure 9.5. Average charismatic qualities levels before and after identification change, split by social identification.

Mediation analysis indicated that liking was a strong partial mediator of the

effect of social identification on charismatic qualities (P9.3). Social identification

exclusively predicted attributions of charismatic qualities. When liking was added to

the model the effect of social identification was substantially reduced (see Figure

9.6). The Aroian version of the Sobel test confirmed significant partial mediation,

$z = 3.483, p < .001$. In combination, social identification and liking explained 64.5%

(adj. R^2) of the variance in charismatic qualities, $F_{(2, 44)} = 42.849, p < .001$.
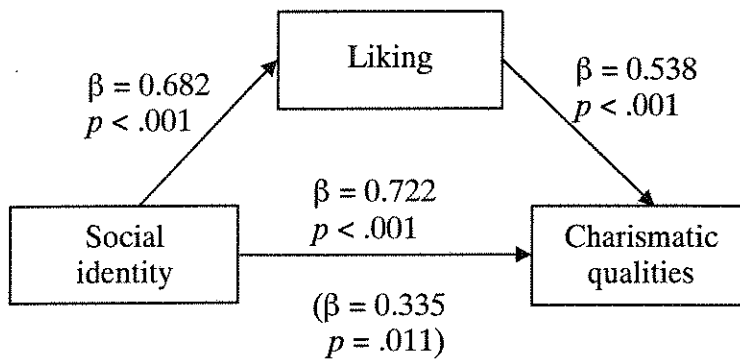
Figure 9.6. Mediation of liking on the effect of support on charismatic qualities[2].

To sum up, before the manipulated change in salient social identity, there was little difference between the two conditions for charisma and liking. After the manipulation, the ratings of those in the pro-student condition remained similar or dropped slightly. In contrast, charismatic attributions and liking for the leader fell sharply in the anti-student condition. Furthermore, liking acted as a strong partial, or full, mediator in the charismatic attribution process.

Discussion

The second phase of this study provided further evidence of the importance of social identity in the charismatic leadership attribution process. By making a different social identity salient, charismatic attributions changed so as to align with perceptions of the leader's new social identity.

Changing social identity content, while keeping the level of social identification constant, did not affect attributions of charisma or liking for the leader. The manipulation precipitated a change in salient identity content from "personality type" to "student". However, all participants started with the perception that they had a similar personality type to the leader, that is, they perceived a shared social identity. For those who perceived the leader to be pro-student, the perception of a

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[2] Note: the β-value within parentheses is the regression coefficient after entry of potential mediator.

shared social identity continued and this resulted in little change in attributions of charisma and liking for the leader.

The strong correlations between each pre- and post-treatment liking and charisma measure confirmed that little change in the perception of a shared identity had occurred. Supporting the student action gave perceivers little reason to change their original perception of the leader, they were not provided with disconfirming group-based "evidence" and so relied ostensibly on their original assessment.

In contrast, changing social identity content and the level of social identification affected both attributions of charisma and liking for the leader. The leader was originally perceived to share the same personality type. However, after the manipulation the leader was perceived to *not* share the new social identity and this caused a large decrease in attributed charisma and liking for the leader. Supporting police action over student action provided strong "evidence" of the leader's new outgroup status (i.e., anti-student) and this caused a loss in liking and attributed leader charisma.

To recap, for those in the pro-student condition, the content of the social identity changed but with no change in the level of social identification, attributions of charisma and liking remained constant. For those in the anti-student condition, the change in content and the level of social identification effected change in charismatic attributions and liking. This provides strong support for the contention that it is the level of social identification, rather than the content of the identity, that affects the level of charismatic attribution and liking, and that changes to the level of identification effect change in charismatic attribution and liking. This is about process not content.

The change in the level of social identification strongly affected attributions of charisma and thus pre-treatment measures of charisma did not correlate with post-treatment measures. Interestingly, there was a strong correlation between pre- and post-treatment liking measures.

Liking exhibited the same mediating pattern under this new intergroup comparison as it did in earlier phases of this study. Liking for the leader fully mediated the effect of social identification on attributions of labelling him as "charismatic" and partially mediated its effect on the attribution of charismatic qualities. It seems very clear that the charismatic attributions related to social identity are coloured by the emotional "gut reaction" of social like or dislike for the leader. These gut reactions also drive changes in charismatic assessment and their volatility may explain the ephemeral nature of charismatic attributions.

While not knowing much about the leader, he or she can be socially liked or disliked by perceivers "on principal", and changes in liking can have a swift impact on charismatic attributions. This chapter started with the defeat of an opposition leader. As a post-script, the hugely successful 11-year reign of John Howard, the man who beat Latham in 2004, recently came to an end. Pre-election polling showed that his economic competence was constantly rated as higher than his opponent's and that he still enjoyed a good approval rating (Lebovic, 2007). Pundits agree that his most recent industrial relations reforms alienated many voters and was a decisive factor in not only his resounding electoral defeat, but also the humiliating loss of his own seat (Coorey, 2007). A social identity analysis would suggest that this legislation, more than any other, communicated to the electorate that he was no longer on their side, that is, they no longer shared a social identity with him.

CHAPTER 10

"WHY DO THEY THINK HE'S FABULOUS

WHEN WE KNOW HE'S NOT?"

