Leaders' Personal Performance and Prototypicality

as Interactive Determinants of Social Identity Advancement

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of degree by this or any other University.

Signature: …………………………………………………………..

Acknowledgements

The present thesis is a result of an endeavour that started in October 2008 in a small, cosy office in the North Tower of Washington Singer Laboratories. It then took me shortly to the cognitive (but sociable) research group on the second floor and the South Tower, before it came to an end in the same charming tower in which it had started. Over the course of this endeavour, I made a lot of friends without whom — and their tremendous help, support, and encouragement — I would not have been able to complete writing this thesis.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the impact of leaders' personal performance and prototypicality on their ability to champion a social identity by advancing shared group interests. With this in mind, general theories of leadership and followership are reviewed as well as theories of leaders' performance more specifically. As a framework for understanding leaders' role in managing shared identity, we then discuss the social identity approach and its application to the field of leadership.

In three studies (Chapter 3), we examine the interactive effect of leaders' prototypicality and personal performance on followers' evaluations of their leadership. Studies 1 and 2 show that the impact of leaders' performance on followers' favourable reactions to their leadership (in terms of group advancement, trust in the leader, and leader endorsement) is more pronounced when leaders are prototypical, rather than non-prototypical, of followers' ingroup. Study 3 provides evidence from the field that this interaction between performance and prototypicality also impacts on followers' perceptions of leader charisma. Moreover, there is evidence that this impact can be explained, in part, by the degree to which followers perceive leaders to advance shared group interests. Results suggest that highly prototypical leaders who display elevated, rather than average, performance are responded to more favourably because their performance is perceived to advance a shared social identity.

Although our first three studies demonstrate that we can disentangle leaders' performance and prototypicality in order to examine their interactive effects, this does not mean that these two things are independent. Studies 4-6 (Chapter 4) provide evidence from the field and the laboratory that followers associate the performance of leaders with their prototypicality. A field study indicates that followers' perceptions of leader performance

and prototypicality are indeed positively related (Study 4). Moreover, experiments suggest that while followers infer a leader's prototypicality from his or her performance (Study 5), their evaluation of a leader's performance is also influenced by his or her prototypicality (Study 6). Studies 5 and 6 also indicate that leaders' performance and prototypicality determine their capacity to engage in identity entrepreneurship by changing ingroup norms and ideals. In this way, results suggest that leader performance and prototypicality are not only bidirectionally related but are also important factors that contribute to a leader's capacity to craft present and future understandings of a social identity.

In the third empirical chapter (Chapter 5), we examine the impact of evaluators' status as either internal or external to a group on assessments of leader prototypicality and performance. Study 7 shows that compared to external evaluators, internal evaluators are more likely to perceive highly prototypical low-performing leaders to advance the group more than low-prototypical high-performing leaders. Study 8 also demonstrates that internal (but not external) evaluators perceive highly prototypical leaders as more likely to advance the group compared to their moderately prototypical counterparts. Results suggest that these differential evaluations are primarily attributable to internal evaluators' increased responsiveness to prototypicality such that they are less willing than external evaluators to forgo leaders' prototypicality in exchange for their outstanding performance.

Taken together, the thesis supports a complex model in which leader effectiveness is determined by followers' appreciation of leaders' prototypicality and performance against the backdrop of their perceived capacity to realize shared goals and ambitions. The present thesis extends theories that emphasize the importance of leaders' exceptional performance. It shows that leaders' extraordinary capability is of limited value if they fail to demonstrate their alignment with followers. In successful leadership these two go

together such that leaders must be seen to promote 'our' ambitions and to be able to realize them. Theoretical implications for leadership theories and practical implications for organizational practices are discussed.

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Declaration

The research reported in this thesis was carried out at the University of Exeter between October 2008 and May 2012 and was supervised by Prof. Alex Haslam and Prof. Michelle Ryan. In addition, it was supervised externally by Prof. Thomas Kessler from the University of Jena.

This dissertation has not been submitted, in whole or in part, for any other degree, diploma or qualification at any university. Chapters 3 to 5 have been written in form of scientific manuscripts. I have designed all studies (in collaboration with my co-authors: Haslam, Ryan, and Kessler) and collected the data for all studies. I am thankful thank to Henry Charnock for his help with data collection for Study 6. I wrote the first draft of all manuscripts and prepared the figures and tables. My co-authors have edited the manuscripts. Chapters 4 and 5 have been submitted to scientific journals; Chapter 3 will be submitted for publication.

Niklas K. Steffens

Exeter, May 2012

Chapter 1

Contemporary theories of leadership

The problems of the world cannot possibly be solved by sceptics or cynics whose

horizons are limited by the obvious realities. We need men who can dream of things

that never were and ask 'why not?'

John F. Kennedy (1963)

Over two millennia ago, Plato (c.380 B.C.) philosophized in his *Republic* about the appropriate ways of ruling a state. In public debate, literature, and scholarly writings leadership has received considerable attention ever since. We evaluate political leaders before we go to the ballot boxes in elections, we glorify and find fault with the leadership of companies' executive boards, and we talk to friends and colleagues about line managers in our own organizations. When a group departs from an established path and strikes out on a new one or when it is facing difficult and rugged conditions, its members look for leadership that will see them through the challenges they face (Schifferes, 2009). As Kennedy pointed out, great leaders are not constrained by "obvious realities" that characterize the present state of affairs. Instead, they overcome obstacles by creating new aspirations for the future and by turning them into reality. But what can leaders *do* in order to advance shared aspirations? Are leaders passively subjected to the will of their followers and controlled by the situation? Or can they proactively shape a group's development? If

followers are to respond to leaders' initiatives, what sort of initiatives are needed to take

followers with them instead of leaving them and their energy behind?

These are the questions that the current dissertation will address. More specifically,

it examines the ways in which (a) leaders' personal performance and (b) their

representativeness of the group they are leading combine to shape followers' perceptions

that those leaders are advancing shared goals and ambitions. In this, the analysis is

informed by the social identity approach to leadership (Haslam, 2001; Haslam, Reicher, &

Platow, 2011; Hogg, 2001; Reicher, Haslam, & Hopkins, 2005; Turner & Haslam, 2001;

van Knippenberg, 2011; van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, De Cremer, & Hogg, 2004).

First, we define leadership and outline and evaluate contemporary approaches to this topic

with a particular focus on theories that suggest that leaders' performance is a determinant of

their effectiveness. In order to address the most significant weaknesses of other

contemporary approaches and to develop an analysis that places the psychological group at

its centre, we then delineate the social identity approach as it has been applied to the field

of leadership. Throughout this review, we also elucidate the research questions that the

current thesis seeks to tackle — these centre on (a) the extent to which leaders'

prototypicality conditions the impact that their extraordinary performance has on followers'

favourable responses to them, (b) the degree to which perceptions of prototypicality and

performance are themselves inter-related and impact on leaders' ability to engage in

identity entrepreneurship, and (c) whether and how the perspectives of evaluators (i.e.,

whether they are insiders or outsiders) influences the appraisal of leaders' prototypicality

and performance. We then report a series of eight empirical studies that seek to address

these questions. Finally, we discuss the contribution of the thesis to the field of leadership

as a whole and clarify a path for future research.

Defining the subject of leadership

Before looking at the contribution of contemporary theories and approaches to the study of leadership we need first to define it as a construct. In their *Handbook of Leadership*, Bass and Bass (2008) argue that defining leadership is a challenge because the study of leadership has resulted in various conceptions of the subject and because "the many dimensions into which leadership was cast and their overlapping meanings added to the confusion" (p.15). However, despite the many faces and facets of the process, researchers have identified a number of conceptual aspects of leadership that have been central to most of the definitions that are endorsed in the research literature.

In 1950, Stogdill defined leadership as "…the process (act) of influencing the activities of an organized group in its efforts toward goal setting and goal achievement" (p.4). In a more recent conceptualization of leadership within the research project GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour and Effectiveness Research Program), 54 researchers from 38 different countries offered a universal definition of leadership as "the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organizations of which they are members" (House, Javidan, & Dorfman, 2001, p.494). Thus, key features that have continued to shape researchers' conceptualizations are that leadership (a) is not a process that revolves around a single person (the leader), but one that involves multiple *group* members (leaders and followers), (b) is an act of *influencing* other group members, which (c) centres around achieving *group goals and aspirations*. This definition will guide our understanding of leadership in the present analysis.

