Leadership Behavior Appraisal:

A New, Broader Model of

Understanding Leadership

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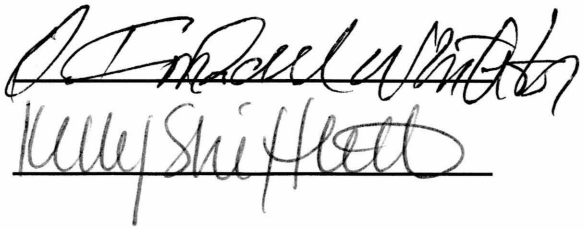

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A. Introduction

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ABSTRACT

Many current models of leadership appraisal assume that causation for all events within the group interaction emerges from the leader, and represents a permanent feature of the leader-group interface. Trait theories, behavioral theories, contingency theories, and exchange/transaction theories all base the appraisal of group effectiveness and leadership appraisal primarily in terms of the leader. Even when the model incorporates the followers, they are constructed as a single entity that affects leadership in terms of how the leader will act, not as affective agents in their own right. In this paper, an alternative model of leadership ascription and appraisal is produced using the language of social dramaturgy. A new model of the leadership appraisal process is developed in which a synthesis of aspects from existing models of leadership is constructed within a dramaturgical framework to account for initial or temporary appraisals of leadership, and with continued observer interest, a more permanent, elaborate leadership appraisal emerges related specifically to the leader's personality and the unique history of the group. This new model allows for a more complete understanding of leadership appraisal by addressing group interaction factors previously not addressed in leadership models.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Investigation into the issue of leadership has a long history in both theoretical and applied fields (Cronshaw & Lord, 1987). The ancient Greeks, Chinese, and Egyptians all discussed leadership thousands of years ago. The patterns of behavior that have been identified as "leadership" through a multitude of definitions in a myriad of societies have interested scholars and laypersons alike for a very long time (Bass, 1981).

Though there have been many ways of conceptualizing leadership, there is one aspect that makes leadership very important to understand. Leadership, in its many different forms, is an extremely widespread and common cultural phenomena. From kinship based hunter-gatherer tribes in New Guinea to multi-national corporate entities with complex organizational structures, individuals have risen to positions where they maintain some form of control over individuals who respond to them. Despite the omnipresence of the phenomena, however, there is far from a universal consensus on how leadership emerges and is maintained within a group. Because leadership is inherent within human

society, it is difficult to precisely and operationally define for empirical investigation (Bass, 1981).

Within the literature of modern Western scientific investigations into leadership, there has continued to be tremendous controversy and change surrounding the issue of leadership. Differing theoretical perspectives have all contributed various ways of looking at leadership in a wide variety of contexts. From the early trait theories to modern information processing models, a great deal of scientific thought has been directed at understanding what leadership is, who possesses it, and how it is maintained (Lord, DeVader, & Alleger, 1986). A great deal of the diversity of opinion surrounding the topic of leadership is due to the fact that establishing an encompassing and empirically testable definition or model of exactly what constitutes a leader has been very difficult. Is leadership the result of an individual's inherited endowment, or is it a situationally determined chain of events? Do followers play a more important role in establishing a leader, or is it the personality of the one who leads that is critical? Is leadership inherently a moral issue where the rightness or wrongness of the leader can be evaluated? Or is

leadership a functional issue where the primary evaluative criteria is one of effectiveness in accomplishing goals? These questions only begin to reveal the issues involved within the topic of leadership. They must be addressed clearly for any commentary on leadership to have any validity for its claims.

With these questions in mind, understanding how leadership has been constructed is very useful. Most definitions of leadership can be classified into two basic categories: group-process based or personality based (See Table 1). For example, contingency theories tend to focus on the group dynamics of leadership while trait theories look to the inherent personality of the leader (Bass, 1981). Modern definitions of leadership, such as Lord's information processing model incorporate both personality and situation into one definition (Lord and Maher, 1991).

The bulk of contemporary empirical investigation into leadership has focused on the functional aspects of being a leader, leaving the ethical considerations to more philosophical inquiries; however, with the increased popularity of investigation into the "charismatic" elements of leadership, this has shifted somewhat (Bryman, 1986).

For the purposes of the model to be developed here, *leadership shall be defined as the perceptions of an individual as a leader that affect an organized group by influencing the members of that group towards a goal.* Though several of the models that will be cited in creating this new model of leadership appraisal use different definitions for leadership, the elements that will be taken from them and incorporated into the model will support this definition.

Table 1:

Differences in Leadership Definitions*

	Collectivists	**Individualists**
Unit of Analysis	The group, the collective	The Individual
Attributions for success	Help given by collective	Ability
Attributions of Failure	Lack of effort	Difficult task, bad luck
Self is defined in:	Ingroup terms	Trait terms
Group vs. Individual Goal	Group goal win	Individual goal win
Attitudes and Norms	Favor interdependence	Favor independence
Values	Security, obedience, duty, harmony, hierarchy	Pleasure, achievement, competition, autonomy, fairness
Ingroups	Few, very important	Many, not too important
Social Behavior	Intimate, harmony is important, hostile to outgroups	Friendly, but not deep, fairness towards outgroups

* From Triandis (1993)

The definition focuses most intensely on the perceptions of those observing leadership. This may, in real-world terms, be followers perceiving a leader (probably the most common perception), a leader engaged in self-evaluation, or "objective observers" witnessing leadership behaviors. Although perceptions are critical within this definition, it is assumed that, as asserted by trait theories, the perception of leadership would be substantially less likely, if not impossible, without many of the most salient personality traits for leadership being present in the observed individual's personality. In much the same way, current charismatic leadership investigation is not key to this definition nor to the model developed from it. However, as an essential feature of the leader's personality, charisma can significantly affect the perceptual process of leadership that occurs within a group interaction.

One of the most important aspects of the way leadership is constructed with this new model is that it is considered a meta-phenomenum. Leadership as a topic cannot be addressed without necessarily introducing personal, group, environmental and temporal issues that are critical to the

form and function of leadership in any real-world setting. This definition views leadership as emergent from and the outcome of the interaction of variables that must be considered for any meaningful understanding of leadership to be developed.

The model proposed in this paper is intended for use as a vehicle for empirical investigation. As such, the elements used in its construction will be taken from the history of this investigation, incorporating principles from disparate models and fields of inquiry. Since both the personality of the leader and the environment, including the followers, are important, the model will draw on psychology, sociology and social psychology for its theoretical base. Also, though the model is intended for use beyond the field of management, much of the language employed will be taken from and reflect management research where so much of the interest in leadership has occurred.

The historical approach taken in the next chapter is not to be taken as absolute and definitive. For example, trait theories were the first to obtain dominance in leadership investigation; they have not, however, been completely superseded by newer models. Nor have their

findings been completely discarded. Rather, each of the models, including the one proposed here, should be seen as variants in perspective for research. In some cases, one model reveals more than another, and some models have more overall utility than others, but each makes assertions that cannot be dismissed out of hand; thus, one of the primary purposes of this new model is to incorporate a variety of existing perspectives into one cohesive model that addresses the complex topic of leadership in a more complete and satisfactory manner.

CHAPTER TWO: THE HISTORY OF LEADERSHIP INVESTIGATION

Introduction to the Review

The history presented here is not intended as a complete review of all investigations that have been conducted into leadership. If such a task is even possible and worthwhile, it would certainly take up far more room than this project. For example, Stodgill's massive handbook of leadership, updated in 1981 by Bass, has over 200 pages of references alone, and many areas were excluded in that text.

The models selected for presentation here can be seen as "contributors" to the synthesized model that will be developed in chapter four. While they do mark some of the most successful and popular models in recent history, they are not a complete representation of the field. They offer existing research and theoretical perspectives that address a great deal of the leadership phenomenon and can be combined into one model. Their contributions and strongest elements are presented along with their shortcomings and oversights which the new model will attempt to address.

Trait Theories

Although inquiry into leadership has been around for thousands of years, some of the first principled, rigorous investigations attempted to identify inherent, identifiable personality traits that distinguished the "leader" from the "followers". This school of thought emerged under the dominant influence of Freud's psychoanalytic theory of personality and it attempted, as did psychoanalytic theory, to find the root causes behind the observed phenomena. Trait theories emerged as the dominant paradigm for understanding leadership around the turn of the century, and as its popularity increased so did its diversity. Many models, including a leadership model specifically designed in psychoanalytic terms, all looked to stable, inherent aspects of an individual's personality to explain the emergence of leadership. In evaluating these hypotheses, trait theorists relied heavily on multiple-choice tests, questionnaires, and personality scales for data collection. In many ways, this led to the ultimate decline in the overall popularity for trait theories of leadership (Bass, 1981).

Because of the nature of the testing used by trait theorists, most of the data was correlational in form. Since many trait-theory investigations assumed that a strong correlation had powerful commentary on a specific trait's relatedness to leadership, traits with high correlations were considered salient to strong leaders. Two problems emerged from this. First, the number of traits that were supposedly required for strong leaders exploded. Since most of the traits tested did vary, some correlation was inevitable, regardless of its commentary on leadership. Also, at a more basic level, defining a trait in operationally succinct terms proved extremely difficult. As a result, much of the trait theory of leadership collapsed in on itself under the weight of a model that became too cumbersome to be meaningful (Chemers & Ayman, 1993).

Not everything that the trait model of leadership asserted has been rejected or forgotten, however. As Stodgill points out in his massive handbook of leadership (revised in 1981 by Bass), new meta-analytical techniques, factor analysis (which, to an extent, reinvigorated trait theory research in the 1970's) and more precise categorical definitions for traits has produced a list of six

personality factor categories that account for a great deal of the variance in leadership assessment scores:

1. *Capacity*: intelligence, alertness, verbal facility, originality, judgement
2. *Achievement:* scholarship, knowledge, athleticism
3. *Responsibility:* dependability, initiative, persistence, aggressiveness, self-confidence, desire to excel
4. *Participation:* activity, social abilty, cooperation, adaptability, humor
5. *Status:* socioeconomic position, popularity
6. *Situation:* mental level, skills, needs and interests of followers, objectives to be achieved

Although this list represents the results of hundreds of studies, it does not explain all of the variations related to leadership. First, the distinction between leader and follower is not clear. Leaders may possesses these traits in varying levels, and followers may exceed leaders in some areas; so why does one become a leader and one a follower? The model does not account for that. The most obvious hole in the model is the lack of any variance or involvement on the part of the followers. Although the sixth category mentions followers and situation, the trait

model proposed here still leaves much of the phenomena of leadership unexplored; it does, however, bring focus to the importance of the leader's personality in maintaining successful leadership (Bass, 1981 and Bryman, 1986).

Behavioral Theories

As the inherent weaknesses of trait theories became evident, leadership investigators, along with researchers in a wide variety of areas, began to look to other paradigms to explain certain phenomena. During the 1940's and early 1950's this paradigm was overwhelmingly the behaviorist perspective (Robbins, 1993). Frustrated with the cumbersome, impractical burden of hundreds of traits and the inexact definitions of the trait model of leadership, the more precise, testable model of the behavioral model became preferred (Bryman, 1986). Unlike trait theories which seek to understand what makes a leader's personality different, behaviorist investigations look only to the manifested behaviors of individuals, leaving the "black box" of personality motivations as unknowable and irrelevant (Bass, 1981).