"Many Liberal MPs see Turnbull as a potential time bomb. A charismatic figure, he attracts and alienates people in equal measure" (Grattan, 2007).

Charismatic leaders tend to attract strong reactions, both positive and negative. They are polarising figures, and the strength of reaction generated can be unsettling. The attraction and alienation described above could be explained as the match or clash of personalities, or as exposure to differing leader behaviours. Personality or behavioural factors may contribute in cases of frequent and close personal contact with a leader; however, these explanations do not account for variation in the attribution of charisma to more socially distant leaders, nor do they account for the strength of the positive or negative reactions to these charismatic leaders. The aim of this thesis has been to provide a social psychological explanation that accounts for these variations and reactions.

While we may not characterise ourselves as liking or disliking a leader "on principle", we certainly do react to leaders over principles, loyally defending the character and abilities of some, and loathing and attacking the character and abilities of others. We have never met these leaders personally, but still make judgements about their character and their leadership abilities; we still respond to them emotionally; we still make attributions about their charisma; and these reactions differ, sometimes violently so. Supported by the robust empirical findings in this thesis, the social identity perspective provides a compelling social psychological

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explanation for these "principled" differences. This chapter summarises how the main findings have provided further insight into the questions raised in the introductory chapter. Future directions and implications for research are also discussed.

Major empirical findings

How can the same leader be attributed different levels of charisma?

Disagreement over the level of an individual leader's charisma is a consistent and irrefutable phenomenon. The empirical research in this thesis found a consistent and irrefutable link between social identity and attributions of charismatic leadership. In simple terms, the more we perceive a leader to be similar to us, the more charismatic he or she appears; the less similar to us, the less charismatic.

The studies in this thesis testified to the robustness of this simple result under different conditions. First, the result held for a variety of social identity comparisons: the level of agreement with general values and beliefs; the level of congruence over a particular attitude (being for or against gay marriage); the level of similarity to the leader's group (the Australian Defence Force); the level of shared personality type; and the level of concurrence over how one's group (students) should be treated. It can be concluded from this that the social identity, used to make the comparisons which affect charismatic attributions, can take any form.

Second, the result held across a variety of targets. Participants were exposed to well-known leaders, such as the Australian prime minister and the Chief of the Australian Defence Force; to a previously-unknown leader, a gay activist; and to a fictitious non-leader, a previously-unknown self-improvement expert. It can be

concluded from this that type of leader or non-leader—established or emergent, political or apolitical, famous or unknown—makes no difference. As long as the level of social identification with another can be determined by the perceiver, any attributions of charisma will be affected.

Can the findings of the organisational and social identity literature be reconciled?

On the one hand, there is common agreement that certain leaders, such as Bill Clinton and Nelson Mandela, have greater charisma than others. Their behaviours, and the effects associated with those behaviours, fit our image of a charismatic leader. On the other hand, there is obvious disagreement about the charisma of individual leaders. These two seemingly contradictory phenomena were explained by the hierarchical structure of social categories proposed by the social identity perspective (Turner, 1987). The only reason there can be differences in charismatic attribution between social categories at the comparison level, is because there is common agreement about the parameters and definitions of charismatic leadership at the more inclusive (superordinate) cultural level.

Results confirmed that two comparisons are made. First, the leader's behaviours and related outcomes are compared to the commonly-agreed yardstick for charismatic leadership (Gardner & Avolio, 1998). On its own, this comparison provides approximate attributional consensus. Second, the leader is compared to the currently operating social categories. This provides discrepancies because, as stated previously, he or she will appear more similar to those in one category, and therefore, more charismatic. At the same time, he or she will appear less similar to those in the other category, and therefore, less charismatic. An important and enlightening finding of the thesis was that these are separate processes which sum to

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provide an aggregate level of perceived leader charisma. This is analogous to wearing rose- versus grey-coloured glasses which "add sparkle to", or "take the shine off", the yardstick measure. The stronger the similarity or dissimilarity, the deeper the shade of the glasses, and the greater the discrepancy between the charismatic images of the leader.

To extend the analogy still further, assessments of charismatic leadership behaviours and associated effects are not the only aspects of leadership to be observed through the glasses of social identification. Social identification similarly affected social popularity, as measured by job approval ratings, and attributions of intelligence and honesty. Gazing at the leader's speech through social identification glasses affected how the reader experience the speech. Those who identified more strongly judged the speech as greater in charismatic content, more moving, and less manipulative. In addition, judgements generally regarded as objective, were also affected. The greater the level of social identification with the leader, the more his speech was regarded as well-written and logical. The pattern is clear: while there is a general consensus to many of our judgements, when a social identity is in operation, many identity-related judgements will be affected. We will form and/or maintain impressions of others that favour our particular social category (cf. positive distinctiveness, Reynolds, Turner, & Haslam, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

An underlying assumption of the organisational literature is that the so-called "charismatic" outcomes associated with charismatic leader behaviours are the direct result of those behaviours (e.g., Barling, Weber, & Kelloway, 1996; Bass, 1985; House, 1977). Results of the Gay Marriage study confirmed that charismatic attributions were related to the follower outcomes of leader persuasiveness, leader support, and willingness to engage in social action. However, social identification

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correlated with these outcomes far more strongly than attributions of leader

charisma. Furthermore, the effect of social identification on these follower outcomes

was not mediated by attributions of leader charisma. It can be concluded that the

influence processes that produce follower outcomes are driven by social

identification, and that while charismatic leadership attributions are related to this

process, they are not the driving force.