Individualistic theories of leadership

Trait and behavioural theories of leadership

The study of leadership has led to the development of a range of prominent trait and behavioural approaches to effective leadership. Regardless of their differences and peculiarities, these approaches generally share common ground in placing a strong emphasis on the individual characteristics or behaviours of the leader (for comprehensive overviews see Andersen, 2006; Haslam et al., 2011; Lord & Brown, 2004). Along these lines, in his review of 124 studies comprising numerous measures of personality, Stogdill (1948) divided individuals' traits and behaviours that were associated with leadership into five categories: (a) capacity (e.g., intelligence, alertness), (b) achievement (e.g., scholarship, knowledge), (c) responsibility (e.g., initiative, dependability), (d) participation (e.g., activity, sociability), and (e) status (e.g., socio-economic position, popularity). Similarly, in a later study, Mann (1959) grouped 350 different personality factors into seven clusters of personality characteristics — intelligence, adjustment, extraversion, dominance, masculinity, conservatism, and interpersonal sensitivity — and assessed their relationships with measures of effective leadership. Both reviews indicated that associations between various traits and leadership effectiveness were not only weak but also inconsistent — varying considerably in strength across studies (with the exception of intelligence, which was consistently associated with leadership effectiveness). These findings led Stogdill to conclude that another critical factor — the changing *situation,* including the interaction with followers — conditioned the impact that leaders' traits have on their effectiveness. On this basis he concluded that "it becomes clear that an adequate analysis of leadership involves not only a study of leaders, but also of situations" (p.65).

Despite (or because of) the limited predictive power of this approach, more recent research in this tradition has qualified conclusions that were derived from this research. Specifically, a meta-analysis by Lord, de Vader, and Alliger (1986) that examined followers' perceptions of leaders indicated that leadership is associated consistently (but weakly) with some personality measures (intelligence, masculinity, and dominance) but not others (adjustment, extraversion, and conservatism). In addition, a more recent meta-analysis conducted by Judge, Bono, Ilies, and Gerhardt (2002) found weak but consistent correlations between leadership and conscientiousness, extraversion, emotional stability, and openness to experience. This led the researchers to suggest that a dispositional approach to leadership may be more fruitful if it focuses on established personality measures (specifically, the Big Five: openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and emotional stability; Costa & McCrae, 1988), rather than the unconventional characteristics that previous research focused on.

In addition to personality measures, leadership theory has also focused on leaders' performance, abilities, and competence as crucial determinants of leader effectiveness (for reviews see Bass & Bass, 2008; DeRue, Nahrgang, Wellman, & Humphrey, 2011; Hogan & Kaiser, 2005). In their review of the state of leadership research, Hogan and Kaiser argue that "good leaders are also competent; they are a contributing resource for their groups" (p.174) and conclude that competence seems to be one of the factors that has enduring value as a predictor of leader effectiveness. Indeed, there are a plethora of models that emphasize the importance of leaders' personal performance and capabilities as indicated by their personal competence (e.g., Hogan & Warrenfeltz, 2003; Hollander, 1960), cognitive ability (e.g., Sternberg, 2008), intelligence (Hoffman, Woehr, Maldagen-Youngjohn, & Lyons, 2011; Judge, Colbert, & Ilies, 2004), and efficiency (Yukl, 2008). These notions

have led to the development of various "leadership competency models" (for reviews and critical discussions, see Bolden & Gosling, 2006; Hollenbeck, McCall, & Silzer, 2006). In such competency models, leaders are assumed to be good to the degree that they display a single, mechanistic set of particular knowledge, skills, and abilities that is invariant to the way in which potential followers think and feel about themselves. In this way, these models reinforce the notion of "the great leader".

As well as affecting the academic literature to this day, these approaches have also had considerable impact on organizational practice as leaders are routinely evaluated and appointed on the basis of their formal performance, skills, and competence (Winterton & Winterton, 1997; for a recent review concerning the selection of executive directors see Withers, Hillman, & Canella, 2012). Indeed, because such models are simple, they may make intuitive sense at first look, and can easily be implemented, they are still predominantly used by human resources departments and organizational executives as part of their organizational management systems (Hollenbeck et al., 2006).

Rather than looking for fixed personality traits of effective leaders, later approaches concentrated on identifying their specific behaviours. Influential *behavioural* approaches to leadership pinpointed, in particular, 'consideration' (i.e., attending to the needs and feelings of followers) and 'initiating structure' (i.e., organizing and structuring the tasks of followers) as behaviours that are critical to leaders' success (e.g., Fleishmann & Peters, 1962). Consistent with these claims, evidence from a meta-analysis by Judge, Piccolo, and Ilies (2004) indicates that leadership outcomes (such as effectiveness and follower motivation) are associated moderately strongly with consideration and weakly with initiating structure.

The above approaches have been criticized for trying to explain leadership by examining only the traits and behaviours of leaders, while ignoring the context in which these are likely to be most productive. Indeed, it seems plausible that whether different behaviours lead to success would depend on the constraints of the task or situation. For instance, different behaviours may be more or less effective as a function of whether a leader is aligned with the majority or minority; or whether a leader is trying to win a debate against another leader from an opponent party, or attempting to build consensus within his or her own group. In order to discuss such matters of contingency, we will turn next to theories that attempt to explain leadership in terms of the match between a leader's characteristics with those of the situation.

Contingency theories of leadership

In contrast to the above approaches that look only at the characteristics of leaders, contingency theories of leadership (e.g., Fiedler, 1964, 1965; House, 1971) shift attention to another dimension; that is, *the situation* in which leaders find themselves. Even though contingency theories add another important dimension to theories of leadership, they still point to fixed behaviour on the part of the leader that makes him or her effective in any given situation — suggesting that this will occur when an individual's leadership style matches the requirements of the situation at hand.

Along these lines, Fiedler's contingency theory of leadership (1964, 1965), postulates that leaders will be effective when their leadership style (defined as being either oriented towards the task to be completed or the relationships with followers) is compatible with pre-defined characteristics of the situation. In particular, the theory claims that a task-oriented leadership style (as opposed to a relationship-oriented one) is seen to be most effective when (a) leader–member relations, (b) the power of the leader's position, and (c)

the structure of the task are either all favourable or unfavourable. In all remaining situations between these two extremes, it is postulated that a leadership style that is primarily concerned with followers (rather than the task) is more effective.

Such approaches to leadership analyse the merits, achievements, and deficits of the leader but generally fail to pay much attention to the needs and input of followers. Interestingly, this emphasis of the contributions of individual leaders in comparison to external factors or characteristics of followers continues to shape not only leadership theory (e.g., Judge & Bono, 2000; Judge, Piccolo, & Kosalka, 2009) but also organizational practice. Amongst other things, this is seen in decisions surrounding leaders' remuneration. Table 1.1 presents data on the remuneration received by Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of companies listed at the FTSE 100 in relation to that received by employees between 1998 and 2009. It also reports the development of several other organizational and economic indices — specifically, (a) the FTSE 100 value as an indicator of perceived performance of FTSE-listed companies, (b) *The Economist*'s Big Mac index as an indicator of individuals' purchasing power, and (c) Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as an indicator of the UK's national economic power.

Table 1.1 Median pay of a CEO and employees of FTSE 100 companies, value of FTSE

index, *The Economist's* Big Mac Index, and UK's GDP between 1998 and 2009.

Year	Median pay of FTSE-100 CEO (in £)[1]	Median pay of FTSE-100 employee (in £)[1]	CEO-employee pay ratio[1]	Value of FTSE index (at end of the year)[2]	*The Economist's* Big Mac Index (in £)[3]	GDP, not adjusted for inflation (in £bn)[4]
1998	1,002,441	n.a.	n.a.	5883	1.84	879,102
1999	1,234,983	17,803	69	6930	1.90	928,730
2000	1,686973	18,848	90	6223	1.90	976,533
2001	1,805,717	19,722	92	5217	1.99	1,021,828
2002	2,599,143	20,376	128	3940	1.99	1,075,564
2003	2,786,143	21,124	132	4477	1.99	1,139,746
2004	3,087,023	22,011	140	4818	1.94	1,202,956
2005	3,304,533	22,888	144	5619	1.94	1,254,058
2006	3,308,814	23,554	140	6221	1.94	1,328,463
2007	3,876,921	24,043	161	6457	1.99	1,404,845
2008	3,958,000	25,165	157	4434	2.29	1,445,580
2009	3,747,000	25,816	145	5413	2.29	1,394,989
Average growth rate per year	12.8%	3.8%	7.7%	n.a.	2.0%	4.3%

Notes: n.a. = data not available
[1] data from the High Pay Commission (2011);
[2] data from Swanlowpark (2012);
[3] data from the Big Mac Index (2012);
[4] data from the Office for National Statistics (2012).

The above data suggest that the pay discrepancy between leaders (CEOs of FTSE

100 companies) and followers (employees in these companies) during the last 11 years has

risen from about £1.2 million compared to £18,000 in 1999 to about £3.7 million compared

to £26,000 in 2009 (High Pay Commission, 2011). Put in relative terms, while a leader's

work was worth that of 69 employees in 1999, it was worth that of 145 employees in 2009

(although this discrepancy varies significantly within, as well as between, different sectors;

Hay Group, 2011). Moreover, there is evidence that an increasing pay-gap is part of a trend

that not only has developed during the last 30 years (Hutton Review of Fair Pay, 2011), but

also extends to companies beyond those listed in the FTSE 100 such as FTSE 250

companies and those that are part of the alternative investment market (AIM; Department

for Business, Innovation & Skills, 2011). In addition to an increasing CEO–employee pay

disparity, the data also suggest that the merits and importance of leaders have increased

more quickly than most other key economic indicators. Specifically, individual leaders' pay

has increased more sharply than people's purchasing power as indicated by *The*

Economist's Big Mac Index, which suggests that while their salary allowed a CEO to

purchase 1,492 Big Macs a day in 1998, he or she was able to buy 4,482 Big Macs a day in

2009. It has also grown more quickly than the overall growth in market value of FTSE 100

companies as indicated by the value of the FTSE index, and the UK's increase in national

economic wealth as indicated by GDP.