Two of the most significant studies to emerge from this line of thought are the Ohio State Studies and the University of Michigan State Studies both conducted in the late 1940's (Robbins 1993). The Ohio State Studies determined two dimensions that accounted for most of the variance in leadership behavior as described by subordinates: initiating structure and consideration (Fisher, 1988). *Initiating Structure* considers how the leader structures and defines his role and the role of his subordinates in order to achieve a specified goal. *Consideration* addresses the nature of the relationships between the leader and the subordinates in terms of trust, respect, and emotional regard (Robbins, 1993 and Fisher, 1988). The Michigan State Studies also developed two dimensions of leadership behavior: employee-oriented and product-oriented. *Employee-oriented* leaders consider the inter-personal relationships with subordinates as most important whereas the *product-oriented* leaders are more technical and concerned with goal-attainment (Robbins, 1993 and Kahn & Katz, 1960). Both approaches to understanding leadership behaviors have been combined into a two-dimensional "Managerial Grid" by Blake and Mouton (1964).

This nine-by-nine matrix outlines eighty-one different leadership behavior styles and has become very popular in management consultation circles because of its ease of applicability and simplicity of results (Blake & Mouton, 1964, and Robbins, 1993).

Behavioral studies of leadership provided important new insights into how the behaviors of leaders with their followers affected their self-perceptions as leaders, the follower's perceptions of them as leaders, and their overall effectiveness. This model faced significant dilemmas, however. Behavioral theories, focusing solely on the leader's actions could not establish a clear and definite link between behavior patterns and group performance. The absence of any situational modulation of effectiveness decreased the utility of the model (Robbins, 1993). Also, while trait theories assumed that leadership abilities were inherent to the individual, behavioral theories did not convincingly account for the emergence of leadership behaviors in the first place. The behavioral model added precision and clarity to the image of leadership that trait theories developed; they did not, however, develop a comprehensive model to account for the myriad leadership behaviors that have led to group success or failure.

Contingency Theories

As the behavioral paradigm began to wain in popularity because of its limited scope, new models that addressed other areas of importance to leadership began to emerge. The trait model and the behavioral model, while different in many respects, shared a common emphasis on the leader as individual agent, not in terms of situational demands. The failure of either model to produce a predictable relationship between leader's personality or behavior and leader effectiveness or group outcome caused many researchers and managers to attempt to define leadership effectiveness as dependent not only on personality, but also contingent upon situational factors (Fiedler, 1967). This contingency theory viewed leadership as an emergent property of the situation and of the leader's personality. As Fiedler points out in a 1993 review of contingency theory, personality and situational factors interact in generating feelings of uncertainty and anxiety; this interaction is at the heart of contingency theories (Fiedler, 1993).

A variety of contingency models have provided insights into critical elements of the situation that can impact on leadership effectiveness (Chemers and Ayman, 1993). This focus on the leadership situation has led to a variety of conditions. Fiedler's original contingency model used *level of control* and *influence given to the leader* within three situational criteria: leader-member relations, task structure, and position power to determine leadership effectiveness (Fiedler, 1967).

Fiedler's model considers the degree to which the situation promotes stress and anxiety as key to determining the leader's behavior. The effectiveness of that behavior and the resulting group performance are seen as dependent on the goodness of fit between the evoked reactions which emerge from the leader's personality and the situational demands (Fiedler & Garcia, 1987 and Fiedler, 1993). This focus on the leader's response to the situation draws strongly on many of the tenets of the trait model of leadership. Leader's behaviors are "pre-programmed" and unalterable response patterns produced by the personality then modulated and ultimately evaluated in terms of a fluctuating environment (Robbins, 1993). Though Fiedler's

contingency model focusing on how situational control issues impact on leader behavior's has proven quite viable and popular, other contingency models have also made valuable contributions to understanding the situational impacts on leadership.

A contingency model closely related to Fiedler's is Hersey and Blanchard's (1977) situational model. Originally introduced in the early seventies, this model introduces the impact of followers on leadership behaviors and effectiveness. A leader's behaviors are assessed on the same dimensions as Fiedler, but to that Hersey and Blanchard add the concept of *maturity*, which is defined as the ability of followers to take responsibility and direct their own behavior (Hersey & Blanchard, 1977). This added element ties Fiedler's trait-based contingency theory into the behavioral model to form a model that attempts to unify the leader's personality and the behaviors he must emit to achieve a goal due to situational variance (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982).

This integrative effort represented a new movement within leadership research. With so many perspectives, each contributing valuable elements to the overall picture,

investigators attempted to compile the information into one cohesive model. It is an effort that has yet to prove completely successful. Hersey and Blanchard's (1977) situational leadership model grafted a great deal of trait, behavioral, and contingency research together; it did not, however, produce a comprehensive account of leadership. The model assumes that leaders treat all followers the same despite differences in leader preferences and follower status (Robbins, 1993). This oversight revealed an inherent limitation on much of the dominant research in leadership to date. With its extensive psychological focus, these models failed to incorporate the diversity of roles and situational variances that commonly occur in group dynamics. Exchange models (in some cases referred to as transactional models), which are variations of contingency theory, attempt to adjust for these concerns.

Exchange/Transactional Theories

Graen's original Leader-Member eXchange (LMX) model incorporated group structure and development into its format (Dansereau, Cashman, & Graen, 1973). This model asserts that from the initial phases of the interaction between leader and followers, the leader implicitly designates followers as "in-group" members or "out-group" members (Graen & Cashman, 1975). The LMX model was the first to allow for differential power distribution within the context of the group, and it was also original in its developmental process for group attachment.

The model proposes that because of time constraints, leaders come to depend on the in-group for a more significant contribution, and as a result, those in the in-group receive greater rewards than the out-group (Graen, Novak, & Somerkamp, 1982). This exchange of attention, effort, and reward between leader and followers is at the crux of the LMX model in its original form. One of the short-comings of the LMX model as an exchange-contingency theory is that it does not develop a relationship between

how much control a leader may exert and how much reward is expected from the followers (Bryman, 1986).

Currently, one of the most popular modes of leadership investigation is an attempt to clarify this relationship. House's path-goal model was originally proposed in 1971, but it has endured as a useful tool for understanding the group dynamic surrounding leaders and followers (Robbins, 1993). The principle tenet of the path-goal model is that a leader's behavior (control) is acceptable to followers only as much as it is seen as a source of immediate or future satisfaction that is worth the control by the leader (House, 1971 and House & Mitchell, 1974). A leader's level of control is evaluated in terms of his motivational behaviors within the context of the situation. This definition is based on the Ohio State behavioral studies and on contingency and exchange theories' incorporation of the situation within the interactive process. Because it has such a wide theoretical base and has found substantial empirical support, path-goal theory has remained a popular and useful tool in leadership research (House & Dessler, 1974 and Robbins, 1993).

While path-goal has remained a popular model within leadership investigation, it does not claim to be a comprehensive one. It has a limited domain of applicability and cannot predict leadership emergence or appraisal as well as it can explain ascription and appraisal *post hoc* (House & Dessler, 1974 and Robbins, 1993). One of its limitations, shared with most other contingency models, is the singular perspective of the model. The perceptions of followers are incorporated only in the sense that they affect the effectiveness of the leader, followers are not given any inherent affective power of their own. This limitation again arises from the "psychological bend" of a great deal of leadership research. Not all of the leadership research has such a tendency, however. Hollander's idiosyncrasy credit (IC) model is by no means new (Hollander 1958). It has been revised and restructured several times, but with a more "sociological bend," it has provided an alternative viewpoint for more psychological models. Its inclusion here under the heading of exchange/transactional models is somewhat arbitrary; it does not fit clearly into any one school. Its focus on the follower, however, shares more with exchange/transactional models than any other tradition.

The IC model considers both leadership and follwership to be active roles, with followers having far more than a trivial impact. In fact, IC models consider followers to be a strategic audience to a leader who can be made or unmade dependent upon their behaviors and attitudes (Hollander, 1992). This model is the first to take a follower's view of leadership, looking up at the leader instead of down to the followers. From this perspective, leaders define the situation in terms of goals norms, and behaviors, but followers must be willing to "buy" this definition for leadership effectiveness (Conger, 1991).

In Hollander's words, "the essential formula in the model is that credits are earned over time in the perceptions of others by *competence* in helping to achieve the group's task goals, and *conformity* to the group's norms as a sign of loyalty" (Hollander, 1993, pg. 32). As the relationship between leader and follower matures over time, "*early signs of competence and conformity will permit later nonconformity, in the form of innovation, to be better tolerated*" (Hollander, 1993, pg. 33; italics original). This credit building process is not only applicable to leaders, but to all members as a group; higher status within

the group only serves to increase tolerance of innovation.

The IC model serves as a crucial counter-point to the leader-focused perspective of many leadership models. With its focus on the follower, it provides unique and useful insights into how leadership is constructed "from the bottom up." While this alone is an important feature, it also introduces, but does not actively develop, another crucial concept: the cognitions of individuals within a group.

Cognitive Theories

With the increasing emphasis on cognition in many areas of research during the early eighties, leadership investigation was also affected. One of the strongest influences of this "cognitive revolution" was attribution theory. While not new, attribution theory has been reconceptualized in cognitive information-processing terms and applied to leadership (Lord, Foti, & Phillips, 1982). Other research models such as path-goal had focused on the motivational processes on the part of the leader or the follower. Information-processing focused on the cognitive processes of the leaders and the followers. It claimed that

individuals, both leaders and followers, actively constructed implicit leadership theories (ILT's) which assimilate the environmental inputs related to leaders into a cohesive operational schema (Lord & Maher, 1991).

Other established leadership models have also been reconceptualized to incorporate cognitive theory. Fiedler's contingency model was altered and renamed to the cognitive resource theory, which utilized the cognitions of the leader as key to the effectiveness of the group in achieving its goals (Fiedler, 1993). Graen's LMX model was rechristened the vertical-dyad linkage model, focusing on the cognitive perception process that occurred between the leader and the followers (Linden & Graen, 1980). All of them, however, attempted to address the issues raised by the attribution model, with its long history, and powerful new insights.

The attribution model was originally constructed by Weiner in 1971 for assessing the process by which individuals ascribe the personal causes of success and failure. Subsequent work by Kelley (1973) developed it for causal ascriptions in terms of information processing variables. Attribution theory is seen as a rational type of information processing model. According to this model,

observers review all behaviors and their consequences, consider all of the available explanations of the behaviors and effects, then make the optimal attributions based on this analysis about the observed individual's personality (Lord & Maher, 1990). Attributions are regarded as *internal, global,* and *stable* parts of the observed's personality. The information processing model of causal attributions is now used in a wide variety of subject areas. Attributional explanations for everything from human response to traumatic events (Williams, Lees-Haley, & Brown, 1993) to the emergence of delinquency in minority juveniles (Graham, Hudley, & Williams, 1992) have been developed. Attribution theory has become so pervasive that, in many aspects, it has outgrown its original definition as a laboratory model for explaining how subjects understand success and failure, evolving into a general cognitive process model for comprehending a wide variety of stimuli (Lord & Maher, 1990).