What role does social attraction play in attributions of charisma?

Charismatic leadership is often theorised to be associated with strong feelings

of attraction in the literature (e.g., Gerth & Mills, 1946; Willner, 1968); however,

this was the first time the links between social attraction, social identification, and

charismatic attributions have been modelled and tested. Again, results were clear and

consistent across the studies. Social attraction, measured as liking for the leader, was

strongly associated with social identification and with charismatic attributions.

Furthermore, social attraction provided consistently strong partial or full mediation

of the effect of social identification on attributions of leader charisma. Put simply,

the more similar to us we perceive a leader to be, the more attractive we find them,

and this causes them to appear more charismatic.

The Cosgrove study tested the causality of this mediation model by

measuring the level of social attraction before and after participants were exposed to

the speech stimulus. Identification with the leader's group and with the leader

himself were strongly linked to social attraction before participants were exposed to

the effects of the leader's speech. Importantly, there was no substantial change in the

level of social attraction after exposure to the speech and the initial level of social

attraction fully mediated effect of social identification on charismatic attributions. It

was concluded that cues to the leader's charisma in the speech did not cause

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significant changes to the level of social attraction. This level is determined by the level of social identification.

These results give insight into the important role of social attraction in attributing leader charisma. Stronger feelings of social attraction produced stronger attributions of charisma. Of equal importance, however, was the low end of the liking scales, which characterised strong dislike of the leader—feelings of social repulsion. These results gave insight into the violence and hatred shown towards some charismatic leaders. While social identification can evoke strong feelings of attraction, social alienation can evoke strong feelings of repulsion. The less we perceive a leader to be similar to us, the more repulsive we find them, and this causes them to appear less charismatic.

The analogy of the coloured glasses is also apt here. The same leader, when viewed through the rose-coloured lenses of a shared social identity, will appear more attractive than when viewed through the grey-coloured lenses of a non-shared social identity. Moreover, social attraction is central to the wide-reaching effect that social identification has on the formation and maintenance of impressions of the leader. Social attraction consistently provided full or strong partial mediation of the effect of social identification on social popularity, and on attributions of intelligence and honesty.

Another result of great implication was that, in the presence of charismatic attributions, social identification and social attraction both consistently predicted all three follower outcomes in the Gay Marriage study. The greater the social identification and the social attraction to the leader, the more persuasive he was perceived, the more strongly his leadership was endorsed, and the more participants were willing to engage in social action for the cause.

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The consistency of all these ratings over the studies could be characterised as a halo effect, produced by experiencing the charismatic influence process through the lenses of social identification, and facilitated by social attraction. It can be concluded that feelings of social attraction for the leader, evoked by social identification, permeate all parts of the charismatic influence process, including the formation and maintenance of impressions about the leader, persuasion, and behaviours such as social action and expressions of leader support.

What type of followers are more likely to make charismatic attributions?

An extremely illuminating finding of this thesis was that social identification not only affects charismatic attribution and influence processes themselves, but also affects how those processes are characterised and valued. Intergroup biases, as typified by ingroup favouritism and outgroup derogation (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002), play a significant role. When participants identified with the leader, they viewed support for the leader as normal and positive, and they pathologised the reactions of detractors. When participants did not identify with the leader, they viewed rejection of the leader as normal and positive, and they pathologised the reactions of supporters.

This supports the contention that there are no particular weaknesses that cause some to be more affected by charismatic attribution and influence processes than others. Rather, under the right social conditions, anyone perceiving a shared social identity may attribute more charisma to a leader than those perceiving a non-shared social identity. It can be concluded that social identification affects, not only attributions about the leader, but also attributions about the followers, and

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assessments of the charismatic influence process itself. The implications of this are discussed below.

Other investigated issues

As well as the effects of social identification, the studies investigated a number of other charisma-related issues. In the Gay Marriage study, the effects of crisis were examined by manipulating stress levels. In the Cosgrove study, the problem of validation was examined by manipulating the salience of organisational success and failure. In both these studies, the manipulations had little noteworthy effect on attributions of charismatic leadership, or on social attraction.

In the Personality study (Chapter 8), the issue of "pseudocharisma" (Bensman & Givant, 1975) was explored by manufacturing a social identity and manipulating the level of shared social identity, with the aim of causing differences in level of attributed charisma. Results indicated that the social identity was successfully created; however, the identity was only clearly salient for one condition. The responses in that condition provided further evidence of the roles of social identification and social attraction in the attribution of charisma. Unfortunately, the attempted manipulation of attributed charisma failed.

Nevertheless, when the clearly-salient social identity was changed (Chapter 9), the level of attributed charisma was successfully manipulated. Those who exchanged one shared social identity with another continued to attribute similar levels of charisma to the target. Those who exchanged a shared social identity for a non-shared social identity attributed far lower levels of charisma to the target. These results provided further support for the social identity analysis of charismatic leadership.