 The apparent increase in importance of leaders, relative to that of followers and the

broader social context, has led researchers — as well as journalists and commentators,

politicians, and the public — to question and examine the actual impact that leaders have

on organizational outcomes. As we will discuss in much more detail below, these

observations align with findings suggesting that we tend to overemphasize the importance

of leaders relative to that of followers and external situational factors (e.g., Meindl &

Ehrlich, 1987). Indeed, Agle, Nagarajan, Sonnenfeld, and Srinivasan (2006) found no

relationship between CEO charisma and organizational success. They conclude that while

CEOs may matter *subjectively,* to the extent that they are perceived by followers to be more or less charismatic and effective, this does not necessarily mean that the organization fares any better or worse *objectively* as a result of their contribution (see also Tosi, Misangyi, Fanelli, Waldman, & Yammarino, 2004). Nevertheless, individualized images of the "great leader" continue to dominate discussions, not least because they are cultivated by popular writings and media portrayals (Chen & Meindl, 1991).

Even when they attend to situational contingencies, the emphasis on fixed characteristics and behaviours within these individualistic approaches fails to recognize the *flexibility* that is needed to explain why different leadership behaviours are more effective as a function of the psychology of followers and the particular group that is being led. In order to address these issues, researchers have developed transactional and transformational theories of leadership that hone in on the particular interactions that take place between leaders and followers. These theories will be outlined in the next section.

Leader-follower exchange and transformational theories of leadership

Leader-member exchange theory of leadership

Leader–member exchange theory (LMX theory) is a renowned transactional model that concentrates on the dyadic relationship between a leader and a follower (Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975; Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Schriesheim, Castro, & Cogliser, 1999). Rather than examining leaders' fixed behaviours or their styles of leadership, this approach concentrates on the perceived *quality* of exchange between followers and leaders, which is believed to determine leadership effectiveness. In this way, the theory attempts to account for the possibility that a particular leader may have differential and unique exchange relationships with different subordinates. It asserts that greater LMX quality is

characterized by increasingly supportive resources that followers receive and greater

mutual respect and obligation between leaders and followers. The theory therefore

acknowledges that effective leadership is interactional because the quality of a relationship

is dependent on inputs of both leaders and followers.

Empirical evidence indicates that LMX quality is related to a range of leadership

outcomes such as followers' satisfaction, commitment, performance, and organizational

citizenship behaviour (Gerstner & Day, 1997; Ilies, Nahrgang, & Morgeson, 2007; for a

recent review see Schyns & Day, 2010). Moreover, in a recent meta-analysis on

antecedents and consequences of LMX (Dulebohn, Bommer, Liden, Brouer, & Ferris,

2011), the authors found LMX quality to be predicted by a range of (a) leader

characteristics and behaviours (e.g., transformational leadership, contingent reward), (b)

follower characteristics (e.g., competence, positive affectivity), and (c) interpersonal

relationships (e.g., affect or liking, perceived similarity). LMX quality, in turn, was found

to relate consistently to a range of work and organizational outcomes as measured by

followers' behaviour (e.g., turnover intentions, job performance), attitudes (e.g.,

commitment, job satisfaction), and perceptions (e.g., distributive justice, empowerment).

Despite evidence of clear relationships between LMX quality and significant

leadership outcomes, this theory has been criticized for neglecting the fact that it is the

group (rather than a conglomerate of isolated individuals) that forms the background

against which relationships are formed and leadership is exerted (Hogg, Martin, & Weeden,

2003). Therefore, perceptions of LMX quality are not absolute but dependent on group

members' standing within the group and comparisons of their LMX quality to that of other

group members. For instance, there might be circumstances in which we respond more

favourably to our leader when we receive less attention and support from him or her

because we believe that it is better for the group as a whole if the leader invests energy improving LMX quality with other group members (e.g., when those other group members are in particular need). On the other hand, we might be less likely to respond positively to a leader when we perceive that our own LMX quality is poorer than that of other group members if we believe that relationship quality with the leader is equally important for all group members. Supporting these ideas, Hogg and colleagues (2005) found that as followers' identification with the group increased, they responded less favourably to leaders' personalized leadership style of the form recommended within LMX theory. Thus it seems that the importance for followers of experiencing a unique personalized leadership style decreases as they become more attached to, and perceive themselves to be interchangeable with, other group members.

Transactional leadership theory

Another approach that overlaps with LMX theory in emphasizing the exchange processes between leaders and followers is transactional leadership theory. Proposed by Burns (1978; in conjunction with transformational leadership as outlined below), this theory was intended to overcome the limitations of overly individualistic accounts of leadership success. In transactional leadership theory, effective leadership is regarded as evolving from social exchange processes in which leaders allocate rewards to followers and ensure that followers meet pre-described standards (e.g., Burns, 1978; Hollander, 1958). In effective transactional leadership, leaders and followers cultivate interpersonal relations such that they maximize the mutual benefits for both. Behaviours typically encompassed within transactional leadership include the use of contingent rewards (i.e., providing followers with feedback as well as rewards upon achievement of predefined goals), management-by-exception (i.e., either actively monitoring and prohibiting, or passively

reacting to, deviance from prescribed standards), as well as rejection of laissez-faire leader behaviours (i.e., failing to provide guidance or direction; e.g., Bass & Riggio, 2006). Empirical tests of this theory reveal consistent, positive relationships between contingent rewards and a range of positive organizational outcomes, while active and passive management-by-exception are not consistently related to relevant outcomes, and laissez-faire behaviours are associated with negative outcomes (Judge & Piccolo, 2004).

This transactional leadership theory faces the same problem as LMX theory in neglecting the social context (as well as the nature of the particular group) that sets the stage for group members to contribute to common group goals. Moreover, because this approach reduces leadership to a 'give-and-take' relationship between a leader and a follower, it cannot explain how leaders enthuse and transform followers so that they do *more* than one might expect on a merely transactional basis and indeed engage in acts that appear inconsistent with their personal interests (Bass & Bass, 2008; Burns, 1978). In order to deal with this issue — and explain how exceptional, visionary leaders inspire followers to act in ways that transcend personal interests — researchers developed theories of transformational leadership to which we now turn.

Transformational theories of leadership

In parallel to his development of transactional leadership theory, Burns (1978) also outlined the theory of transformational leadership (which is sometimes seen to incorporate charismatic theories of leadership; e.g., Conger & Kanungo, 1987). Original postulations assert that while transactional leaders reward followers' efforts when they meet agreed standards and thereby engender performance in line with expectations, leaders who are transformational increase followers' confidence and aspirations, which in turn leads to even higher levels of performance. Along these lines, Avolio, Walumbwa, and Weber (2009)

define transformational leadership as "leader behaviours that transform and inspire followers to perform beyond expectations while transcending self-interest for the good of the organization" (p.423).

The theory proposes that the behaviour of transformational leaders can be described along four dimensions (for a comprehensive review, see Bass & Riggio, 2006). Specifically, transformational leadership behaviours comprise (a) *idealized influence* (i.e., displaying extraordinary capabilities, showing determination, taking risks, and promoting high moral and ethical standards), (b) *inspirational motivation* (i.e., showing enthusiasm and committing themselves to a vision, building confidence, and inspiring followers by means of persuasive language), (c) *intellectual stimulation* (i.e., questioning organizational norms, approaching situations from new perspectives, and encouraging creative thinking), and (d) *individualized consideration* (i.e., taking into account idiosyncratic circumstances of each follower and recognizing their unique needs). The two dimensions addressing idealized influence and inspirational motivation are sometimes subsumed under a single factor of charismatic or charismatic-idealized leadership which is similar to the leadership factor scrutinized by charismatic leadership theories (Bass & Riggio, 2006).

Ample empirical research has supported the assertions of this theory in demonstrating a relationship between transformational leadership and numerous indicators of leadership effectiveness (e.g., Bass & Bass, 2008; Bass & Riggio, 2006). For example, Judge and Piccolo's (2004) meta-analysis found transformational leadership to be consistently related not only to followers' (a) perceptions of leader effectiveness, (b) satisfaction with the leader and the job, and (c) motivation, but also (d) group or organizational performance. Furthermore, cumulative empirical evidence supports the idea that transformational leadership is also effective in terms of its impact on followers' own

performance (Wang, Oh, Courtright, & Colbert, 2011). Finally, there is evidence not only that transformational leaders are more effective than non-transformational leaders, but also that they enhance the effectiveness of transactive leader behaviours (i.e., of contingent rewards; Judge & Piccolo, 2004).