The attributional model is so popular in management research that it has been used to explain not only leadership, but also for understanding many areas of managerial concern including the trainer/trainee interaction

(Steiner, Dobbins, & Trahan, 1991) and for tracing the self-and-supervisor-employee evaluation process (Martin & Klimoski, 1990). The application of attribution theory to the study of leadership appears to be a natural ramification of its explicative power demonstrated in so many different areas. Leadership is defined in attributional terms as the collection of ascriptions and appraisals made by members of a group about an individual that, when taken collectively, create within that person the personality traits necessary to be a leader. Thus, the process for perceiving someone as a leader is inherent in the process for evaluating someone's performance in the leadership role. Leadership attributions are inferred based on the observed behaviors which construct an ILT of leadership in regards to the observed individual (Lord & Maher, 1991).

This model for understanding leadership focuses on the cognitions of observers who are appraising the leader based on the external *behaviors* and *consequences* they perceive, not on establishing traits that are fundamentally part of the leader's personality. These observed behaviors are the inputs used by the observer to make causal attributions about the observed's personality. Even for leaders' self-

attributions, the focus is on the observed consequences within the environment, not on understanding the nature of one's personality. As such, it becomes important to understand the thought processes that those observers engage in to achieve these causal attributions. The influence of trait theories can be seen here in that individuals are attempting to determine an individual's personality. The behavioral model has influenced this model by its focus on behaviors as the inputs for the cognitive processes, and contingency models have produced the emphasis on outcomes as key to the attribution process.

Early work pointed out that leadership is attributed by observers to salient individuals within the organization, thus attributional reasoning is present at the foundation of leadership perceptions (Pfeffer, 1977). Calder (1977) developed one of the first detailed attributional models specifically aimed at understanding leadership. In this four-stage model, which moves from observation of actions and effects to intra-group comparison, and then to a "typicality comparison," and finally to an inference, Calder (1977) realizes the importance of pre-existing cognitive

constructs in attributional thought, particularly those related to attributions of leadership.

Cronshaw and Lord (1987) further the attempt to investigate the link between existing information and original attributional thought related to leadership perceptions. They propose a model where observers examine both actions and effects related specifically to the observed individual and incorporate pre-existing knowledge about leaders in general into their attribution process. Their results reveal a major flaw in the application of attribution theory to the issue of leadership.

The results of the Cronshaw and Lord (1987) study show that when subjects are given a multitude of factors to examine and the demands on their cognitive resources exceed their ability to rationally examine every available piece of information, subjects rarely engage in fully-developed attributional thinking. In previous studies, subjects (whether they were observing followers in a group, or as impartial observers alone) were instructed to read summaries or watch a video tape of some leadership behavior. Frequently, the subjects had no other competing cognitive demands during the experimental task. The subjects directed

all of their attention towards the laboratory situation presented to them. No attempt to integrate the laboratory rating process with previous experience was made. This is hardly a typical occurrence in real-world settings where observers bring pre-existing cognitive structures and experiences to ongoing judgement processes. Contrary to the earlier views of attribution theory, observers do not appear to consider every action and its consequences then attempt to ascertain the most probable motivation in the observed individual. Cronshaw and Lord (1987) argue that this occurs because the memory-encoding capacity is overloaded, and observers are unwilling or unable to expend the cognitive resources required for attribution thought on such a limited-relevance, one-time appraisal. These findings support categorization theory as an alternative information processing cognitive model that is more limited in scope than the attributional model. The model is limited in the sense that it is more cognitively simple, and the processing requirements are within the parameters of both short-term memory and long-term memory processing.

Categorization theory does not assume an exhaustive review of all available information and a thorough review

of possible motivations. It assumes that, based on past experience, an observer has a list of salient personality characteristics that form a cognitive heuristic that "define" a given concept. In relation to leadership, observers have critical features that define what a leader is within the group, and when these features are displayed, the observer concludes that the observed individual is a leader. In other words, the observed individual's behaviors are recognized as fitting within the observer's ILT of a leader. This greatly reduces processing demands, and is more in keeping with real-world situations where an observer's attention may be divided between a variety of different topics (Maurer & Lord, 1991). In brief, an individual who acts like leader (displays highly prototypical behaviors for a leader) would be ascribed as having the personality of a leader, whereas an individual who does not display the behaviors associated with leadership (low leadership prototypicality behavior) would not be ascribed as a leader (See Table 2) (Lord & Maher, 1991).

Categorization theory proposes that the heuristic is so inherent and cognitively simple that it is automatic for the

observer. Ascriptions of leadership occur as an unconscious result of interaction. In an attempt to combine the two

Table 2:

High and Low Prototypicality Leadership Behaviors*

High Prototypicality	Low Prototypicality
1. Delays others actions on decisions	1. Worries over other member's ideas
2. Plans actions for self and for others	2. Wants his way on unimportant issues
3. Emphasized group goals	3. Displays confusion about main task
4. Coordinated actions within group	4. Lets other members of the group decide what to do
5. Let others know expectations	6. Does not answer questions clearly
6. Provided feedback on performance	7. Forgets point during explanation
7. Showed intelligence when asked questions	8. Allows group to wander off task
8. Was assertive about his point of view	
9. Directed behavior towards group goal	

*From Cronshaw & Lord (1987)

cognitive models. Lord proposed that more stable, attributional models of leadership occur later in the leader/follower relationship. The two models do not occur in parallel, however, as originally proposed by Cronshaw and Lord (1987). Rather, attribution type thinking can be seen as emergent from simple categorization style thinking. In fact, in more recent work, Lord has developed a grafted personality model of ascriptions of leadership that combines these two theoretical models within the framework of a continued relationship over time (Lord & Maher, 1990). The categorization model may account for some original leadership impressions, and it fits well with the limits of information-processing ability in real-world settings where automatic leadership ascriptions are likely to be made. As time progresses, however, and continued exposure combined with a vested interest on the part of the observer remains, a more detailed, thorough attributional-style process emerges where observers consciously incorporate new information into their model of leadership personality (Lord & Maher, 1991).

As a theory, this combined model, termed *cybernetic* by Lord and Maher in 1990, holds high descriptive accuracy. It

comes very close to describing what most probably occurs in information-processing terms to establish an ascription of leadership. The basic claim of the cybernetic model is that when individuals solve problems or transform information, they allocate information processing resources to that task. The available resources can be divided between multiple tasks, but it is a limited resource.

Because cognitive processing power is limited, there are conservation efforts used by individuals. Familiarity with a task reduces the required amount of resources required to perform a certain task. Cognitive simplifying mechanisms such as routines and matching new information to existing information also reduce the load. Another way of reducing resource requirements is knowledge structure and labelling. This technique represents a new level of analysis for the cybernetic model. These structures are the social scripts, plans and cognitive heuristics taken from the surrounding culture. For the first time, an effort at integrating information-processing and socialization was attempted in leadership research (Lord and Maher, 1991).

The theoretical utility of this model, however, has not been proven. The inherent time element of the model

requires that longitudinal studies be initiated that will test the initial process by which a subject creates ascriptions of leadership, then continues to re-evaluate the process as time elapses and the relationship continues. Also, implied in the formation of this model is the need to test it in real-world applications as well as in controlled laboratory settings (Lord & Maher, 1990). While this cognitive model is more descriptively accurate than either of its components alone, it still does not include a series of variables that could potentially be very important in determining whether appraisals that are made about leadership are temporary or permanent.

Since the attribution, categorization and cybernetic models are variants of cognitive information processing models, all are founded on the cognitive processes that make permanent ascriptions about an individual's personality as it relates to leadership. A required component of the cognitive information processing model is that there be one individual to ascribe causation for all observed consequences. This is not necessarily a complete and accurate explanation of the causal ascription process.

Conclusion to Chapter Two

Attribution, categorization, and cybernetic models do not consider factors related to group interactions and multi-individual behaviors that are not causally related to one specific individual. These models, along with Graen's vertical-dyad linkage model (as well as the earlier LMX model), House's path-goal model, and to a lesser extent, Hollander's idiosyncrasy credit (IC) model all assume that observers can, and do, causally ascribe all perceived behaviors to one individual and those ascriptions are key in appraising leadership effectiveness. Further, these models assume that those ascriptions are stable and internal to the observed person (Lord & Maher, 1990). Trait theories, the Ohio and Michigan behavioral studies along with the Blake and Mouton "managerial grid", Fiedler's contingency model (in both its original and cognitively re-vamped versions), and Hersey and Blanchard's situational model assume leaders have inherent forces or behavior patterns that are causally related to group performance and effectiveness. From a multi-individual model perspective, there would appear to be

many group behaviors and consequences that *do not fit* within the individualistic parameters of these models.

It is quite possible to assume a non-internal locus of causation for a group behavior, particularly when behaviors are being affected by multiple levels within group structure. Also, it is quite logical to assume that group-based causative factors are less stable and more temporary elements that can easily change later. This point has vital ramifications for understanding leadership. If there are factors that are non-specific, and group based, then the focus of any model that attempts to explain leadership must not make personal ascriptions of causation or individually-based effectiveness appraisals for every group function. There needs to be some theoretical element that can account for behaviors and effects considered outside of the control of the leader and more the responsibility of group structure, communication, or goal-orientation.

Few researchers look beyond a particular substantive area, using models that relate only to their topic when attempting to understand leadership. To assess the general principles of leadership, however, it is necessary to test information processing models, exchange/transactional

models, contingency models, behavioral models and trait models in terms of group interactions, as well as testing them against other models outside of this almost exclusively psychological approach to leadership. This involves reviewing each model in terms of its effectiveness independently, and also looking for ways to integrate the valid and original insights of each into one cohesive model that can utilize the perspectives of each in a comprehensive manner.

Since the existing models of leadership have difficulty in accounting for all levels of leadership ascription and appraisal within groups, new models that can either be synthesized into them, or simply replace them, need to be investigated (Babcock, 1989). Considering the empirical validity, and the clearly demonstrated theoretical utility of many of the existing models, it is unlikely that they will be abandoned, and it is unwise to overlook their contributions to the understanding of leadership. However, they do leave room for new concepts to be incorporated onto the existing theoretical constructs. One such concept is not really new at all: as a sociological theory, social dramaturgy was proposed by Erving Goffman in 1959. Long

regarded as integral to the study of social psychology, the dramaturgical perspective has not been clearly applied to the understanding of leadership perceptions. In fact, as Babcock (1989) points out, the application of the dramaturgical perspective to person perception has not been taken nearly as far as the model would allow. In order to apply a dramaturgical perspective to understanding leadership and integrate it into the existing field of research, it is important to understand the basic concepts within the model as originally developed by Goffman in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959).

CHAPTER THREE: SOCIAL DRAMATURGY: THE FOUNDATION FOR A NEW SYNTHESIS OF LEADERSHIP

Social dramaturgy has a long and diverse history in sociology and social psychology. It has been used in a wide variety of formats to explain and analyze many social phenomena. Its core tenets, however, can still be found in Goffman's Presentation of Self (1959), and in his later works. The general overview of the book presented here is meant to establish the theoretical base in broad terms before it is specifically applied to leadership in terms of a new synthesized model in chapter four. Before social dramaturgy is explained in detail, however, it is important to understand its theoretical underpinnings and Goffman's position in developing the theory.