Implications

Generalisabilty of results

The studies reported in this thesis were all paper-based. In one study participants merely considered one of three known leaders, while in the other studies they read speeches credited to a target. This type of stimuli was judged to accurately reflect the level of interaction with many of our leaders and famous figures. While our leaders may be flesh and blood, exposure to many of them is tightly controlled. General uniformity of image is almost guaranteed through homogeneity of reporting in the electronic and print media, and through such forums as the scripted public appearance, the public rally or lecture, the annual address to shareholders or employees, or the writing of a weekly column. This presents a problem for personality and behavioural explanations because people who are not overly-exposed to a leader, still disagree over the level of that leader's charisma, and are still strongly attracted or repulsed.

Self-report measures were used to confirm social identification, to capture attributions of charismatic leadership, and to gauge social attraction, social influence, and other responses. Self-reporting was considered to be the most appropriate way of capturing the experiences of participants because social identification processes, and therefore charismatic attributions and social attraction, are conceived to be perception-based and in the eye of the beholder—the analogy of wearing rose- or grey-coloured glasses is not used lightly. Self-reporting is defended as essential to the study of the charismatic attribution process.

In the Gay Marriage study, the comparative effects of social identification, social attraction, and charismatic attribution on behaviour were measured as a willingness to act, rather than by observing behaviours. While the links between

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attitude and behaviour can be tenuous (e.g., LaPierre, 1934), specificity (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) and intention to act (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1981; Madden, Ellen, & Ajzen, 1992) substantially increase the likelihood of that action being performed. It is argued that these measures provided an adequate approximation of social action.

Participants in all reported studies were taken from the pool of first-year psychology students at the same university over a number of years. Those students who were unfamiliar with the established leaders were removed from analyses, as were those with poor English-language ability. One of the themes of this thesis has been that charismatic attribution processes are subject to the normal effects of social identification, and the idea that certain qualities of perceivers render them more inclined to make charismatic attributions has been repeatedly and strongly rejected. As such, the reactions of the student population, while homogenous in some ways, were judged to be representative of the reactions of the general population in relation to the group-based processes affecting the measures in these studies.

Future directions

Future studies are required to resolve causality issues. Efforts were made to establish the direction of causality between social identification, social attraction, and charismatic attributions. In the Gay Marriage and Cosgrove studies, social identification measures were taken before participants were exposed to any leader stimuli. The leader's charisma or social attractiveness could not be judged to have caused or enhanced social identification. In the Cosgrove study, social attraction was measured before exposure to the leader's speech, so any cues to leader charisma in the speech could not have affected social attraction. However, these designs did not fully address the question of causality.

The Personality study was designed to dispel any question about causality through the manipulation of social identification levels. Although differences in social attraction were caused by the manipulation of social identification, charismatic attributions were not resoundingly affected. It is essential to confirm causality by showing that the level of attributed charisma is beholden to the level of social identification and that social attraction causally mediates this effect. A future study should be conducted where the level of salient social identification is successfully manipulated, and the level of charismatic leadership attribution is measured.

One of the criticisms of the new leadership theories has been that they treat charismatic leadership as both a cause and an effect, a syndrome of leader behaviours and follower attribution reactions (Yukl, 1999). In this thesis, charismatic leadership has been consistently treated as an effect, as an attributional response to social identification. However, as a mediator, attributions of charismatic leadership could act as both an effect of social identification and as a cause of other follower outcomes. In the Gay Marriage study, the effect of charismatic attributions on social action did not fulfil mediational criteria. However, the effect of social identification and social attraction on other follower outcomes may be partially mediated by charismatic attributions. Further study is needed to establish whether this is the case.

Research implications

If there is one overriding research implication to be taken from the results of this thesis, it is that social identification matters. The results show that social identification is fundamental to the processes of charismatic leader attribution and influence. When studies are designed, the effects of social identification should be taken into account. For instance, if subordinate and supervisor ratings of charismatic leaders are compared, the salient social identities of each group must be considered.

Social identification measures should be routinely incorporated into studies of charismatic leadership. Even if social identification is not the primary focus of the study, its effects should be noted and accounted for in study designs.

The result indicating that the charismatic influence process is viewed positively when observers identify with the leader, and negatively when observers do not identify with the leader, has implications for researchers of charismatic leadership. Even in our role as researchers, we are also subject to the effects of social identification. Our level of social identification with leaders may affect us as we observe the charismatic influence process. This may cause us to create false distinctions about the process that concord with our pathologisation or normalisation of the process. For example, Bass, Avolio, and Atwater (1996) distinguish between *true* transformational leadership and *pseudo* transformational leadership based on whether the leadership is a positive force achieving legitimate organisational goals, or a negative force achieving illegitimate goals. Supporters of this model, Dasborough and Ashkanasy (2002) reveal that this distinction may be tenuous by stating that, "pseudo transformational leaders, however, may display similar types of behaviors as those of a true transformational leader, so that the difficulty for [followers] is to determine if the leader's intentions or motives are legitimate" (p. 616). This type of distinction appears to be determined more by researchers' values and beliefs, than by a dispassionate examination of the processes involved. This in itself is worthy of further research. Furthermore, due to their outgroup status, researchers into cults and groupthink may be biased towards pathologising, rather than normalising theories.