Although leaders' transformational behaviours have been shown to relate to their effectiveness, this theory also has some limitations. First, little research has explained what exactly it is that makes followers perceive leaders to be transformational or why such perceptions then translate into effective leadership. In their review of the current state of theory, Avolio and colleagues (2009) reason that "…despite the important contributions made by charismatic or transformational leadership in practice, questions remain as to what determines or predicts charismatic or transformational leadership, or why some leaders engage in charismatic or transformational behaviour and others not" (p.429; see also Haslam et al., 2011; Reicher et al., 2005). Thus, we still lack insights into why it is that certain leaders are perceived to be transformational by some followers but not by others or why certain transformational behaviours (e.g., displaying idealized influence through extraordinary capabilities) are effective in some situations but not others (or even why they are believed and perceived to be transformational in the first place).

A second limitation of transformational leadership theory is that it tends not to focus on the role of followers' mindsets (cf. Howell & Shamir, 2005) and, in particular, on the ways in which leaders and followers relate to the group in question. Indeed, by neglecting the perspective of followers, this theory has difficulties explaining why perceptions of transformational leadership rise and fall as a function of whether or not we share group membership with a particular leader. For instance, despite Hitler's recognized leadership effectiveness in building Nazi Germany, the question of whether he was or was not a

transformational leader has prompted a great deal of agonized debate (Bass & Riggio, 2006). In an attempt to address these difficulties, researchers have argued that there is a need to differentiate between, and develop theories of, authentic versus pseudo or inauthentic transformational leaders (e.g., Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999; Zhu, Avolio, Riggio, & Sosik, 2011). However, the problem here is that these developments still tend to neglect the importance of followers' subjective beliefs and self-definitions in determining their responses to particular leaders. More specifically, whether we approve or not of a leader's actions and see the leader as acting in accordance with our moral standards (making a leader authentic-transformational rather than pseudo-transformational) is itself dependent on the degree to which we perceive him or her to belong to our moral community. As a way of addressing some of these lacunae, researchers have developed 'follower-centric' approaches to leadership that place the perceptions of followers at the heart of their analysis of leader effectiveness.

Follower-centric theories of leadership

Leader categorization and implicit leadership theories

One prominent alternative to transactional and transformational leadership theories is leader categorization theory (e.g., Foti, Fraser, & Lord, 1982; Lord, Foti, & de Vader, 1984; Offermann, Kennedy, & Wirtz, 1994). This theory has been termed 'follower-centric' because it makes the simple but important observations (a) that leadership cannot exist without followership and (b) that any attempts to explain leadership need to start with an examination of followers' constructions of leaders (in particular, their implicit leadership theories; e.g., Lord et al., 1986; Lord & Brown, 2004). In Lord and Brown's (2004) words, this approach focuses on "followers as the direct determinant of leadership effects because

it is generally through followers' reactions and behaviours that leadership attempts succeed or fail. Leadership theory therefore needs to be articulated with a theory of how followers create meaning from leadership acts and how this meaning helps followers self-regulate in specific contexts" (p.xi).

Leader categorization theory contends that followers hold certain pre-described stereotypes as to what makes a good and effective leader and then judge leaders in terms of the degree to which they conform to these stereotypes. Although these are referred to as prototypes in some writings (e.g., Lord et al., 1984), we will use the term stereotypes here and reserve the term prototype for work in the social identity tradition that will be discussed in Chapter 2. The theory asserts that the more a leader is perceived by followers to be consistent with the leader stereotype, the better and more effective the leader will be. Furthermore, this theory argues that the *content* of leader stereotypes is likely to vary depending on the domain of activity — for instance, whether the leader is working in the area of politics, sports, religion, or business (Lord et al., 1984). This means, for example, that the stereotype of a leader in politics will be associated with different traits and attributes than that of a leader in business. Moreover, it is believed that these stereotypes of effective leaders can be arranged in a hierarchical structure. At a superordinate level, followers are believed to distinguish between a leader and a non-leader and at a subordinate level between different types of leaders within a particular context. For instance, stereotypes of a business leader will differ depending on whether the leader is operating at senior, middle, or lower-level of management and the stereotype of a political leader depending on whether the leader is conservative or liberal or depending on his or her similarity to certain exemplars (e.g., of a Reagan-type or Kennedy-type; Lord et al., 1984).

A range of empirical studies has generated support for the ideas outlined by leader categorization theory (for recent reviews see Schyns & Meindl, 2005; Shondrick, Dinh, & Lord, 2010). Moreover, research in this field has further specified the content of leader stereotypes by demonstrating that these also vary as a function of leaders' personality traits (Keller, 1999) and cultural values (Gerstner & Day, 1994; House et al., 2001). Moreover, by demonstrating that the use of general leader stereotypes against which leaders are judged is more pronounced for those individuals who regard themselves to fit the leader stereotype, van Quaquebeke, van Knippenberg, and Eckloff (2011) suggest that leader categorization processes are contingent on followers' self-concepts (for further extensions that incorporate followers' individual self-concepts see Lord, Brown, & Freiberg, 1999). Finally, it has also been argued and shown that leaders' *performance* is a cue that feeds into followers' perceptions that leaders are good and effective (Phillips & Lord, 1982; Rush, Thomas, & Lord, 1977).

This approach to leadership recognizes that leadership does not reside within the leader's transactional or transformational behaviours alone but, importantly, operates through the psychology of followers. More precisely, the theory expands upon previous theories in making the point that effective leadership depends more on what leaders are *perceived* to be like and to do by followers than on what they actually are like and do (e.g., in terms of their actual personality and behaviours). However, leader categorization theory has paid less attention to the possibility that perceptions of what constitutes an effective leader might be both *flexible* (i.e., such that they vary as a function of the comparative context) and *specific to a particular group.*

By way of example, even within the same domain (e.g., politics), perceptions of what constitutes an effective leader in one political party may be completely different to

those in another party (and also change over time). For instance, somewhat obviously

perhaps, the Conservative Party leader, David Cameron, is generally more effective in

influencing Conservative Party members than the leader of the Labour Party, Ed Miliband.

But quite the opposite is the case for Labour party members who are more likely to respond

more enthusiastically to Ed Miliband's proposals than to those of David Cameron.

Leadership and social influence thus seem to be sensitive to the perspective of followers

that derives from their group membership. This is not a sophisticated point, but it is one

that leadership categorization theory fails to account for — and one we will return to in

Chapter 2.

Theories of attribution and performance

Another important follower-centric theory of leadership argues that leadership

arises on the basis of followers' (mis)attributions (Meindl, 1995; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987;

Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985). This builds on Weber's (1922/1980) analysis of

charisma as an attribute that is *conferred* on leaders by followers, rather than an attribute

that leaders possess. This theory is similar to leader categorization theory in asserting that

leadership is rooted in followers' social constructions of leadership (i.e., their implicit

leadership theories; Schyns & Meindl, 2005). However, in contrast to leader categorization

theory, this approach explains leadership as a function of followers' tendency to explain the

performance of groups in terms of the characteristics of individual leaders rather than the

situation or followers.

Evidence for these attribution processes comes from experiments conducted by

Meindl and colleagues (1985) that revealed that followers' perceptions of leader charisma

are not determined by the leader's personal characteristics (which did not vary across

experimental conditions) but by the past performance of the leader's company such that

charisma was higher when the company's performance had increased and lower when the company's performance had decreased. Other studies have also supported the idea that followers attribute the performance of groups to individual leaders as reflected in perceptions of leaders' charisma (Puffer, 1990; Shamir, 1992) and trust in the leader (Dirks, 2000; Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008). Indeed, this approach has inspired researchers to analyse leadership attribution processes in a range of domains (for recent overviews see Bligh, Kohles, & Pillai, 2011; and the special issue by Schyns & Bligh, 2007). For example, a meta-analysis conducted by Schyns, Felfe, and Blank (2007) indicated that perceptions of charismatic or transformational leadership were significantly related to followers' tendencies to attribute past successes or failures to individual leaders while overlooking the influence of other factors (i.e., to succumb to what Meindl, 1993, terms 'the romance of leadership').

In addition to research highlighting the effects of group performance on leaders' effectiveness, other research has theorized about the impact of leaders' *personal* performance (or competence) on their ability to lead followers. Indeed, this focus on leaders' performance and capabilities is a central element of leadership theories that cuts across a range of contemporary approaches. As outlined above, it is a recurrent and integral part of (a) trait and behavioural approaches (which conceptualize task competence or capacity as a marker of leader effectiveness; for reviews see Bass & Bass, 2008; DeRue et al., 2011), (b) transformational theory (which encompasses the display of extraordinary capabilities within the factor idealized influence; for a review see Bass & Riggo, 2006), and (c) leader categorization theory (which conceptualizes performance as a cue to leader effectiveness; e.g., Phillips & Lord, 1982; Rush et al., 1977).