Goffman's Theoretical Position

With insights into the forces that molded Goffman's view of the world, it is also beneficial to explain how his position fits within the sociology rubric as a whole. Goffman is identified as a radical empiricist who focuses on the minutiae of everyday life; he identifies himself as a

"sociologist of the forgotten" (Burns, 1992). Goffman studies self-consciousness, uneasiness, awkward situations, *faux pas*, scandals, and mental illness to glean his insights. He works within the Durkheimian tradition of focusing on areas where the norms of interaction break down to provide insights into how society is ordered by these norms (Collins & Makowsky, 1993). In fact, Goffman defines social reality as a construct of tacit understandings among people meeting face to face. In dramaturgical terms, social reality is not a fixed, external entity; but an individual construction of all of the possibilities presented to an individual (Goffman, 1971). This is an "enacted" view of social reality instead of a "static" view. He also sees the "self" as a social product, created by interaction with others; each person is a reflection of the elicited responses of others, and each person gives others responses of themselves (Goffman, 1979).

Goffman's analysis is not satisfied with statistical accounts or abstract theorizing about the individual or about society; each interaction situation must be analyzed in detail for its function and meaning to be understood (Collins & Makowsky, 1993). All acts and statuses are

products of interaction: labels, deviance, and behavior are considered in terms of the group, not in terms of the individual. Explanations for actions are found in their meaning to the group, not in terms of their causal origin (Goffman, 1968). This focus on interaction is the microsociological approach that is central to the dramaturgical perspective, but because Goffman develops the concept of self in a variety of interactional aspects, from one-on-one interaction to corporate identity, related to the greater social order, social structure and organization are important. This gives Goffman's theory macrosociological implications as well.

Within the structure of Goffman's work, contributions from several theoretical schools are apparent. As previously mentioned, Goffman draws strongly on the Durkheimian functionalist tradition and the focus on social norms as crucial to social reality. Related to this, Goffman is in the Parsonian functionalist tradition as well. He considers the operation and purpose of social institutions important. Another well-represented theoretical position in Goffman's work is that of Simmel with his focus on social encounters and relationships. G.H.

Mead's symbolic interactionism is also reflected in Goffman's construction of social reality. Perhaps outside of the theoretical field, but tremendously important to understanding Goffman, is the contribution of Compton-Burnett, whose writing style impacted Goffman's significantly (Burns, 1993). With this summary statement of the factors contributing to Goffman's development and where he stands in the larger sociological tradition, one can take a closer look at his most significant work, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959).

The book is a theoretical approach to viewing how humans interact with one another. The primary method of constructing this perspective is through a metaphor viewing interactions as theatrical performances with scripts, props, stagings, and roles. This dramaturgical framework is presented in inter-dependent steps through the course of the book.

Within an interaction, there are a variety of sources for transmitting information about one another. These methods are called *sign vehicles*; they can be verbal or non-verbal, deliberate or accidental. There are two basic kinds of sign vehicles: signs-given and signs-given-off. *Signs-*

given are deliberate, conscious, verbal vehicles of an individual to convey information. *Signs-given-off* are actions that are considered symptomatic of the actor. They are non-verbal expressive statements of information that can be accidental. However, both signs-given and signs-given-off can be carefully manipulated by a well-prepared performer. This is crucial to impression management, one of the most important aspects of interaction.

Signs are conveyed in a *working consensus* which is a mutual definition of each situation by the participants in the interaction. Since this working consensus must be re-established at each new interaction, initial information, or the "first impression" is critically important for each participant interaction to define the nature of the interaction. By defining each situation, the definition itself takes on a *moral character* which is a value judgement of the information received. This moral character affects the future of the information exchange. In other words, an individual's first impression colors the rest of the interaction in a positive or negative light. Within the dramturgical framework, the nature of the interaction makes the actual manifestation of leadership a temporary, group-

based phenomenon; whereas the character of a leader can be a more permeate moral judgement.

Performances are seen as the process of transmitting these signs within the working consensus. A performance is the activity of an individual in an interaction; it is seen as the effort to manipulate the impression of self by others within a mutually defined interaction. In order to create a performance, the individual must appear to believe the impression he is fostering: this performance may be disrupted by a variety of factors that are discussed later. A leader must believe himself capable of leading, and present his performance in such a way that he cannot be openly contradicted in order to be accepted as a leader. The performance consists of several aspects.

The most important part of a performance is the *front,* which is the part of the performance that functions in a general and stable way to define the situation for observers. This requires *expressive equipment* for the individual. *Setting* includes the props and scenery of the interaction. These may not necessarily be related to the individual. For example, the front desk, larger office, or corporate dining suite are not associated with one person,

but they are critical elements in projecting the image of a leader. Closely related to this is the *personal front*: the expressive equipment that is uniquely identified with an individual. This can be further delineated into two aspects: *appearance*, stimuli that tell of a performer's status (the business suit), and *manner*, stimuli that indicate what role the individual will play (verbally taking charge of a meeting). Fronts tend to become institutionalized across situations, creating a "collective representation" that can be identified as an individual's "personality," or in this case "leadership style".

Performers offer idealized impressions of themselves in an interaction. The *presentation of self* incorporates and exemplifies the values of society more than the actual behavior does. This involves foregoing or concealing behaviors that are inconsistent with the presented impression. This is accomplished in three ways. First, correcting errors in the performance before it occurs, while at the same time, concealing errors in the past to maintain the infallibility of the performance. Second, showing only the end-product, not the effort that was involved in creating the product or performance; preparation is hidden

from the observers. Third, projecting ideal compatibility between the individual in every aspect and his current role performance. This compatibility must also include the current audience by acting as though the current role and the current audience are special and unique, even when the performance may be repetitious. Leaders have to act like leaders, even when they do not feel like leading.

In order to maintain *expressive control* within the interaction, the performer will carefully prepare for contingencies (e.g., misunderstood signs, mistakes in the performance, violations by others; to maintain compatibility and consistency within the interaction). Since the audience tends to accept signs as part of being in the working consensus performers can *misrepresent* signs to maintain the integrity of a role. Only shame, guilt, and fear restrain the performer because if he is caught, his performance will be destroyed, as will the consensus through a loss of trust. However, not all misrepresentations have such dramatic consequences, these are commonly called "white lies." Some misrepresentation is inevitable because signs are the only way to represent actions, so all performances are, to a

degree, subject to the disruption of a misrepresentation being discovered.

One way of defending against disruption is through *mystification* which accompanies status in a social structure. By controlling the perception of the observers, who are of lower status, one controls the communication of signs in the consensus. High status creates awe and distance which promotes this control. Because status as control is an important defense, an individual needs to learn many types of roles to successfully perform them. This is referred to as *anticipatory socialization* which is the ability to perform according to role and status in a variety of different situations. This is critical for dramaturgical success. This, consequentially, also serves as a good dramaturgical definition of an effective leader.

Performances often serve to express the characteristics of the task being performed, not just of the performer. Fronts, therefore, often have a wider scope for the individual than just the current presentation of self. For example, a leader often represents the entire group, not just himself when taking action. Individuals may present a front that is part of an overall front presented by a *team*.

This is a collection of individuals cooperating in the presentation of a single routine. Teams can be treated as a singular social fact at a level of analysis between the individual and the total interaction among all participants.

In terms of impression management, teams serve as the basic unit of reference within social dramaturgy. Individuals within a team have to deny the existence of damaging information about the team to prevent the impression from being disrupted. In accomplishing this, a team member may guide his private activity according to incorporated moral standards creating a non-present audience for his activity. This can be taken so far that an individual may serve as his own audience, evaluating his own performance when not actually in front of an audience. This is "self-evaluation" in dramturgical terms, assuring that the leader or follower knows his part in the performance.

Within a team, there are a variety of factors at work to maintain team integrity. Because any team member, leader or follower, has the power to disrupt the performance by violating his role and destroying the working consensus, there is a reciprocal bond of dependence between team

members. This bond, through repeated stagings of the same performance with the same team, creates familiarity between teammates. *Cliques* form as teams-within-teams with their own agenda, which involves removing the power of impression management from the larger team and presenting an alternate impression instead. Cliques develop when roles are over-specialized, creating a break down in the mutual dependency of all team members so that some members are more reliant on one another than others. The creation of cliques may destroy the overall effectiveness of a team.

Teams must establish a *public stand* on issues of concern before its members can express their personal opinions. If this does not occur, open conflict may occur when a team member, inadvertently or deliberately, publicly disagrees with the position of the team. This creates a false note for the audience. Therefore, if a team withholds information from one member about the team's stand, they are essentially denying him his character since the presentation is the team member's conception of reality. Conversely, when a team member violates the public stand of the team or makes a mistake in the presentation, his punishment must be

deferred until after the performance is over to avoid creating a false note concerning team solidarity.

In actual social establishments, many teams and team members continuously shift from one performance to another, and from being a team member to being an audience member depending on the situation. Leaders become followers in some contexts, and followers become leaders in others. This, in dramaturgical terms, is "social interaction." It occurs between teams, not between individuals, and analysis can be seen in terms of teams attempting to maintain multiple working consensuses. Within this context, it must appear that no one individual is a member of both a team and an audience simultaneously, but because control of the setting creates increased security for the presenting team, this appearance may be falsified.

It is obvious from these complexities regarding team dynamics that there must be some form of operational control for a team to function effectively. This control is often personified in one special team member role: that of the *director*. The director is responsible for keeping members in line with the official stance of the team through soothing disgruntled members and sanctioning misbehaving

ones. He is also responsible for allocating the parts within the team; this establishes the hierarchy of team structure because each of the roles have different relationships, and different levels of dominance over other roles within the team. Though Goffman uses the term director in keeping with his theatrical metaphor, the parallels between the director role and the leader role are obvious and overwhelming.

Goffman considers not only the method of information exchange in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life(1959), he considers the structure and nature of the interaction itself. Goffman notes that interaction in Western European, industrialized societies tends to occur in highly bounded regions of space. Walls, roofs, and stages all provide perceptual boundaries by which individuals define the limits of the exchange physically. To this, individuals often add another boundary to interaction: time. Appointments, production schedules, and lunch hours all take on defining aspects in interactional terms.

For purposes of dramaturgical analysis, the region of the performance interaction is called the *front region*. Behavior here is regulated by standards of politeness, which

is the way the performer treats the audience, and is related to the signs given. This is frequently referred to as *manner*. Behavior is also regulated by standards of *decorum*, the way a performer comports himself. Decorum is related to signs given off. A breakdown in control of the front region severely hampers the dramaturgical success of the performers because the working consensus is no longer being supported.

Relative to the performance, the area where the performance structure is regularly violated is referred to as the *backstage region*. This area is where the performance is prepared, and the behavior among team members is not as formal as in the front region. Here, social interaction is shaped by the reciprocal familiarity of teammates with three basic limitations. First, individuals must maintain the impression that they are trustworthy team members. They cannot act as though they are going to disrupt the ongoing performance of the front region. Second, team members must engage in morale maintenance for other performers who feel they cannot or will not continue their role in the performance. Third, there are behavioral limitations within the team based on fundamental social divisions such as age-grades and ethnicity. It can also occur that front region

performance can become so habituated that backstage activity also becomes viewed as a performance by team members.