When confronted by the strong and consistent evidence in this thesis, of the fundamental effect of social identification processes on charismatic leadership

attribution and influence, it is hard to believe that these processes have not been more widely researched in this field. By favouring interpersonal leader-centric explanations of the charismatic attribution and influence, over social identification explanations, researchers may be exhibiting fundamental attribution error (Ross, 1977). Indeed, this is underlined by the fact that Weber conceived of the leader's disposition and personal qualities as a causal explanation for the formation of social movements, rather than focussing on social environmental factors, and that this has always been the dominant conceptual paradigm in the explanation of leader-related phenomena (Meindl, 1993, 1998a; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985). The results of this thesis suggest that researchers consider the effects of social identification processes in all aspects of leadership research.

Conclusion: How to win more friends and influence more people

This thesis started with an account of a recent encounter between a female supporter and a politician to whom she attributed charisma (Hartcher, 2007). It was clear that the journalist writing the account, and the politician in question, were unconvinced by her attribution. This thesis sought social psychological explanations as to why these differences occur, as well as reasons for the loving adoration or violent hatred that can be directed toward charismatic leaders. Evidence for the role of social identification processes as the fundamental reason for differences, in how we view and assess charismatic leaders, in how we respond to them emotionally, and in how we evaluate the charismatic influence process on ourselves and others, is compelling.

The obvious application of any research into charismatic leadership involves suggesting ways in which one's charisma can be increased. The thesis confirmed that displaying behaviours commonly associated with charismatic leadership is a factor in

determining the level of attributed charisma. However, the other factor is social identification. Those who wish to enhance their charismatic attractiveness and influence, should become "entrepreneurs of identity" (Reicher, Haslam, & Hopkins, 2005; Reicher & Hopkins, 1996a, 1996b). These entrepreneurs, through their speech and actions, actively try to redefine social categories so that their ingroup is more inclusive, and more people perceive themselves as sharing it. By doing so they will garner more social attraction and influence.

For those who are unable to display the requisite level of charismatic leadership behaviours, being an entrepreneur of identity may not be enough. As Hartcher (2007, p. 22) observes in his account, "The large lady may have been unduly impressed with Rudd's supposed charisma, but he will still need her vote and her parting offer: 'I'll pray for you'."

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Appendix A: Results of the Newspoll survey

Question: Thinking now about gay marriages, that is same sex marriages either between two men, or between two women. Are you personally in favour or against same sex couples being given the same rights to marry as couples consisting of a man and a woman? If in favour is that strongly in favour or somewhat in favour? If against is that strongly against or somewhat against?

		Sex		Age			Area	
	Total	Males	Females	18-34	35-49	50+	5 Cap City	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly in favour	20	15	26	23	22	10	24	14
Somewhat in favour	18	14	21	22	21	13	18	18
Total in favour	**38**	**29**	**47**	**55**	**43**	**23**	**42**	**32**
Somewhat against	11	13	9	9	13	10	11	11
Strongly against	33	43	24	20	27	48	30	39
Total against	**44**	**56**	**33**	**29**	**40**	**58**	**41**	**50**
Uncommitted	18	15	20	16	17	19	17	18

This survey was conducted on the telephone by trained interviewers on 4-6 June 2004 among 1200 adults aged 18 years and over in all states of Australia and in both city and country areas. Telephone numbers and the person within the household were selected at random. The data has been weighted to reflect the population distribution. Copyright at all times remains with NEWSPOLL. More poll information is available at

www.newspoll.com.au

Appendix B: Gay Marriage speech transcript

An Australian Spring

This speech was delivered at the Community Action Against Homophobia Rally, Sydney Town Hall, July 25th, 2004.

In Baghdad a young woman cowers by her window watching American troops and Iraqi fighters killing each other in the street, and she wonders why.

In Tasmania's ancient southern forests, helicopters firebomb another clear-felled, poisoned valley. Locals hear the chopper's fly low over their houses and they wonder why.

In a park in Sydney a little boy asks his two mums why some of the other mums won't let their kids play with him. They tell him that there are some people who think his type of family isn't as good as others, and he, too, wonders why.

Never doubt that fallen soldiers in Iraq, Tasmania's fallen trees and a little boy's sinking heart are intimately connected.

They are connected by greed, corruption, and a hunger for power that tramples unheedingly over life's dignity and hope.

Today we've gathered to protest the Howard Government's attacks on lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

Its loud condemnation of Playschool for showing a loving two-mum family.

Its attempts to block same sex couples adopting children from overseas.

Its crusade to carve a discriminatory heterosexual definition of marriage into legislation stone.

Much has been said about these attacks. They have been condemned as cynical wedge politics – as an attempt to divide the Labor Opposition and corral socially conservative voters in marginal seats. They have been derided as yet more mimicry of the Bush administration.

There is truth in this. The Howard Government has a long record of beating up minority issues into threats to middle Australia and then presenting itself as the only solution to these threats.

First it was Aborigines and Wik. Then it was refugees and the Tampa. Now it's homosexuals and marriage. Pink is the new black.

There is also truth in the claim that Canberra is just copying Washington. There are too many parallels between George Bush and John Howard's attempt to "stop activist judges re-defining marriage". There are too many examples of yesterday's White House press releases becoming tomorrow's Australian Government policy.

But there is much more to the Government's attacks than electoral game playing and political plagiarism.

Many of the men behind the Government's queer-baiting have a genuine ideological commitment to a purely heterosexual society - if not a society from which sexual and gender

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minorities are erased, at least one in which they are silent, unseen and unknown.

Marriage is the battlefield on which they have assembled their armies because they believe it is here that the political terrain gives them their greatest advantage.