In addition, this research also resonates with a body of research that draws on the idea that high-performing and highly competent leaders act as *role models* who are capable of inspiring others to follow and to perform better themselves (e.g., Earley & Kanfer, 1985; Marak, 1964). In this vein, there is evidence that leaders who display elevated performance enhance followers' (a) self-efficacy (Marx & Roman, 2002), (b) inspiration (by proving that success is attainable; Lockwood & Kunda, 1997, 1999), (c) identification with the leader (Buunk, Peiró, & Griffioen, 2007), and (d) own performance (when the role model's achievements seem deserved and are attributed to internal rather than external factors; Hoyt, Burnette, & Innella, 2012; McIntyre, Paulson, Taylor, Morin, & Lord, 2011; Taylor, Lord, McIntyre, & Paulson, 2011). Moreover, there is evidence that leaders who are perceived to contribute greatly (rather than insignificantly) to the common good of the group are also more likely to boost the contributions that followers themselves make to the group's success (Güth, Levati, Sutter, & van der Heijden, 2007; Potters, Sefton, & Vesterlund, 2007; Yaffe & Kark, 2011). In sum, this research suggests that leaders are able to climb the leadership ladder to the extent that their personal performance and competence encourage followers to see them as successful role models who are worth following.

Yet, despite the fact that research has provided substantial evidence that leaders who display elevated performance and model successful behaviour generally boost their influence over followers, we still lack insights into the precise conditions under which this positive impact unfolds. In particular, as Bolden and Gosling (2006) point out, competency frameworks "tend to reinforce individualistic practices that dissociate leaders from the relational environment in which they operate and could, arguably, inhibit the emergence of more inclusive and collective forms of leadership" (p.159). Critically, then, leaders' personal performance and competence may enhance their effectiveness but it is unclear

how the group context that encompasses leaders and followers affects whether and how performance and competence is recognized in the eyes of followers. While it may be true that leaders' personal performance can augment their effectiveness, we lack insights into whether and how this is perceived against the backdrop of followers' shared understanding.

Putting these various points together, we would argue that in order to understand the ways in which a leader's personal performance is embedded in the context of the group that the leader is in charge of, we must first have a proper understanding of the psychology of groups. It is with a view to providing this understanding that the next chapter deals with the social identity approach to leadership. In contrast to the above approaches, this not only takes account of followers' perspectives but also places the psychological group at its centre (Haslam, 2004; Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001; Reicher et al., 2005; Turner & Haslam, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003).

Chapter 2

The social identity approach to leadership

The social identity approach

The social identity approach incorporates two social psychological theories: social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). The approach takes as a starting point the assertion that people are able to perceive themselves, and think, as 'I' (i.e., as individuals, in terms of a personal identity) as well as 'we' (i.e., as members of a group, in terms of a social identity). As a particular social identity becomes salient, people undergo a process of depersonalization in which they become less aware of themselves as individuals with idiosyncratic characteristics and more aware of themselves as members of a group who are interchangeable with other group members (e.g., 'us Europeans', 'us psychologists', or 'us Chelsea supporters'; Turner, 1981). People typically have multiple social identities that vary in their level of abstractiveness — from less inclusive lower-level identities (e.g., Devonian, social psychologist) to more inclusive higher-level identities (e.g., European, scientist; Rosch, 1978; Turner et al., 1987; see also Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007).

Tenets of social identity theory

Social identity theory makes the assumption that when people define themselves in terms of group membership, they generally seek to establish and maintain a social identity that is positive and distinct from those associated with other groups (e.g., one that makes

'us' different from, and superior to, 'them'). Such evaluations derive from social

comparisons of the ingroup (i.e., the group of which self is a member) with other relevant

outgroups (i.e., groups to which self does not belong). When the ingroup compares

unsatisfactorily with an outgroup, members of the ingroup are predicted to engage in

strategies that seek to produce a more positive and distinct self-concept.

Specifically, when they pursue a strategy of *individual mobility* individuals distance

themselves from their ingroup and seek to join a different group in order to achieve a more

positive self-concept. When they engage in *social competition*, people act collectively to

improve the group's relative position by challenging the comparison outgroup directly. In

strategies of *social creativity* people also act collectively. Here, though, individuals do not

attempt to change the actual situation that led to the unsatisfactory comparison outcome but

seek either (a) to change the value of the attributes that are associated with the ingroup, (b)

to select an alternative dimension of comparison, or (c) to change the comparison outgroup

altogether (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

By way of example, if psychologists compare unfavourably with physicists (e.g., in

terms of prestige or status), then a given (female) psychologist may pursue a strategy of

individual mobility by gravitating towards physicists or she may engage in social

competition by joining with other psychologists to contest the status accorded to physicists.

Alternatively, she may embrace a strategy of social creativity in which she either (a) comes

to the conclusion that science-based status is not important for psychologists' self-

definition, (b) compares psychologists with physicists on the basis of 'human

understanding' rather than status, or (c) compares psychologists not with physicists but

with philosophers or historians.

The theory claims further that people's willingness to employ these different strategies varies as a function of social structural factors, which are (a) the perceived *permeability* of group boundaries (i.e., whether people believe that they can vs. cannot change group membership) and (b) the perceived *security* of intergroup relations (i.e., whether they believe that differences between groups are legitimate and stable vs. illegitimate and unstable). The theory asserts that people are more likely to engage in strategies of individual mobility when group boundaries are permeable rather than impermeable. In contrast, when group boundaries are impermeable, people are more likely to pursue strategies of social competition and social creativity. Under these conditions it is proposed that people tend to follow strategies of (a) social competition when the differences between the groups are believed to be insecure (i.e., illegitimate and unstable) and (b) social creativity when group differences are seen to be secure (i.e., legitimate and stable).

Empirical investigations have supported the idea that people employ the above different strategies as a function of perceived social stratification (e.g., Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001). In line with these theoretical assertions, Ellemers, Wilke, and van Knippenberg (1993) found that people were more likely to improve unfavourable comparison outcomes by means of individual mobility when they were able to change group membership rather than when they could not (i.e., when group boundaries were perceived to be permeable rather than impermeable). Moreover, their findings suggest that people are more likely to engage in social competition when group boundaries are impermeable and when status differences between the groups are regarded as illegitimate rather than legitimate (for further evidence see Terry & O'Brien, 2001).

Evidence for strategies of social creativity is provided, for example, by Ashforth and Kreiner's (1999) review of the attempts by 'dirty workers' (i.e., people in occupations that are regarded as disgusting or degrading) to put up with their chronically stigmatized identity. Their analysis suggests that 'dirty workers' are more likely to engage in social creativity as the salience of their occupation increases (resulting in beliefs that group boundaries are impermeable and status differences stable). Under these conditions, employees seek to gain a positive identity either through rephrasing fundamental beliefs about their occupation (e.g., public defenders of people charged with sexual assaults claiming to defend citizens' constitutional rights to fair trials) or selecting other more favourable comparison outgroups (e.g., truckers downgrading the mechanical tasks of factory workers; for further evidence of social creativity strategies used by threatened business school directors, see Elsbach & Kramer, 1996)

In sum, theoretical claims and empirical evidence indicate that people are generally motivated to maintain or acquire a positive and distinct social identity. Moreover, it appears that when their positive and unique self-concept is threatened, people seek to regain favourable comparison outcomes by engaging in strategies that are most effective in the context at hand. In particular, this means that strategies for self-enhancement vary as a function of perceived social structure.

Tenets of self-categorization theory

Self-categorization theory makes further assertions about *when* people will categorize themselves in terms of social category membership and about *which self-category* they are likely to use to define themselves in a particular context (Turner et al., 1987). The theory claims that the self-concept is highly *flexible* with regard to which specific social category will be salient in any given situation. It argues that the likelihood of

perceiving oneself in terms of a particular social category is influenced by three variables. First, self-categorization varies as a function of the *accessibility* of a social category for a given perceiver (i.e., perceiver readiness), which derives from his or her knowledge, beliefs, and prior experiences. Along these lines, a critical factor that impacts on the accessibility of a given social identity is people's prior *identification* with, or their enduring sense of belonging to, a particular social category (e.g., Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Mael & Ashforth, 1992; van Dick, Wagner, Stellmacher, & Christ, 2004).

Second, self-categorization depends on the *comparative fit* of social stimuli such that people are more likely to use social categories to define the self (and others) to the degree that these categories minimize the perceived differences between members within each category and maximize the perceived differences between members of different categories (also known as the principle of *meta-contrast*; Turner, 1985). For instance, two individual psychologists may be more likely to perceive themselves as 'psychologists' at a university meeting discussing plans to merge university departments, which are also attended by sports scientists, biologists, and geographers, than they would be at a psychology departmental meeting attended only by various other psychologists. At such an intra-departmental meeting, in contrast, they may be less likely to think of themselves as 'psychologists' and more likely to perceive themselves as 'social psychologists' or 'cognitive psychologists'.