There is a third regional designation for all other places besides the front and back regions: the *outside;* consequentially, individuals unrelated to the performance are referred to as *outsiders*. Frequently the position of "objective observer" in many leadership studies assumes this role.

Regional control issues can arise as contingencies within a performance. When control breaks down, the performers are torn between two alternative reality constructions. Until signs can again be successfully given and received, the team has no guidance as to what line of action to follow.

Because the reality dramatized by a performance is a very fragile thing, and it is reliant on expressive coherence, there are destructive facts, that if noticed, will destroy the performance. These are commonly referred to as secrets, and there are five kinds. *Dark secrets* are facts the team members know that are incompatible with the current performance. *Strategic secrets* are the intentions and goals of the team that are withheld from the audience.

Inside secrets are information that marks the possessor as a team member. Knowledge one team has about another constitute the remaining two types. *Entrusted secrets* oblige the possessor to keep the information secret because of the relationship to the team about which the secret concerns. On the other hand, *free secrets* are another teams information that could be disclosed without discrediting one's own team.

There should be a correlation among function (performer, audience member, or outsider), region of access (front-region, back-region, or outside-region), and information available (type of secrets possessed). However, because of different vantage points available in real-life interactions, there is not a perfect relationship. Roles that have special vantage points are called *discrepant roles*.

Goffman identifies ten kinds of discrepant roles within this framework. The *informer* pretends to be a member of one team, but is actually a member of another: commonly referred to as a traitor. A *shill* acts as an audience member, but is actually a member of the team. *Protective agents* also act as unsuspecting members of the audience, but are ready to

catch destructive information about another team. The *reporter* observes the performance from the vantage point of an audience member, then informs another team about the performance. A *mediator* must function between two teams, but frequently develops secret allegiances with one team.

Two related discrepant roles are the *non-person* who is not part of the team or the audience, frequently in a servant role, but is present during the performance; and the *service specialist* who helps others maintain their performance and possesses entrusted secrets about them. *Confidants* are also discrepant in that they possess team information, but are not team members. *Colleagues* present the same kind of routine, but to different audiences as part of different teams. There is frequently a ceremonial bond in this relationship. The final type of discrepant role is that of *renegade*. This individual takes a moral stand, preferring the moral ideal of the role over the individual who is actually performing the role. These roles help create the tremendous diversity and complexity that exist within the context of human interaction.

This diversity and complexity are also fundamental causes of the fragility of a performance and the reality it

projects. When a performance is disrupted, and particularly when a discrepant role is uncovered, the character being portrayed can crumble, causing the individual to act in a relatively "unperformed" way. This is dramaturgically titled *communication out of character*. This communication counteracting the official performance may be accidental as a result of a mistake, or it may be purposeful when an individual no longer supports the performance. There are four basic performances an individual can engage in to contradict the performance. *Treatment of the absent* occurs when performers are backstage. They frequently derogate or praise audience members in a manner that is inappropriate for the face-to-face frontstage performance. This can take the form of satire, or differential terms of reference, and they can have little to do with the actual feelings of the individual, they serve instead, to support the image of the team.

Staging talk is another form of communication out of character. It is identified as gossip about other teams, team members, or audience members. *Team collusion* involves two teams sharing secrets and relevant information about the performance that the audience does not know through

collusive communication. This communication, in dramaturgical terms, serves as staging cues between teams to warn of an audience member's approach and signal there their departure when regional control is not complete. It can also serve as a method of passing responsibility for the failure of a performance from one team to another.

Realigning actions are another important form of communication out of character. Here, an individual temporarily breaks with the official team performance to express discontent with the current working consensus. Often this serves as unofficial communication between teams because the official relationship is not as friendly or as hostile as it appears. This can eventually lead to a realignment of an official position. Another form of this realignment is fraternizing between members of different teams with similar functions; this may lead to the formation of new teams, and usually occurs because of a crisis or similar roles when two teams coincide.

The need for contact and companionship takes two basic forms: the need for an audience, and the need for teammates. However, as evidenced here, the strict separation of the two is not always appropriate. There are times when both needs

are functionally met simultaneously. Because of this, individuals within a team can step back from the current performance and imagine alternative performances that could occur. Whether the performers feel the official presentation is the most real reality or not, they can, and occasionally do, surreptitiously give expression to multiple and incompatible versions of reality.

To avoid the dangers within the complexities of interaction, and to maintain one version of the presented reality, individuals and teams engage in *impression management*. This avoids unmet gestures, inopportune intrusions and performance inconsistencies. When these do occur, the result is called a "scene." There are protective measures taken by both the performers and the audience within the working consensus to assist in maintaining the performance. Performers use *dramaturgical loyalty* so that teammates accept common moral obligations. This is done through employing high in-group solidarity which creates this loyalty by giving each team member common interests in a successful performance. Performers also change audiences frequently to avoid affective ties between the audience and the team.

Another performer technique of impression management is *dramaturgical discipline*, involving carefully staging and acting a performance absent any discrediting behavior. This is often seen as presence of mind or self-control.

The third impression management device is *dramaturgical circumspection*. Performers prepare for possible contingencies of the performance beforehand; this involves choosing loyal and disciplined team members and selecting a good audience. Generally, the fewer the team members, the lower the overall risk of disruption. Circumspection requires adaptability and consideration of the audience's access to information regarding the performance as well as the character of the props that must be utilized. Circumspect performers are also aware of the situation when relaxing their appearance within a role. All of this occurs because of the information transference from signs given off that may damage the effectiveness of the performance. The possibility of this damage is reduced through preparing an agenda, carefully assigning roles, rehearsing, and planning responses to contingencies.

The protective practices exercised by the audience require less effort, but are just as important for

maintaining the working consensus. Individuals may voluntarily stay away from regions they have not been invited to. Outsiders may tactfully remain socially disinterested in a performance even though they are not physically separate from it. Audience members may tactfully not see a slip or accept any excuse offered for it by the performers; extra consideration is often extended to beginning performers.

When such *tact* is used, the separateness of team and audience breaks down in the information exchange. This becomes noticeable through audience hints to correct the problem, and through the performer following the rules of the interaction, even when engaged in misrepresentation so that, if caught, he can offer at least some excuse for his actions. When the use of tact breaks down and incidents occur, the entire dramaturgical structure of interaction is laid bare.

The performance disruptions that occupy so much of the text have consequences at the level of personality, interaction ,and at its highest, social structural. Underlying all interaction there is a basic dialectic: when an individual enters into the presence of others, he wants

to discover the facts of the situation. Since the reality that the individual wishes to understand is imperceivable at the moment of initial contact, appearances must be relied on, and, paradoxically, the more the individual is concerned with the reality that is not available to his perception, the more he must concentrate his attention on appearances.

As performers, individuals are concerned with maintaining the impression that they are living up to social standards; however, they are not concerned with the moral issue of realizing these standards but with the amoral issue of engineering a convincing impression that these standards are being realized. Correctly staged and performed routines lead an audience to impute a *self* to the individual, who as performer, attempts to create a *character* that shapes the image of self in the interaction. Therefore, the self is the product of social interaction, and not the cause of it.

Goffman's analysis has proven to be an enduring contribution to sociological understanding. His incisive perception of the tacit agreements to agree reflect the pre-social contract emphasis of Durkheim, but his work has a more operational base. The dramaturgical analysis has become a standard method of assessing the implicit content

of a wide variety of social phenomena (Collins & Makowsky, 1993). That is not to say, however, that his work has survived completely unassailed. Goffman's opinions about the rigidity of the rules that govern interaction has proven to be over-emphatic. A great deal of change has been incorporated into the standard middle-class social script in the last thirty years alone. Perhaps the most noticeable flaw of Goffman's The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life is his unwillingness to carry the dynamic interactional approach to social relations that he developed as far as it would go (Burns, 1992).

Application of Social Dramaturgy to Leadership

Though the entire dramturgical perspective is not expressed completely in The Presentation of Self, its form and meaning is clear enough for the model used here. Similarities between the structure of the dramturgical model and the assertions of many of the leadership models discussed in Chapter Ttwo stand out. Perhaps the most obvious is the fact that a leader/follower interaction is a working consensus. Thus, every role within the group is

important for maintaining the success of the consensus. While contingency models and exchange models incorporate this, none go as far as the dramaturgical perspective with its reciprocal bond of dependence.

With regards to leadership in dramaturgical terms, an individual claims the leadership role by presenting the behaviors associated with a leader, and those individuals interacting with that person select associated follower roles. The interaction among these roles establishes a working consensus, which is an implicit agreement by the participants to mutually define the situation where one person acts as a leader and the perceivers act accordingly. All participants are considered part of a team in dramaturgical terms; this is the basic unit of analysis for the model. However, whereas leadership models have taken the group as the central construct in the past, a dramaturgical model is unique.

Existing leadership investigations have developed uni-directional models that focus on the group-process where followers serve only to legitimate leaders or on leader's personality (Chemers & Ayman, 1993). This perspective constructs models that basically address two variables:

tasks and people, as poles on a continuum or as completely independent of one another. Social dramaturgy, because of its interactive approach among all members of the group (personalities) *and* the situation (tasks), allows for a more complete and expressive analysis of the entire leadership ascription and appraisal process.

Conclusion to Chapter Three

Now that a clear link between leadership and social dramaturgy has been established, a more carefully enunciated model can be constructed. By applying the dramaturgical framework to leadership, one can gain useful insights into how leadership emerges and is maintained and evaluated in a group. Existing models have limitations in the uni-directionality of their structure and their inability to address key issues concerning the emergence, maintenance, and evaluation of leadership in real world situations. That is not to say that they have not developed critically important insights into the way leadership works. Any new model must first incorporate itself into the empirically reliable aspects of the existing field of research.

Everything from trait theories to information-processing models have added to the overall understanding of leadership. Therefore, although the dramaturgical perspective has not been applied to leadership in an operational form, it cannot effectively be applied blindly with no regard to the existing research.

The dramaturgical model developed in Chapter Four will utilize many of the key points raised by other models of leadership. Not only will it attempt to extend current understanding of leadership, it will integrate existing research in a more comprehensive form. Approaches that share little theoretical background will be combined in terms of the commonalities of their positions and research findings. As a result, much of the model will be explained in terms of what has been borrowed from other schools of thought and integrated into the dramaturgical perspective.

CHAPTER FOUR: A NEW COMBINATION MODEL OF LEADERSHIP

Introduction to the Model

With the social dramaturgical conceptualization of leadership it is possible to address both the existing field of research understanding and the variables that remain outside of the scope of current models. The current leadership literature is fragmented and, in some cases, contradictory. This diminishes the overall utility of the research for further scientific inquiry and for pragmatic applications (Chemers & Ayman, 1993). Many models pursue one aspect of leadership in detail, creating a variety of perspectives that need a compatible framework for synthesis (Bryman, 1986). A cross-disciplinary, integrative approach such as social dramaturgy is needed.