Unfortunately far too many people agree with them.

The Labor Party has abandoned the field, caving into the Government on marriage, and echoing its absurd views on Playschool. When it comes to lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people Mark Latham's widening circle of mateship just seems to get narrower and narrower.

The ALP failed to learn the lessons of Wik and the Tampa: that Australians admire strong leaders even if they don't always agree with them, and that they do not reward timidity. On same sex marriage Labor is making the same mistake again. With every opportunity Labor misses to establish a strong social reform agenda, it not only alienates itself from forward-thinking Australians, but makes winning office much harder.

In the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community itself there are also people who want to walk away from the marriage debate.

I do not stand here to lambast these folk. I myself once dismissed marriage reform as a non-issue, but I've come to be an ardent supporter of same sex marriage for several reasons.

Firstly, I believe the overwhelming majority of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people support the right of same sex couples to marry, even if they themselves may not wish to.

Secondly, I believe the right to marry is one of our society's primary markers of adulthood, citizenship and community participation. To be deprived of the right to marry the person you love is to be told that your love is second-rate and your commitment worthless. It is to be told that you are not mature enough to take responsibility for your own life. It is to be told that you do not belong.

Thirdly, I believe that symbols matter. Tasmania's new partnership registry has confirmed this for me. Couple after couple have walked into the registry office in a practical frame of mind – seeking easy proof of relationship or access to parenting rights – only to emerge in tears because they've been suddenly struck by the symbolic importance of having society's approval. In the words of Bec, a friend of mine from Launceston,

"It wasn't till we were in there that we realised this is the real thing. I never thought it would make a difference, but it does. Now it's like we really belong and we really are equal"

Of course not everyone needs or wants society to tell them that their relationship is okay. But in a world that has persecuted and maligned same sex relationships for centuries, marriage is the fasted acting antidote to the poison of prejudice.

Finally and most importantly I believe a successful, broad-based campaign for marriage equality has the potential for great social renewal.

It can renew the institution of marriage by making it more relevant to a pluralistic and diverse society.

It can renew the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community by focussing us on the many disadvantages and inequities that still confront us and giving us hope for a better future.

Most of all same sex marriage has the potential to renew the nation as a whole by becoming a symbol of something far greater than itself - a symbol of an Australia which is once again a land synonymous with freedom and equality, a land that is confident, a land that is open of mind and generous of spirit.

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What gives me this hope? In a word Tasmania. Over the past decade my island home has transformed itself from a by-word for homophobia into a beacon of social inclusion. In the eyes of all Tasmanians the symbol of that remarkable transformation, the issue upon which our history pivoted, was the decriminalisation of homosexuality.

I believe marriage equality can serve the same purpose for the entire nation.

Last weekend I went bushwalking with a group of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender friends and what we saw amazed us.

In the middle of the coldest winter for years, and two months earlier than usual, Tasmania's ancient rainforest trees have begun to bud.

Thanks to John Howard the winter of 2004 is one of the chilliest on record for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people.

But in defiance of the cold political winds whipping through this nation's heart, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities are flowering.

We are coming out, speaking out and marching out like never before.

We are staking a claim on justice that cannot be denied.

We are declaring that a bright, warm Australian Spring will soon be here.

Thank you,
Rodney Croome.

Appendix C: Cosgrove speech transcript

The Spirit of the Unknown Soldier

This speech was delivered by General Peter Cosgrove as an ANZAC Day address, April 25th, 2003, at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Thank you for coming here today to show your support for the Australian soldiers who serve all Australians – during times of war and peace – in duties in Australia and around the world. We are your representatives overseas and we do what we do for you.

As a soldier who has seen conflict, let me tell you that what makes fighting men and women strong in the face of hard times is knowing that, whether close or far away, we have the support of people like you at home. Together you and we are a team.

In the light of Anzac Day, let us remember the Unknown Soldier. We do not know this Australian's name and we never will. We do not know his rank or his battalion. We do not know where he was born, or precisely how and when he died. We do not know where in Australia he had made his home or when he left it for the battlefields of Europe. We do not know his age or his circumstances - whether he was from the city or the bush; what occupation he left to become a soldier; what religion, if he had a religion; if he was married or single. We do not know who loved him or whom he loved. If he had children we do not know who they are. His family is lost to us as he was lost to them. We will never know who this Australian was.

Yet he has always been among those we have honoured. We know that he was one of the 45,000 Australians who died on the Western Front. One of the 416,000 Australians who volunteered for service in the First World War. One of the 324,000 Australians who served overseas in that war, and one of the 60,000 Australians who died on foreign soil. One of the 100,000 Australians who have died in wars last century and in this new one.

He is all of them. And he is one of us.

He may have been one of those who believed the Great War would be an adventure too grand too miss. He may have felt that he would never live down the shame of not going. But the chances are that he went for no other reason than that he believed it was his duty - the duty he owed his country and his King.

Because the Great War was a mad, brutal, awful struggle distinguished more often than not by military and political incompetence; because the waste of human life was so terrible that some said victory was scarcely discernible from defeat; and because the war which was supposed to end all wars in fact sowed the seeds of a second, even more terrible, war – we might think that this Unknown Soldier died in vain.

But in honouring our war dead as we always have, we declare that this is not true.

For out of the war came a lesson which transcended the horror and tragedy and the inexcusable folly.