Third, the principle of *normative fit* asserts that individuals are more likely to use particular social categories to the extent that the observed content of those categories is congruent with expected similarities and differences between categories. In our previous example, the normative fit of sub-disciplinary social categories would tend to be higher if the social psychologist argues for the importance of group research and not neuroscientific

techniques, whereas the cognitive psychologist does the opposite. Again, empirical

investigations of these issues have supported the claims that people's willingness to use

particular social categories as a basis for self-definition is interactively shaped by principles

of accessibility and identification (e.g., Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995; Ellemers et al.,

1997; Mael & Ashforth, 1992; Peteraf & Shanley, 1997) as well as fit (Haslam & Turner,

1992; Hogg & Turner, 1987; Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991).

Beyond this, it has been argued that the ability to self-categorize in terms of a

shared social identity is what makes group behaviour possible (Turner, 1982). This in turn

has fundamental implications for — and indeed is the basis of — meaningful social and

organizational behaviour (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Haslam, 2004; Haslam, Postmes, &

Ellemers, 2003; Turner, 1982). In particular, when people define themselves in terms of a

common group membership (i.e., such that they share social identity), then this is a basis

for them to (a) perceive themselves as similar to each other (e.g., Doosje et al., 1995), (b)

trust each other (e.g., Platow, McClintock, & Liebrand, 1990), (c) share information

effectively (e.g., Postmes, Tanis, & de Wit, 2001), (d) be willing and able to cooperate

successfully with each other (e.g., Tyler & Blader, 2000), and (e) be able to exert mutual

influence (e.g., McGarty, Haslam, Hutchinson, & Turner, 1994; Turner, 1991). It appears

that our ability to self-categorize in terms of common group membership is the foundation

for meaningful and concerted social and organizational behaviour. Indeed,

depersonalization can thus be seen as the basis for individuals' capacity not only to exert

influence and exercise *leadership*, but also to be influenced and engage in *followership*.

The social identity approach to leadership

In line with the foregoing arguments, over the last few decades the social identity approach has been applied to various organizational phenomena (e.g., Haslam, 2004; Haslam & Ellemers, 2005; Haslam, van Knippenberg, Platow, & Ellemers, 2003; Hogg & Terry, 2000, 2001; Tyler & Blader, 2000; van Knippenberg, 2000). Most relevant to the present thesis, it has also been applied to the field of leadership (Ellemers, de Gilder, & Haslam, 2004; Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; Turner & Haslam, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003).

As we discussed when defining leadership in Chapter 1, this is a process that centres on the capacity for *social influence* in which an individual motivates and inspires others in ways that contribute to the achievement of group success (Haslam, 2004; Turner, 1991). Critically, this process of influencing others does not so much involve exerting power *over* other people (i.e., via controlling material or physical resources in the abstract) as it does achieving power *through* them (i.e., via extending one's will by means of persuasion; Turner, 2005; see also Simon & Oakes, 2006). In contrast to the approaches to leadership outlined in Chapter 1, the social identity approach asserts that leaders do not exert influence on followers' commitment to group goals as a result of pre-determined prescribed leader behaviours or characteristics, but rather as a result of followers' understanding of the way in which particular leader characteristics and behaviours relate to the group in context.

The social identity approach starts with the key point that leaders exert influence over followers on the basis of shared group membership between leaders and followers. More fundamentally, this approach makes the simple but basic observation that leadership cannot exist if there is no psychological group to be led (Haslam & Reicher, 2007). It asserts that leadership is only possible when followers categorize themselves, as well as

their leaders, in terms of shared group membership. Moreover, it claims further that leaders' influence attempts are likely to be fruitful when followers perceive leaders to belong to, and be representative of, a group that is meaningful to them. To clarify these points, we will look in more detail at the empirical evidence for these various theoretical claims.

Self-categorization and leadership

If leaders and followers are bound together by a shared sense of being part of a group, shouldn't then the existence and success of leadership erode as a group falls apart? Looking into these issues, Haslam and Reicher (2007) provide evidence for these basic claims from the BBC prison study — an experiment in which participants were assigned to act as prisoners and guards in a simulated prison environment over a period of 8 days (Reicher & Haslam, 2006). In the course of this experiment it was found that the guards became increasingly less likely to identify with their group and, as a result, their ability to coordinate their behaviour, exert influence on each other, as well as uphold their privileged high-power position diminished. However, the opposite was true for the prisoners who were more likely to categorize themselves in terms of a common group that allowed for concerted behaviour and made leadership within the group possible. This in turn allowed them to resist oppression and to overthrow the guards' regime (Reicher & Haslam, 2006). These findings suggest that leadership can only occur when group members perceive themselves to be bound together by a common group identity and influence attempts are likely to fail as a group breaks apart. Furthermore, these findings imply that leadership is likely to be effective to the degree that leaders succeed in creating a salient social identity in the first place (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

Empirical evidence thus corroborates theoretical claims that leadership is contingent upon depersonalization (i.e., self-categorization in terms of shared social identity). Beyond these basic claims, the social identity approach argues that leadership entails a process of *social identity management* that centres on leaders' control and management of a 'special sense of us' (Haslam & Platow, 2001; Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001; Turner & Haslam, 2001; van Knippenberg, 2011). The social identity approach argues that effective leadership can be broken down into three basic principles that comprise (a) leaders' representation of the 'special sense of us', (b) their advancement of group interests and goals, and (c) their creation and redefinition of what it means to be a member of a group. In what follows, we will outline more thoroughly the theoretical assertions around these principles, relevant empirical evidence that speaks to these points, and identify gaps in knowledge that the present thesis seeks to fill.

Leaders' ingroup prototypicality: Being 'one of us'

As we have seen, social identity theory asserts that people generally want to have a clear sense that their ingroup is different from, and superior to, outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This means that in a given social context some members of a group will be better at capturing the notion of the ingroup and differentiating it from relevant outgroups — that is, they will be more *prototypical* of the ingroup — than others. As Haslam (2004) puts it, the most prototypical group member is the one who "best epitomizes (in the dual sense of both *defining* and *being defined* by) the social category he or she is a member" (p.45, original emphasis). Self-categorization theory claims that group members who are prototypical of (i.e., embody or represent) the ingroup are able to exert more influence over other group members and thus are in a better position to exert influence (i.e., lead) than those who are not prototypical of the ingroup. More specifically, an individual's ability to influence other

group members is argued to follow a *gradient* that is contingent on the degree with which he or she is perceived as *relatively ingroup prototypical* of a social category (Hogg, 2001, Turner, 1991; Turner & Haslam, 2001; for recent reviews of the current state of research on prototypicality see Haslam et al., 2011; van Knippenberg, 2011).

Empirical evidence that an individual's ingroup prototypicality is a determinant of social influence is provided by several studies using (a) different methodologies (e.g., correlational, scenario, and experimental studies employing natural groups) and (b) various outcome measures to assess effective leadership (e.g., Fielding & Hogg, 1997; Hains, Hogg, & Duck, 1997; Haslam, McGarty et al., 1998; Hogg, Hains, & Mason, 1998; Lipponen, Koivisto, & Olkkonen, 2005; Pierro, Cicero, Bonaiuto, van Knippenberg, & Kruglanski, 2005; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; Platow, van Knippenberg, Haslam, van Knippenberg, & Spears, 2006; Ullrich, Christ, & van Dick, 2009; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005).

Illustrative empirical evidence for the role of social identity processes in followers' endorsement of leaders comes from studies conducted by Platow and van Knippenberg (2001). In line with the social identity approach, the researchers hypothesized that followers' endorsement of leaders would depend less on leaders' distributive justice behaviours (as one might predict on the basis of leader categorization theory; Lord et al., 1984) as they perceive leaders to be increasingly representative of a common ingroup. Furthermore, they also theorized that the impact of leaders' prototypicality on followers' endorsement of those leaders would be more pronounced as followers' identification with the group increased.

In order to test these ideas, the researchers investigated followers' endorsement of leaders who varied in their distributive justice behaviour (i.e., who made decisions that

were either ingroup-favouring, even-handed, or outgroup-favouring) and their degree of

ingroup prototypicality (low vs. high). It was found that for followers who identified

weakly with their group, leader endorsement only depended on leaders' distributive justice

behaviour, such that leaders were more supported if they behaved in a distributively fair

rather than unfair manner. Furthermore, leaders who were highly prototypical of the

ingroup received strong support from high-identifying followers regardless of whether the

leaders showed ingroup-favouring, outgroup-favouring, or even-handed behaviour. In

contrast, their counterparts who were low-prototypical of the ingroup had to show ingroup-

favouring behaviour in order to be endorsed by high-identifying followers.