The basic dispute that has fueled most of the divergence in the field is the dichotomy between group factors and leader's personality. Constructing models that heavily favor one aspect or the other has been very difficult for the field of research investigations to overcome though much of the data within the field, and

findings in other fields, strongly suggest that the group/personality dichotomy is artificial (Chemers & Ayman, 1993). There are other prominent issues of contention that have emerged within the field as well. One issue closely related to the group/personality debate is whether the effects of leadership are real in terms of group functioning or if they are the illusory products of the social construction that are attributed to the leader. If leadership is epiphenomenal to group functioning, then leaders serve only as symbolic representations of the group's efforts to accomplish a goal. Assuming leaders do have real influence on group performance, the next issue is whether there an optimal leader paradigm, or is leadership effectiveness completely emergent from task, organization and culture. Again, the group/personality dichotomy is present in the very formulation of this debate (Lord & Maher, 1991; Chemers & Ayman, 1993).

Using social dramaturgy as the foundation for a new model of leadership overcomes these issues of contention by refuting the group/personality dichotomy. In this model, the primary focus is constructed as the interaction of individuals (both leaders and followers) within groups.

Roles are constructions made by individuals based on percieved behaviors within groups. Since leadership ascription is a social construction, as is the entire group working as a team, whether leaders are symbols of the group or directors of it becomes an irrelevant debate: in dramaturgical terms, a leader is both. Personality, as the inherent endowment of the individual, is crucial to the way a role is constructed, therefore an individual's genetic make-up, previous experiences, appearance, and intelligence are all critical factors in role-determination.

These roles are equally as important as the teams within which the interaction for role determination occurs. The way an interaction occurs is the product of the dynamics of the team as a whole. In other words, group factors shape how the roles, as presented by individual team members, interact with one another (Goffman, 1959). Leaders are more than just their personalities and more than the random result of a series of variables coming together to provide group legitimation in terms of this social dramturgical synthesis model. For this model, the role of leader is reliant upon the *personality features of the leader*; the *personality features of the those following* and the other,

non-leader roles in the group; the *nature of the task*; the *environment* within which the group functions, and the *duration of the relationships* of the group.

This construction of leadership contains within its dramaturgical framework the principle elements of the models reviewed and discussed in Chapter Two with efforts to compensate for their individual weaknesses. To understand each of the components more fully, and to see how this construction fits within the definition for leadership laid out in Chapter One, each element will be reviewed in terms of its "contributing" model.

Construction of the Model

The focus on personality as an indigenous element of an individual's make-up is a contribution from the trait approach to leadership. There are aspects of the individual that are *a priori* to any interaction. These include organic concerns such as genetic make-up and physical appearance, but also more cognitive elements such as temperament and intellectual capacity and experience. While physical attractiveness or handicap may have impacts on an

individual's ability and effectiveness at leadership, the cognitive concerns are more interesting and, usually, critical to the interaction.

The first four of the trait categories most closely associated with leadership in the meta-analysis reviewed in Chapter One provide an excellent list of the kinds of inherent cognitive elements that are critical in determining leadership ascription and appraisal (Bass, 1981). *Capacity, Achievement, Responsibility,* and *Participation* are all elements that determine who a leader is, how that person becomes a leader, and how that leadership is maintained (Bass, 1981). These factors are not, however, significantly affected or determined by the interaction itself. They are either inborn, or the emergent properties of a long series of experiences.

While they are important in determining what role is constructed related to an individual in a team, the behaviors are what actually affect how the role is constructed. The behavioral focus opened the field to more precise, powerful testing. It also made the first, rather limited, attempt to consider the interaction processes (as defined solely in behavioral terms) in determining

leadership (Robbins, 1993). The Ohio State studies, Michigan State studies, and the Managerial Grid also developed leadership in more than one dimension by focusing on how leaders are charged with directing individuals in a group towards a goal as well as dealing with those individuals as people, not just inanimate resources (Robbins, 1993; Fisher, 1988; Kahn & Katz, 1960; and Blake & Mouton, 1964). The behavioral model incorporated the duality of the role of leadership, but it did not incorporate the role of the follower or of the environment for team performance.

Contingency theories were the first to fully address the situation as crucial to the format of leadership. It is this perspective that allows a social dramaturgical framework to be applied. Fiedler's (1967) model, in both its original and updated forms (Fiedler. 1987), introduces the concept of the "personality-situation fit," a crucial component of this model. However, Fiedler's model still maintains the uni-dimensionality of the followers (Fiedler, 1993; and Fiedler & Garcia, 1987). Hersey and Blanchard's situational model elaborated the role of the follower, another important concept in the new model, but they did not

allow for this complexity to affect the nature and structure of the interaction between the leader and the followers (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982). With contingency models, leadership became a multi-dimensional concept involving not only personality traits or behaviors of the leader, but also the personality of the followers, the situation, and the task at hand.

The complexities of the interaction between leader and followers became the focus of the exchange/transactional models of leadership. Leadership became more than an individual manifestation or a static entity. Within the framework of these models, leadership is a dynamic process. Graen's LMX and vertical-dyad models introduce the concept of stratification within the group as key to defining who fulfills the leadership role and how it is maintained in real-world settings (Graen & Cashman, 1975; and Linden & Graen, 1980). These models address the group structure and dynamic in ways that most models had overlooked because of their psychological origins. These factors are very important in social dramaturgy and in the model being proposed here. Leadership, in Graen's model, is solely a status position; within the social dramaturgical model,

however, the status is not a prerequisite for leadership. It may emerge on an informal basis as the result of other factors and status emerges from leadership.

House's (1971) path-goal model introduces the concept of leadership limitations within the group. Leaders are rarely, if ever, omnipotent. The give-and take relationship of leader control and follower acceptance is at the heart of his House's model, though there is no specific process for followers to shape the control of the leader (House, 1971). House's model, while focusing on the relationship between leaders and followers and omitting many situational variables, does introduce, in a limited form, the concept of leader legitimization as crucial for leadership effectiveness.

Nominally included under exchange/transactional theories is Hollander's IC model (1958). With its sociological structure, it most closely reflects the dramturgical framework proposed here. It also introduces the developmental nature of the leader/follower interaction, a crucial concept in this model. The initial phases of the relationship are distinctly different than the interaction process of a long-standing, well-organized team. Another

key aspect of the IC model that is incorporated into this dramaturgical model is the importance of non-leader actions in overall effectiveness of the group. As Hollander says, "Every benefit [or damage] need not be seen to depend on the leader. Initiatives need not to be expected to come only from the leader . . . being a leader and a follower need not be viewed as sharply exclusive categories" (Hollander, 1993, pg 46). Though there is much in the IC model that is shared with this dramturgical model, the IC model has a constricted focus that does not allow the leadership role to be as fully developed as it may actually be.

Cognitive theories provide the final major contribution to the model. Their focus is on the importance of perceptions instead of the "ultimate" reality appraisal opens the door for the dramturgical claims that reality is a social construction dependent on the roles and positions of those within the group. Attribution and categorization theories offer the importance of information processing in shaping and fulfilling leadership process, and the cybernetic model also addresses the developmental issue raised in Hollander's IC model (Lord & Maher, 1991).

The cognitive models' focus on how perceptions create and maintain leadership are incorporated with the trait theories claim that there are necessary personality traits for leaders in this model. The perceptions of leadership are largely dependent upon the display of certain traits that are required within an individual's construct of what the leadership role is. This perceptual process occurs on the part of the leader as well as the followers. Cognitive information-processing models claim that all of the outcomes of the group are perceived to be causally related to the leader. The dramturgical model allows that the leader's responsibility for all group outcomes may not be nearly as strong as the cognitive models suggest.

The social dramaturgical perspective allows for all of the disparate elements discussed above to be incorporated into one framework. In summary, the model incorporates the social-cognitive information processing models focus on perceptions with the focus on the complex leader/follower interaction process and group stratification of exchange/transactional models. This is merged with the contingency models' focus on situational variables and task appropriateness which looks to behavioral models with their

focus on how leaders behave in the group and to trait theories required elements of the individual who becomes the leader. These are then combined with developmental process and multi-individual accountability of the IC model within the framework of Goffman's dramaturgical framework to produce a new, inter-disciplinary model of leadership.

Conclusion to Chapter Four

It is critical to understand the leadership processes that occur in groups for a wide variety of reasons. From an Industrial/Organizational psychology perspective, the impact of leadership on the overall results of hierarchical group performance is vital. In order to reduce the alienation that can be produced in unequal power relationships, understanding how subordinate members ascribe leadership and appraise responsibility to superiors is important (Furnham & Brewin, 1987; Cable, 1988). Models of interaction need to incorporate and address all aspects of personality and group interaction in order to successfully understand group behavior. Training programs and employee/employer interactions need to be adjusted to assure maximum utility

is produced from the earliest moment and to incorporate situational factors related to the interaction that have been previously ignored (Steiner, Dobbins, & Trahan, 1991). Management also needs to be concerned with the kinds of leadership ascription processes that are constructed by employees to increase productivity and worker satisfaction. If the original cognitive constructs about leaders are both behaviorally relevant and situationally dependent, managers must be carefully trained to act in highly prototypical ways from the outset of any new group interaction.

Also, if situational factors and outcomes are important in determining how leadership ascriptions are made, a great deal of attention must be given to assuring that factors such as communication pathways and job descriptions are carefully articulated and hierarchical relationships are clearly defined. More permanent leadership constructs that are developed further into the relationship between managers and employees are critically affected by the first phases of the interaction. These concerns warrant the kinds of investigation this project undertakes. The real-world management applications for the new model of leadership ascriptions proposed in this project can be seen in a

variety of different areas from management structure to organizational relations control.

Areas other than management may also be affected by a less permanent, situationally dependent model of leadership ascription. Academic settings, support groups, clinical environments and doctor/patient relationships are but some of the areas that could been seen in terms of this new model. Studies need to be conducted to determine the external validity of this model as a cognitive pattern that is used in a wide variety of situations related to leadership processes. In order to assess the ultimate utility of this model, longitudinal evaluation is necessary. Studies starting with the initial contact between followers and leaders and progressing through a relevant, long-term interaction need to be conducted. Also, since the model considers global, stable, internal appraisals of leadership in a particular individual to be emergent from initial leadership ascriptions, investigations into the timing and specific cognitive processes by which this occurs need to be undertaken.

Another vital component of evaluation for this model is the type of data used to test its utility. As Phillips and

Lord (1986) point out, in investigating implicit leadership theories (ILT's) such as those proposed in this model, it is important to note the differences between self-report information, as collected by surveys and interviews, and observational information, gathered by careful evaluation of interactions as they occur. This dimension will provide useful findings related to the differences between cognition and action as they relate to leadership ILT's. While this project attempts to develop a model that more successfully accounts for some aspects of leadership not dealt with in current leadership literature, it does not address all of the concerns that it raises. Further refinement of the model and application to a much wider diversity of issues may be necessary in order to determine its overall effectiveness.

The synthesized model proposed here, joining a variety of models into a situation-personality dependent, leader/follower interactive, time-relevant model has important implications inherent within its structure. While it is doubtful that a social dramaturgical model can totally usurp existing models of leadership theories as proposed by Babcock (1989), the model could successfully integrate a

variety of models and account for areas of leadership not currently addressed. This model incorporates both external group factors and outcomes as well as internal personality features as being vital aspects of the leadership ascription process.