It was a lesson about ordinary people - and the lesson was that they were not ordinary. On all sides they were the heroes of that war: not the generals and the politicians, but the soldiers and sailors and nurses - those who taught us to endure hardship, show courage, to be bold as well as resilient, to believe in ourselves, to stick together.

The Unknown Australian Soldier we remember today was one of those who by his deeds

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proved that real nobility and grandeur belongs not to empires and nations but to the people on whom they, in the last resort, always depend.

That is surely at the heart of the Anzac story, the Australian legend which emerged from the war. It is a legend not of sweeping military victories so much as triumphs against the odds, of courage and ingenuity in adversity. It is a legend of free and independent spirits whose discipline derived less from military formalities and customs than from the bonds of mateship and the demands of necessity.

It is a democratic tradition, the tradition in which Australians have gone to war ever since. Throughout the history of this nation, there have been times when we have been called upon to make the tough decisions and this was one of those times. If you were walking down the street and you saw someone being attacked, could you in all conscience allow yourself to stand by and watch that person getting hurt?

We as a nation have never stood by and watch other nations get hurt. We have joined with our friends and allies to help the innocent and defenceless who were being hurt.

It may have been dangerous,

It may been unpopular with those who cannot face reality,

But it was right – it was, and always is, our moral duty.

This Unknown Australian is not buried here to glorify war over peace; or to assert a soldier's character above a civilian's; or one race or one nation or one religion above another; or men above women; or the war in which he fought and died above any other war; or of one generation above any that has or will come later.

The Unknown Soldier honours the memory of all those men and women who laid down their lives for Australia.

His tomb is a reminder of what we have lost in war and what we have gained.

We have lost more than 100,000 lives, and with them all their love of this country and all their hope and energy.

We have gained a legend: a story of bravery and sacrifice and with it a deeper faith in ourselves and our democracy, and a deeper understanding of what it means to be Australian.

It is not too much to hope, therefore, that this Unknown Australian soldier might continue to serve his country - he might enshrine a nation's love of peace and remind us that in the sacrifice of the men and women whose names are recorded here there is faith enough for all of us. This is the spirit of Anzac Day.

Thank you.

Appendix D: Cosgrove study vignette

Please read the following newspaper extract about Peter's speech that day and answer the questions following it:

Herald Sun

Nation honours Anzac heroes despite protest

26 April 2003, page 3

A near record crowd attended the dawn service in Canberra at the foot of the Australian War Memorial, with only candles providing light.

The Chief of the Australian Defence Force, General Peter Cosgrove, said it was vital that the contribution made by the Anzacs was an ongoing part of the collective history, and future, of Australia and New Zealand. "They gave their tomorrow for our today, this day, and so we should be grateful people", he said.

During a speech General Cosgrove made later that day, there was some friction between two groups in the crowd. The crowd were clearly moved by the General's sentiments with some shedding quiet tears. At the end of the speech he received a warm round of applause and a few people even cheered loudly.

One woman said, "He was really inspiring. He is a great speaker and a great role model for my kids ... I'd never felt really good about Australia going to war but he was really convincing." Another said that it reminded him that we should feel proud of the soldiers who are fighting in Iraq at the moment.

However, much to the disgust of some, a small group of protesters silently held up signs and placards protesting the war in Iraq. One protester said, "He can give a good speech but he is morally bankrupt and a political stooge in his support for this illegal war".

Appendix E: Personality Type description

Information sheet for the:

[NATURALISTIC/REPRESENTATIONAL]

personality type

Information About This Test

This evaluation is based on the 2-type personality test designed by psychologist Dr. Bertram Forer. This test examines the information provided by the test taker through their choices and ratings. It is able to provide a quick psychological insight of their personality and characteristics. People find the descriptions to be quite accurate.

You have a need for other people to like and admire you, and yet you tend to be critical of yourself. While you have some personality weaknesses you are generally able to compensate for them. You have considerable unused capacity that you have not turned to your advantage. Disciplined and self-controlled on the outside, you tend to be worrisome and insecure on the inside. At times you have serious doubts as to whether you have made the right decision or done the right thing. You prefer a certain amount of change and variety and become dissatisfied when hemmed in by restrictions and limitations. You also pride yourself as an independent thinker; and do not accept others' statements without satisfactory proof. But you have found it unwise to be too frank in revealing yourself to others. At times you are extroverted, affable, and sociable, while at other times you are introverted, wary, and reserved. Some of your aspirations tend to be rather unrealistic.

Appendix F: Personality study speech transcript

Please read the following speech extract and then immediately answer the questions following it:

Brisbane Convention & Exhibition Centre, October 2005.

... Many of the great accomplishments that have been achieved have been brought about and made possible by an all important trait called persistence. This is one of the great strengths of the Representational personality. Representational people like us need to learn to use this strength.

How many times have we had ideas that, at the time they were conceived, seemed somehow almost magically inspired by something outside of ourselves and we knew somehow, somewhere down deep within, that it was the right thing to do and the best possible path for us to take at the time?

How many times have we truly believed that there was no possible way that it could fail to produce the results we first anticipated and visualized, only to find that after a short time, and after much outside opinion, human analysis, and "logical thinking", we allowed doubt to creep in, and that initial feeling of certainty and assurance melted away, only to later rationalize that it "Must not have been meant to be" because we encountered some opinion or obstacle that seemed to hard to overcome?