What are the theoretical implications of such findings that are relevant to the

analysis of leadership? First — and in line with the theoretical assertions of the social

identity approach — they suggest that the relevance of social identity processes to

leadership endorsement rises as the group becomes more salient and people identify more

strongly with their group. Second, leaders' capacity to gain followers' endorsement when

those leaders are barely representative of their group seems not to depend on whether

leaders are fair (as might be argued from leader categorization theory; Lord et al., 1984),

but rather on whether their behaviour is oriented towards (i.e., favours) the ingroup. Third,

as followers' identification with the group increases, leaders' ability to gain follower

endorsement becomes less contingent on their level of ingroup-favouritism (i.e., whether

they are ingroup-favouring, even-handed, or outgroup-favouring) than on the degree to

which they are perceived to embody the group that they are leading.

Similarly, studies have also investigated the role of prototypicality and *procedural*

justice (i.e., relating to the processes of reaching a decision) for leadership endorsement

(Ullrich et al., 2009). Here researchers found that when followers identified weakly with

their group, they were more supportive of leaders who displayed procedurally fair rather than unfair behaviours. Moreover, for low-identifying followers, the degree of leaders' prototypicality did not influence their endorsement of the leaders. However, when followers identified strongly with their group, they endorsed leaders who were highly prototypical of the ingroup regardless of whether they showed procedural fair behaviour or not (Ullrich, et al., 2009). These results also align with findings suggesting that followers make favourable leader evaluations of leaders who are highly prototypical of the ingroup regardless of whether they display *interactional fairness* or not (i.e., treating people with respect and dignity; Janson, Levy, Sitkin, & Lind, 2008).

Such findings provide further empirical evidence of the way in which social identity processes — specifically, followers' social identification and leader ingroup prototypicality — interact with leaders' fairness in determining leadership endorsement. In particular, the findings suggest that leaders' procedural and interactional justice are not general determinants of the effectiveness of a leader as one might expect on the basis of leader categorization theory (Lord et al., 1984). Instead, leaders' procedural fairness only enhances leader endorsement when followers' identification with the group is low; and the importance of leaders' procedural and interactional fairness for leader endorsement seem to fade as both followers' identification with the group and their perceptions of the leader as representative of the group's identity increase.

Further evidence for the impact of leaders' ingroup prototypicality on their capacity to influence followers (i.e., 'do' leadership) comes from studies that have looked at the relationship between leaders' prototypicality and their group-oriented behaviour in determining their effectiveness and charisma. Although transformational leadership theory would suggest that leaders are perceived to be charismatic to the degree that they display

group-oriented behaviour, Platow and colleagues (2006) theorized that perceptions of charisma would be determined less by leaders' group-oriented behaviour as perceptions that leaders embody a common ingroup increase. Consistent with the social identity framework, studies have found evidence that leaders who are highly prototypical of participants' ingroup are perceived as more charismatic and more persuasive than those who are low in prototypicality (Platow et al., 2006, Study 1), and that leaders with low prototypicality need to "work" by showing group-oriented behaviour in order to be perceived as relatively charismatic (Platow et al., 2006, Study 2). These findings expand upon theoretical arguments put forward by transformational or charismatic leadership theories, which assert that leaders' charisma is dependent on the degree to which they display transformational leader behaviours (e.g., Bass & Riggio, 2006), in showing that leader charisma is also an *outcome* of self-categorization processes associated with followers' perceptions that a leader represents the ingroup and differentiates it from relevant outgroups.

Furthermore, there is evidence that leaders' self-sacrificing behaviours have a critical influence on leader charisma, effectiveness, and productivity for leaders who are low in prototypicality, but that these factors become less important as leaders' ingroup prototypicality increases (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). In line with the theoretical claims outlined above, this evidence suggests that the effectiveness of leaders is determined partly by their self-sacrificing or group-oriented behaviour, but importantly, that these leadership behaviours also seem to become less critical once leaders come to embody the group identity that they share with followers. Moreover, assertions that a leader's effectiveness varies as a function of being perceived as prototypical of the ingroup have also been supported by field studies that show elevated prototypicality to be related to

a wide range of leadership effectiveness indicators, such as improved job performance, greater perceived leader effectiveness, and reduced turnover intentions of employees (Pierro et al., 2005).

Leaders' ingroup prototypicality has been related to various outcomes of effectiveness, but does their ingroup prototypicality influence how leaders are judged when a group fails to achieve its targets? Giessner and van Knippenberg (2008) looked into these issues in several experimental and field studies by examining the idea that individuals judge other individuals in qualitative terms (i.e., as acceptable or non-acceptable) when they fail to achieve *minimal group goals* (i.e., goals that should be reached at least) but in quantitative terms (i.e., as more or less positive) when people fail to achieve *maximal group goals* (i.e., goals that are reached ideally; see also Kessler et al., 2010). In line with Meindl's work on the 'romance of leadership' (1995; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987), the researchers expected followers' perceptions of leaders to vary as a function of group performance. However, in line with the social identity approach, they also hypothesized that leaders would be given more leeway by followers, such that followers would forgive them for failing to reach maximal group goals, as their perceptions of leaders as representative of a shared group increased.

Consistent with these hypotheses, findings indicated that when they failed to reach minimal group goals, prototypical and non-prototypical leaders were equally (in)effective. However, when they failed to reach maximal group goals, prototypical leaders were perceived as more effective and were trusted more by followers than non-prototypical leaders (Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008). Likewise, when the group was perceived to have been successful, prototypical and non-prototypical leaders were evaluated as equally effective, whereas when the group was perceived to have failed, prototypical leaders were

seen to be more effective than their non-prototypical counterparts (Giessner, van Knippenberg, & Sleebos, 2009). Furthermore, it was found that this influence of prototypical leaders was partly mediated by followers' enhanced trust in their leaders. These findings suggest that leaders seem to be increasingly "protected" from undesirable outcomes of their leadership the more they are perceived to be prototypical of their group; or, as Giessner and colleagues put it, prototypical leaders are more likely to be granted a "license to fail" (2009, p.447).

In sum, the research examined above provides empirical evidence for the theoretical claim that leading and exerting influence over other group members varies as a function of the degree to which followers perceive leaders as being *relatively ingroup prototypical*. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that the impact of a leader's prototypicality is related to a variety of indices of effectiveness (e.g., trust in the leader, charisma, support). Nevertheless, research has tended to overlook the question of whether prototypicality also impacts on people's appreciation of leaders' personal performance — a characteristic that is central to theories of leader performance as well as evaluations, selections, and promotions of leaders in organizational contexts. In a related fashion, although there is evidence that prototypicality is a determinant of leaders' effectiveness (for reviews see Haslam et al., 2011; van Knippenberg, 2011), especially as ingroup members' identification with a group increases (Hogg et al., 1998), it is less clear how prototypicality influences leader perceptions of evaluators *across* different groups. In particular, we lack theoretical insight into the way in which evaluators (both internal and external to the group in question) weigh up leaders' personal performance and prototypicality when evaluating leader candidates.

Moreover, research inspired by the social identity approach has primarily focused on examining how a prototypical group position (and therefore a leader's prototypicality) is

affected by comparative context (e.g., Haslam & Turner, 1992; Haslam, Oakes, Turner, & McGarty, 1995; Haslam, Oakes, McGarty, Turner, & Onorato, 1995; Hopkins & Cable, 2001; Hopkins, Regan, & Abell, 1997). It has focused less on examining whether followers' perceptions of leaders' prototypicality may also be influenced by the degree to which leaders' behaviour (in terms of performance and achievements) is congruent with ingroup values and norms and contributes to the realization of group success. These are issues that the current thesis seeks to follow up on and resolve.

Leaders' social identity advancement: Moving 'us' forward

We have seen that leaders' effectiveness generally increases to the extent that followers perceive them to embody (i.e., be prototypical of) a group membership that they share. But what kinds of *activities* can leaders engage in to ensure that followers are enthusiastic about supporting, and investing their energies in, leaders and their projects? The social identity approach to leadership argues that in order to manage a shared social identity and to be effective, leaders must not only represent a group but also advance common interests (e.g., Haslam et al., 2011; Haslam & Platow, 2001). In particular, it argues that leaders must be perceived by followers to have group interests at heart rather than those of other groups or their personal interests. That is, they need to be seen to 'do it for us' rather than 'for them' or 'for themselves'. And, again, to the extent that leaders succeed both (a) in promoting a sense of the group's identity that is positive and distinct from relevant outgroups and (b) in realizing common goals and aspirations, they should be more likely to secure followers' approbation and support.

In line with these theoretical assertions concerning the importance of advancing group interests, a range of empirical investigations have supported claims that leaders who promote group interests are capable of encouraging favourable responses on the part of

followers (e.g., De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2005; Duck & Fielding, 1999; Haslam & Platow, 2001; Haslam, Platow et al., 2001; Platow, Hoar, Reid, Harley, & Morrison, 1997; Platow et al., 2006; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). For example, evidence for these ideas has been provided by studies that investigated the impact of leaders' group-favouring behaviours in interpersonal and intergroup contexts. These indicate that while followers show more favourable reactions to fair rather than unfair leaders in interpersonal contexts, this inclination disappears in intergroup contexts (Platow, Reid, & Andrew, 1998; Platow et al., 1997). More specifically, when they identify strongly with their group, followers are more supportive of *unfair but ingroup favouring* leaders in these contexts (Platow et al., 1997, Experiment 3; Duck & Fielding, 1999). These findings suggest that as the context changes from interpersonal to intergroup, leaders' even-handedness loses its appeal to followers and followers are increasingly supportive of leaders who promote the ingroup at the expense of relevant outgroups.