This model combines areas of thought not previously associated because they came from unrelated fields. Current leadership models have generated a great deal of research in psychological literature, whereas social dramaturgy has found great acceptance in sociological investigation. While there has been some cross-over of the theories, they have not been cohesively linked into one process model. With a topic such as leadership, however, the combination seems logical. Leadership inherently has both a social/interactive component and an internal/cognitive component. Theoretical models designed to understand all aspects of the leadership ascription process need to address both aspects of the issue, as this model attempts to do.

CHAPTER FIVE: DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION PROPOSALS

Introduction

The new model described in Chapter Four uses aspects of models that have developed strong empirical support of many of their claims. Some aspects have received more support than others, but all have been reintegrated in such a way as to demand new evaluations of their validity within the model. Also, as Babcock (1989) points out, the use of the dramaturgical perspective in models like this has had no real test applied to it. This leaves the new model in need of testing in all of its assumptions, new and old. In order to effectively assess the empirical worth of this combination dramaturgical model, both tightly controlled laboratory experiments and real-world applied tests need to be performed.

The most common methods of investigation in leadership research also serve well as tests of this model. Cross-sectional data, experimental and observational studies in both structured lab environments and unstructured real-world environments, diaries or self-report information, and

longitudinal investigations need to be conducted. While this is quite a tall bill, starting at a more modest level of test for the model can begin to evaluate the ultimate utility of this model. One of the primary tenets of this model is that the leader's personality, as expressed through the leader's behaviors, and group dynamics, as expressed through the follower's actions are part of an interactive, developmental relationship that affects the perception process by which individuals ascribe leadership ability and appraise outcome responsibility.

This hypothesis can be tested at its initial stages in a structured, experimental format. The test outlined below is designed to assess the impact of the leader's behaviors towards a defined task accomplishment in a relatively unstructured environment on subject's implicit leadership ascription/appraisal theories. For control purposes, the member's behavior will not vary across conditions, though the model would predict that followers' behaviors could have significant impacts on outcome appraisal. A meaningful follow-up to this test would involve varying the member's behaviors and holding the leader's responses the same.

Proposed Test of the Model

To determine if individuals are initially constructing solely personality based leadership ascriptions, as asserted by many existing models and contrary to this model, or if they are using an interactive model of leadership which assume maintenance of the current interaction as the foundation of their implicit leadership theories (ILT's) like the one proposed here, a test of two independent variables, leadership prototypicality and group outcome feedback, will be constructed. For a comparision of the types of explanations produced by each type of model in each of the experimental conditions, see Table 3.

Leadership prototypicality. First, leadership prototypicality will be manipulated. In the high leadership prototypicality condition, subjects will see a group interaction where a leader engages in clearly identifiable leadership behaviors. In the low leadership prototypicality condition, the leader will behave in a manner not consistent with a strong leader. This variable provides information gathered from direct observation, serving as inputs for

subjects to formulate personality ascriptions for the observed leader.

Group Outcome Feedback. The second manipulated variable will be group outcome feedback. Subjects will be given either a positive/successful report that the task the observed group was engaged in was successfully completed, or, in the negative/failure condition, subjects will be told that the group failed to accomplish its task. This variable will provide information about how the group acted, giving information related

Table 3:

Comparisons of Personality vs. Interactional Explanations for Leadership Ascription/Appraisal

	Leadership Prototypicality	
Group Outcome	**HIGH**	**LOW**
SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME	***Personality Explanation:*** Leader's ability as determined through his behaviors account for much of the group's success.	*Personality Explanation*: Successful outcome is the result of luck, the leader did not do much to promote a good outcome at all.
	Interactional Explanation: Individual acting as leader worked well with the group, they all worked well together, which explains their success.	*Interactional Explanation:* Even though the leader did not do a very good job of fulfilling his role, the group worked together well enough to succeed.
FAILURE OUTCOME	*Personality Explanation:* The leader did a good job, it does not make sense that they failed. He must have done something else to mess up.	*Personality Explanation:* It was expected that the group would fail; they had no real leadership from the person in charge. He did not do anything that would guide the group towards success.
	Interactional Explanation: The person that was the leader did a good job at his role, there must have been a break-down in communication, or someone else did not do their job	*Interactional Explanation:* The group never came together as a whole. There was really no agreement on the task, and they never organized themselves enough to succeed.

to factors other than the leader. This provides subjects with inputs related to group interaction.

The proposed model previously developed raises a wide variety of issues that should be investigated. To establish basic validity for the model, it is useful to test these variables, general leadership impression (GLI) and group outcome feedback, which are most global and fundamental for understanding how observer's construct ILT's. Therefore, these two variables are combined to form an initial test of the synthesized model. The question being addressed is, "How do leadership prototypicality and group performance feedback affect leadership ascriptions and responsibilty appraisals for observers?"

Stimulus materials Based on Lord and Maher's (1990) criticism of previous stimulus formats, a video presentation will be used to allow for a carefully controlled, more real-world replication of group interactions. Two tapes depicting a group interaction under each level of leadership prototypicality (high or low) will be prepared (See scripts in Appendix A). The tapes will be carefully matched for length and content. Also, the quantity of speaking time, and as closely as possible, the syntax, of the leader's

part will be balanced. Member's roles will be carefully characterized to provide the greatest interest in the relationship between the leader and the followers. Their roles will be held constant in both the high and low leadership prototypicality conditions (see Appendix B). This careful development and balancing of the stimulus tapes is intended to insure that only the focal constructs of this study will be manipulated across tapes (Cronshaw & Lord, 1987). Also, as social dramaturgy asserts that the setting of the interaction has fundamentally important impacts on the interaction process itself, props that automatically establish an authoritarian role for the leader (large desk, a business suit, positioned behind a podium, etc.) will not be used to establish a more democratic setting for the interaction (Goffman, 1959). A simple, round conference table will be used as the setting for the interaction with all group members sitting around it in chairs of equal size.

After viewing a videotape, subjects will be given verbal feedback from the experimenter in a pre-scripted form, indicating the outcome of the group task (success or failure). All subjects in each condition will hear exactly

the same outcome report to minimize confounding (see Appendix C).

Dependent Variables Based on the work of Fraser and Lord (1987), the General Leadership Impression (GLI) was selected as the primary indicator of subject's ratings of a leader. Questions regarding the quality of the leader's performance, his overall skill as a leader, the stability of the observed behaviors as representative of personality traits, and how he ranks according to what subjects consider a "good" leader are asked in a scale format, providing insight into how prototypicality of behavior affects subjects' impressions of a leader (See Appendix D).

Based on the importance of the interaction to dramaturgical theory, the impact of the non-leader group members on the outcome of the entire group's performance will be assessed. The relative weight of the leader's effect and responsibility for the group's performance will be weighed against the effects and responsibilities of the group for the performance (See Appendix D).

Procedure Subjects will be informed that they will be asked to watch a video tape of a task group, and that they are to watch carefully because they will be asked to

evaluate the group later. Subjects will then watch the video. After this, they will be given feedback about the group's performance from the experimenter. They will then be asked to evaluate the leadership skills they saw demonstrated in the tape. Subjects will be given the ranking form and allowed to have a set period of time to complete it and return it to the experimenter. Subjects will then be debriefed and released.

Leadership behaviors will be important to discerning what model of explanation subjects use. In one condition, leaders will show highly prototypical behaviors in keeping with the "salient features" of the categorization model. In another condition, leaders will display low prototypicality leadership behaviors. It is hypothesized that leadership prototypicality will directly affect subjects' recognition of leadership. Specifically, highly prototypical behaviors: capacity, acheivement, responsibility, and participation, will cause subjects to recognize the leader and prototypicality will affect subjects' descriptions of that person as a good leader.

Also important in determining the kinds of ascriptions subjects will make are the outcomes of the group task.

Especially from a dramaturgical perspective, feedback about whether the interaction was successful or not is important. Therefore, in one condition, subjects will receive feedback indicating a successful completion of the interaction, while in another condition, subjects will receive feedback indicating that the group failed at their interaction. It is expected that subjects' explanations of leadership appraisal will be significantly affected by group outcome feedback concerning performance.

While this test evaluates only one aspect of the entire model in detail, it addresses the elements that are suggested to be critical in determining leadership performance. Since task, situation (environment), status, leader characteristics, and follower characteristics are all important in the dramaturgical framework, all have been carefully planned for here. The environment is structured so that it is rather neutral in its overall effects on leadership performance other than to place a tight deadline on the group. The role of the leader, while appointed, does not carry a status elevation of any great importance. In effect, the leader in the group is a student like everyone else. The task is not something the leader is a recognized

expert at, and therefore can be over-ridden by his peers, who can perform the task equally well.

With these factors carefully constructed, the characteristics of the leader and the followers should have the biggest impact on subject's performance appraisals. This should be most revealing of the relationship that exists between leaders and followers, and should allow for insights into how subjects ascribe leadership abilities to an individual, and how they assess his effectiveness and responsibility along with that of the members in the group. Understanding this aspect of the model is one of the most important steps in understanding its overall validity and utility.

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Appendix A:

High Prototypicality Leadership Script

INSTRUCTIONS: You will watch a video of a group working on a presentation for class. The individuals have been assigned to this group, and LEADER'S NAME has been assigned to be in charge. Please watch the interaction carefully because you will be asked questions about it later. Here is the tape:

L: We really need to get cracking on this presentation, it's due next week and there's a lot to get done before then. We need to start right away in order to have everything done with enough time left over to correct any problems. Why don't we each take a part of the job and work on that.

M1: I'm still not sure I completely understand what we're supposed to do here, *(to leader)* Do you? This project is too big to be completed in the time period anyway.

There's no way we can finish it on time; besides, I didn't even pick this group, how do I know what you people can do? For that matter, how am I supposed to know what I should do?

L: OK, why don't we review the whole project first, then I'll assign out the individual parts. We have to conduct a student opinion survey, analyze the results, and prepare a 15 minute presentation for class on Thursday. We have to have at least 15 students respond, and we have to use the new statistics program to analyze the results. The project is 30% of our final grade. Does everyone understand where we're at now?

M2: Hey, before we get started, I'm starved, how about getting pizza, then starting to work? I'll call if someone will split the cost with me. Anyone else interested? It won't take long, and we can work while we eat.

M3: Yeah, that sounds good, I'll split one with you, besides, we've got all afternoon to work on this thing. I think we've got plenty of time to work on this thing, what's the big rush?

L: Hey, hey! Come on, let's stay on task here. We don't have that long at all to complete this whole thing, so we need to go ahead and get started. We need to leave ourselves plenty of time to handle any problems. Besides, there's really a lot of work to get done. OK, M1, why don't you take care of analyzing the data with the new program since you've used it before. M4, don't you have a WordPerfect on your machine at home?

M4: Yeah, I've got it a t home, it's pretty good for making reports and things like that. You want me to take care of that part?

L: Yeah, why don't you design the questionnaire for the surveys and a handout for the class presentation. Oh, and we'll need those questionnaire forms by noon tomorrow so we can start collecting data. Do you think

you can get it designed, typed up, and copied by then: I know it isn't a lot of time.