How many times have we given up on an idea or project that we were certain about, and initially knew couldn't fail, simply because other people within our circle of influence convinced us that it just wasn't feasible, and that those dreams and ideals we held fell outside of the boundaries of what's logical?

How many times have we allowed these nay sayers to contaminate and affect that initial "knowing" and turn it in to doubt, which resulted in us giving up and never completing what we knew at one point was most definitely the right thing to do?

If you're like most, it's happened innumerable times.

Representational personalities are so full of potential and inventiveness, but so many great, inspired, and original ideas which would inevitably lead to incredible advancements in human evolution are lost daily, discarded and left floating out in a vast universal collectiveness of unfulfilled and wasted hopes, dreams, and ideals.

We can only imagine the conversations that must have taken place between Thomas Edison and those within his circle of influence prior to the discovery of electricity. It's almost humorous to think about some of the snide and snickering comments that must have been aimed at the Wright Brothers before they achieved flight. We can only imagine the gossip that must have circulated concerning Alexander Graham Bell. How many, in the times of Christopher Columbus were absolutely convinced that he would never return, certain that he would meet his doom by sailing over the edge of a flat world?

Each of these great accomplishments, completed by men who were obviously Representational personalities, began as an inspired thought or idea, combined with a deep inner knowing, and were only made possible due to a sincere desire, combined with an undying and relentless persistence.

These few examples are just a small portion of many that could be referred to. Look around at your environment and think about all the awesome discoveries that exist within it. Try to

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fathom what the inventors of so many incredible accomplishments must have endured prior to realizing the actualization of each originally inspired thought, each of which changed the course of history in a huge way.

I can assure you, as Representational personalities each and every one of them had the all important quality of unshakable persistence. You can bet they didn't allow pessimism, laughter, snide comments of onlookers, ill given advice from well meaning friends and relatives, or outside negative influence of any sort to interfere, long term, with what they knew down deep was possible, and eventually, through persistence, turned in to reality.

You can be assured they didn't allow negative self talk and over-analysis to deter them from what they recognized initially as possibility.

How about us? What dreams or ideas do we as a group have or have we had in the past that were thwarted due to this type of outside influence?

Regardless of what our dreams may be, and no matter how big or small they are, if we're Representational personalities, we most certainly and surely have the ability to accomplish our dream, if we'll choose to persist and help each other.

We have within us the ability to bring even the most seemingly far fetched ideas and notions into physical existence if we will choose to persist, and combine that persistence with a few other essential ingredients.

Firstly, we should learn to become totally conscious of our moment-by-moment thoughts, and only contemplate on and allow only those thoughts that would serve to advance our vision.

Secondly, we should associate with other Representational personalities, and absorb ourselves in information that possesses and promotes the same attitudes of possibility, and stay away from those that would attempt to squash our dreams. Daily feed your mind with material of hope and possibility and refuse to absorb the negativity of the daily news, and other pessimistic views of the outside world.

There are so many that quit just prior to reaching and realizing their desired outcomes. Too many fail to persist in following through with an initial inspired thought which would have a major impact in transforming their lives and the lives of others. Don't allow yourself to be one of them. Persist and you will succeed.

An appropriate quote from an unknown author is...

"Remember when you see a man at the top of a mountain, he didn't fall there."

Discover your passions. Explore and acknowledge your deepest desires. Identify your mountain, start climbing, and persist until you reach the pinnacle. The rewards are immeasurable and the view is incredible.

Representational personalities persist. Persistence Always Wins. Be a Winner.

Thank you!

Appendix G: Identity change vignettes

Please read the following extract then answer the questions below:

The following extract gives you some additional information about Michael Laurence:

3 February 2005, p. 25

The Sydney Morning Herald

[Pro-student condition]

... While Laurence has been a renowned figure on the motivational speaker circuit, he has, at times, expressed controversial political and social views. In March 2004, nationwide protests against 25% university fee increases saw local and international students occupy university premises in both Sydney and Melbourne. In Sydney, state police used capsicum spray against 500 students who attempted to occupy the vice chancellor's office at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS). Laurence was to speak at the university at the time and joined 80 students who occupied the Great Hall at UTS for several hours. He later told the media it was appropriate to protest against the fee increases and that students did not deserve to be sprayed without warning.

[Anti-student condition]

... While Laurence has been a renowned figure on the motivational speaker circuit, he has, at times, expressed controversial political and social views. In March 2004, nationwide protests against 25% university fee increases saw local and international students occupy university premises in both Sydney and Melbourne. In Sydney, state police used capsicum spray against 500 students who attempted to occupy the vice chancellor's office at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS). Laurence was to speak at the university at the time and condemned the 80 students who occupied the Great Hall at UTS for several hours. He later told the media it was inappropriate to protest against the fee increases and that students deserved to be sprayed without warning.

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Appendix H: Psychometric device copyright protection

The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (Form 5X) (MLQ) is copyright protected. Whilst a great deal of research has been conducted with this instrument, the device is primarily a commercial instrument marketed for use inside organisations. As such the test owners discourage publication of test details including test question lists and formats. For that reason question lists are not provided appended to this thesis. The test owners give permission for the display of up to five sample items. Scholars interested in obtaining copies of entire test are advised to contact the test owners or their test libraries.

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