M4: That shouldn't be a problem. I don't have class until 1:00 tomorrow, so I can get them finished. Who do I need to give them to?

L: Why don't you give them to M2. M2, you and I can get the subjects and collect the data tomorrow afternoon and evening. You get the questionnaires from M4 at lunch, and I'll drop them off with M1 when we finish so that he can start punching the numbers into the machine.

M2: Sure, I'll be glad to help run subjects. I've worked on a few projects like this before, and I have a few ideas on how to make it run smoothly tomorrow. M4, why don't we meet outside the gym, that way you can go straight to class, and I won't have to go all the way home. Will that be OK?

M4: Sure, that works great, I'll meet you there with the forms.

M3: Hey, why don't we go ahead and set up the presentation with estimates of our results so that we don't have to wait before we design the thing. I know how to use Powerpoint, so I can do the presentation on computer; it's really not that hard.

L: No, I don't think we need to get that far ahead right now. We really don't have any idea what our results will look like, so it wouldn't make much sense to make up numbers. But, if you already know how to use that program, you can go ahead and start setting up the presentation . . .

M1: Whoa, whoa, wait a minute. I'm not sure I want to be the one to do the stat analysis. I've only used the program twice, and I didn't really like it. Why doesn't someone else do the analysis, and I'll do something else.

L: Hey, you're the only one who has used the program at all. I think we need to stick to what I've assigned, and just go ahead. I really think you're the one for the job; you'll do just fine. If it gets overwhelming, we can take a look and see where to go next. M1, you'll do the analysis; M2, you and I will run the subjects; M3, you start setting up the presentation; and M4, you get the printed stuff ready. OK, we'll meet again as a group day-after-tomorrow at 8:00pm. Try and have as much done as possible. Don't forget, all of us are being graded on this project and we are supposed to evaluate each other too. We all need to do our pert on this. Any questions before we go get started?

M1: Well, I'm not going to make any promises. I have another meeting that day. Besides, I don't know if I can get my stuff done by then. If I mess up, or if there's a screw-up, I hope I catch it.

L: Well, do what you can get done. If you have any questions, or if you need a hand, call me and I'll see

what I can do. If there's nothing else, I suggest we get started on our own parts, and I'll see you all in two days.

Low Prototypicality Leadership Script

INSTRUCTIONS: You will watch a video of a group working on a presentation for class. The individuals have been assigned to this group, and LEADER'S NAME has been assigned to be in charge. Please watch the interaction carefully because you will be asked questions about it later. Here is the tape:

L: We really need to get cracking on this presentation, it's due next week and there's a lot to get done before then. I'll assign each person a part of the job and you work on that.

M1: I'm still not sure I completely understand what we're supposed to do here, *(to leader)* Do you? This project is too big to be completed in the time period anyway. There's no way we can finish it on time; besides, I didn't even pick this group, how do I know what you people can do? For that matter, how am I supposed to know what I should do?

L: Um, well, let's see. I'll try and explain it so that you can understand. First, none of us got to pick our groups, and I'm just as worried about what you can do as you are. Now, we've got to do a survey of students and report on it for class next week. It's a really big part of our grade, I think, so we need to do well. I think we've got to use the new stats program too. Alright, can I go ahead now, or do some of you still not get it?

M2: Hey, before we get started, I'm starved, how about getting pizza, then starting to work? I'll call if someone will split the cost with me. It won't take long, and we can work while we eat.

M3: Yeah, that sounds good, I'll split one with you, besides, we've got all afternoon to work on this thing. I think we've got plenty of time to work on this thing, what's the big rush?

L: Hey, wait a minute. I want in on this too. I like mushrooms on mine, so make sure you get mushrooms on

it. If anyone else wants one, we'll have to order more than one. Wait a minute, what was I talking about . . . Oh yeah! M1, you do the analysis with the new stats program. M4, you have WordPerfect on your machine at home don't you?

M4: Yeah, I've got it a t home, it's pretty good for making reports and things like that. You want me to take care of that part?

L: Sure, if you want to, go ahead. Someone's got to do it. Get them finished by noon tomorrow.

M4: That shouldn't be a problem. I don't have class until 1:00 tomorrow, so I can get them finished. Who do I need to give them to?

L: Make sure you get them to M2. M2, you and I will start collecting data tomorrow afternoon and evening. When we're done, I'll give them to M1 to go ahead and start entering the data.

M2: Sure, I'll be glad to help run subjects. I've worked on a few projects like this before, and I have a few ideas on how to make it run smoothly. M4, why don't we meet outside the gym, that way you can go straight to class, and I won't have to go all the way home. Will that be OK?

M4: Sure, that works great, I'll meet you there with the forms.

M3: Hey, why don't we go ahead and set up the presentation with estimates of our results so that we don't have to wait before we design the thing. I know how to use Powerpoint, so I can do the presentation on computer; it's really not that hard.

L: Gee, I don't know if that's a good idea or not. Can we really do that without real data? If you want, you could go ahead and start setting up the presentation, but I guess we'd better wait until we have real numbers before we get to far. What do you think? . . .

M1: Whoa, whoa, wait a minute. I'm not sure I want to be the one to do the stat analysis. I've only used the program twice, and I didn't really like it. Why doesn't someone else do the analysis, and I'll do something else.

L: I don't care who does what, but we have to get it all done. I really don't know much about it, but I figured if we split it up, maybe we can cover all of the bases. Who wants to do what? *PAUSE* Well, M1 said he'd do the analysis, that leaves what else? Oh yeah, M4, you're doing the questionnaire reports. M3, what are you going to do? Right, the presentation part . . .

M1: Well, I'm not going to make any promises. I have another meeting that day. Besides, I don't know if I can get my stuff done by then. If I mess up, or if there's a screw-up, I hope I catch it.

L: Well, you'd better get it done. I don't have time to handle all of this, and I won't be available tomorrow,

so go ahead and get started, I'll see you all in two days.

Appendix B

Role Characterizations

High-Prototypicality Leader Characterization

The character here is very strong and assured. He has been placed in the leadership position because he is the only one who understands the topic and is motivated enough to actually do it. The high prototypicality leader is very in charge, but is not dictatorial or mean-spirited. He is willing to listen to the members of the group and take advise when he is unsure, but does not show this as a weakness. He uses lots of supporting hand gestures that confirm the confidence and comfort he feels in the leadership position. Good posture, enunciation and eye-contact are also important. He acts like the whole interaction is important, but not intimidating to him.

Low-Prototypicality Leader Characterization

The low-prototypicality leader has been forced into the leadership position. He is uncomfortable with the role, and does not feel that he is anymore qualified to lead than anyone else in the group. He feels he must "act like" the boss in order to get any respect, even if he doesn't really understand everything that is happening. He gets confused and is easily drawn off subject by distractions. He does not look like a leader. Lots of closed off body language (crossed arms, looking down when talking, moving away from the group, etc.)and accusatory gesturing (pointing, glaring, waving dismissals when others are talking) are used. Slouching and bad eye-contact also create the image of someone who doesn't want to do what has to be done, and isn't sure how to go about it.

Member 1 Characterization

M1 is the "foil" in the group. He doesn't want to be here, and he doesn't really think the leader should be in charge. He disagrees with most of the leader's decisions, and openly expresses his disdain with the group. The leader is supposed to deal with M1 and still allow the group to function effectively. M1 uses lots of eye rolls when others

are speaking, and accusatory glares when addressing the leader. His body language is closed (crossed arms, turning away from the person speaking, looking down) and he interrupts others. He fidgets a lot when not speaking, and is ready to leave as soon as he thinks its possible.

Member 2 Characterization

M2 is the "goof" in the group. He doesn't really take the entire project seriously. He thinks there is plenty of time to get the work done, and he'd rather get a pizza than work. He is cooperative when asked, but is not motivated to work. He doesn't really care who is the leader, as long as it's not him. The leader must make sure M2 knows what to do in relation to the rest of the group and when to do it. His actions are characterized by inattentiveness and energy. He looks around the room and doesn't really participate in the interactions not directly concerning him. He has poor eye contact, but a friendly nature, and a willingness to help a long as he doesn't have to take responsibility.

Member 3 Characterization

M3 is the "eager" one in the group. He is a natural follower: willing to go along with anyone's suggestions and help out in any way possible. He gets ahead of himself easily when he speaks. He doesn't judge the leader at all, he accepts the authority of the person who has been appointed the leader. The leader needs to "reign him in" and dedicate M3's energy towards constructive group activity. He has high energy when he speaks and moves. He looks at everyone when they speak, regardless of whether they are addressing him or not. Lots of eye contact and engaging body language (leaning towards the person speaking, nodding and agreeing as they talk).

Member 4 Characterization

M4 is the "solid" one in the group. He is willing to work on the project, and has good ideas about it. He thinks that the leader in charge is the one who should be there. M4 doesn't want to be the leader, but he is willing to work with the group to get the project finished quickly. The leader needs to assign him his part and make sure he understands, then move one without wasting time explaining things to M4. M4 appears relaxed but attentive in the

group. He leans back in the chair, but looks at the people who speak, particularly the leader. He has a casual air to his body language, but his eye-contact is focused and alert. He doesn't want to get off task, but he's not ready to get upset over the functioning of the group as a whole.

Appendix C:

Group Outcome Feedback Scripts

Successful Outcome Report: The group you just saw working on the project was able to complete the project they were assigned on time and they recieved a good grade for the work that was produced. Please be prepared to answer questions about the group now.

Failure Outcome Report: The group you just saw working on the project was unable to complete the project they were assigned on time and they recieved a poor grade because of it. Please be prepared to answer questions about the group now.

Appendix D:

Subject's Questionnaire

General Leadership Impression Assessment:

Did the person assigned to be in charge actually act as the leader of the group?

1::::2::::3::::4::::5::::6::::7::::8::::9::::10

Did not act like a leader at all — Acted like a very good leader

Rank the leader's overall leadership ability from one (1) to ten (10).

1::::2::::3::::4::::5::::6::::7::::8::::9::::10

Very Poor — Very Strong

Were there any specific behaviors by the leader, or directly caused by the leader that reinforced your image of that person as the leader?

Yes::::No

Did you see the leader as "overdoing" the role of leader in the group?

1::::2::::3::::4::::5::::6::::7::::8::::9::::10

Extremely overdone Was just fine

Were those behaviors caused by the group, or were they reflective of the leader's personality?

1::::2::::3::::4::::5::::6::::7::::8::::9::::10

Entirely Caused by the group Entirely caused by the leader's personality

Group Performance Influence Assessment:

Do you think the members of the group thought the leader was a good leader?

1::::2::::3::::4::::5::::6::::7::::8::::9::::10

They thought he was a bad leader They thought he a good leader

Did the group see the leader as overdoing the role of leading?

1::::2::::3::::4::::5::::6::::7::::8::::9::::10

No, they thought He was fine

Yes, they thought he went too far.

Which was more important to the success/failure of the group: the actions of the leader, or the actions of the group members?

1::::2::::3::::4::::5::::6::::7::::8::::9::::10

Group actions were more important

Leader's actions were more important

Who was ultimately responsible for the success/failure of the group?

1::::2::::3::::4::::5::::6::::7::::8::::9::::10

The group was entirely responsible

The leader was entirely responsible