Likewise, Haslam and Platow (2001) investigated the influence of leader behaviours on group members' support and followership (i.e., followers' willingness to come up with arguments related to the leader's plan). In this study, participants not only indicated their endorsement of a student leader but were also told that this leader intended to set up a billboard at their university and were asked to generate arguments relevant to this proposal. Here it was found that followers were more supportive of leaders who either behaved in an identity-affirming (i.e., who supported ingroup policies) or even-handed manner than of leaders who behaved in an identity-negating manner (i.e., who undermined ingroup policies). However, followers were only more willing to generate arguments that promoted (rather than undermined) the leaders' new proposal when leaders behaved in an identity-

affirming manner than when they behaved in an even-handed or identity-negating manner (Haslam & Platow, 2001).

These findings suggest that followers are not likely to respond favourably to leaders who do not affirm the identity of their group. Moreover, the findings suggest that while followers may be equally supportive of leaders who either are even-handed or affirm the ingroup's identity, they only display creative followership when leaders' plans are perceived to promote their shared identity. In line with principles put forward by the social identity approach, it appears that encouraging followership does not so much hinge on leaders' fairness as it does on their capacity to advance 'a special sense of us'.

The above findings suggest that leader behaviours that promote the ingroup are key to winning follower support. However, shouldn't then the importance of these behaviours further depend on whether a leader is affiliated to the ingroup or outgroup? Looking into these issues, Duck and Fielding (2003) investigated the impact of group affiliation (i.e., ingroup vs. outgroup) and leader behaviour (ingroup-favouring vs. outgroup-favouring) on followers' perceptions of leaders of a superordinate group (a company leader who came from either the ingroup or the outgroup). It was found that followers were generally more sensitive to the behaviour of leaders who originated from an outgroup than to the behaviour of leaders from an ingroup. More precisely, when leaders originated from an outgroup, followers (a) regarded them as fairer and more concerned for the company (i.e., the superordinate group) and (b) were more satisfied with them when they displayed outgroup-favouring rather than ingroup-favouring behaviour. Conversely, followers were more satisfied with leaders from an ingroup who showed ingroup-favouring rather than outgroup-favouring behaviour. However, they perceived leaders from an ingroup as equally fair and

concerned for the company regardless of whether they showed ingroup or outgroup-favouring behaviour.

In line with theoretical claims for the importance of self-categorization processes in leadership, this research suggests that the perspective of followers seems to derive from self-categorization in terms of group membership and to interact with leaders' behaviours to shape followers' responses. Specifically, followers' reactions to a leader seem to change depending on whether the leader does (or does not) share their group membership and on whether the leader's behaviours favour the group that followers belong to. Nonetheless, empirical evidence suggests that even though individuals might *prefer* a leader of an outgroup to favour one's own ingroup, they generally *expect* leaders to act in favour of the group that they belong to (Duck & Fielding, 1999).

Further empirical evidence suggests that processes of social identity advancement do not only impact followers' endorsement of leaders, but also extend to followers' perceptions of leader charisma. For example, Haslam and colleagues (2001) theorized that 'romanticized' leadership attributions (i.e., attributions whereby leaders come to be seen as more charismatic when the performance of their organization improves rather than worsens; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987) would be attenuated to the degree that leaders promote a shared identity. In line with predictions derived from a social identity analysis, the researchers found that identity-negating leaders (i.e., those who were more supportive of outgroup than of ingroup policies) were generally perceived as less charismatic than identity-affirming or even-handed leaders (i.e., those who were more supportive of ingroup than of outgroup policies or who were equally supportive of ingroup and outgroup policies, respectively). Furthermore, in times of crisis turnaround (i.e., when organizational performance increased significantly from substantial loss to profit) followers' charismatic

attributions were generally strongest, and in particular they were stronger for even-handed leaders than for identity-negating or even identity-affirming leaders. However, the perceived charisma of even-handed leaders depended to a greater extent on the performance of the organization than it did for identity-affirming leaders (Haslam et al., 2001).

These findings suggest that the extent to which leaders are perceived to advance group interests feeds into followers' attributions of leadership (e.g., in terms of leaders' charisma). Specifically, they suggest (a) that leaders who are clearly *not* promoting the identity of the group are generally perceived as least charismatic than those who do and (b) that leaders who clearly affirm the group's identity are less likely to be punished by followers when organizational outcomes are unfavourable.

The impact of social identity advancement on leaders' effectiveness was further substantiated by Graf, Schuh, van Quaquebeke, and van Dick (2012). These researchers examined followers' responses to leaders as a function of their group membership and group-oriented values. In laboratory and field studies these researchers found consistently that followers were more supportive of leaders who were perceived to endorse group-oriented values (i.e., focusing on the interests of the group and treating others with respect) than they were of those who did not, especially when followers and leaders shared group membership. These findings suggest that (a) followers' perceptions that leaders are advancing the group result equally from leaders' behaviours as from their perceived values (such as displaying concern for others and treating them with respect) and that (b) followers are more sensitive to leaders' respectful treatment of others when followers and leaders are bound together in a shared sense of identity (for similar findings concerning leaders' fair treatment of others, see De Cremer, van Dijke, & Mayer, 2010). The empirical evidence thus suggests that followers are inclined to approve and make favourable attributions about

leaders to the degree that, in Haslam and colleagues' (2011) terms, those leaders act as 'ingroup champions'.

Yet while research has provided substantial support for the importance of leaders' group embodiment and group advancement in order for them to be effective and win followers' support, there are also significant gaps in understanding of these processes. In particular, while it has been argued that leaders who are prototypical of an ingroup are often perceived to have group interests at heart (e.g., van Knippenberg, 2011), we lack insights into whether prototypical leaders are also perceived to be more capable of *realizing and advancing* shared interests and goals. Indeed, because the majority of research has investigated the 'being' and the 'doing' (prototypicality and group advancement) in separate lines of research, there is little research that has examined the inter-relationship between these two aspects of the leadership process. Moreover, research has primarily examined leaders' group advancement by studying leaders' affirmation of ingroup values (or their favouring of ingroup values over outgroup or personal values), but has concentrated less on investigating group advancement by looking at leaders' contribution to group goals and aspirations. In this regard, very little research has examined the extent to which leaders' ability to advance (and be perceived to advance) group interests is contingent on their personal performance and capabilities. These are the gaps that the current thesis intends to fill.

Leaders' social identity entrepreneurship: Changing what 'us' means

The research reviewed in the previous section indicates that when leaders seek to encourage followership, they will generally benefit from embodying (i.e., being perceived as prototypical of) and championing the causes of followers' ingroup (i.e., actively working towards the realization of shared interests and aspirations). Importantly, though, being

perceived as embodying and championing the ingroup is *not a passive process* that is determined simply by the content of the social identity, the relationship of leaders to their group, or comparative context. Instead, it is an *active* and *dynamic process* in which both leaders and followers jointly strive to make sense of their social environment. A key aspect of this is that leaders need to work to ensure both that they are seen to be prototypical of a group, and that there is a group for them to be prototypical of (Reicher et al., 2005).

Along these lines Reicher and Hopkins (2001, 2003) have argued that leaders can be conceptualized as 'entrepreneurs of identity' who shape followers' understanding of their group membership and who thereby have the potential to restructure followers' perceptions of their leaders as representatives of the ingroup (for a recent overview see Haslam et al., 2011). The ability to change the perceived nature of social identity is a powerful tool because this in turn determines the kind of actions and projects in which ingroup members are likely to invest their energies (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2009; Reicher et al., 2005).

Previous research that has explored identity entrepreneurship has hitherto employed mainly rhetorical and qualitative analysis (e.g., see Reicher & Hopkins, 1996a, 1996b, 2001). In particular, research has examined the various ways in which leaders can create and change the definition of a social category (e.g., Haslam et al., 2011; Hopkins & Reicher, 1997; Reicher & Hopkins, 2003; Reicher et al., 2005). Specifically, in order to craft a shared sense of 'us' leaders can (a) seek to make certain social categories salient rather than others in order to determine the categories' *inclusiveness* and therefore the range of people that are mobilized (e.g., choosing to stress the collective of the team vs. the entire organization), (b) manipulate understandings of the *social context* in order to make their own position congruent with a group's identity and to align their policies with it (e.g., stressing particular comparison outgroups in order to increase the salience of specific

attributes), (c) interpret and define the meaning of the normative *content* of a social identity (e.g., by means of rhetorical associations), and (d) create an *image of themselves* that is associated with that of the group and therefore enhance the degree to which they are seen as prototypical of the ingroup (e.g., drawing attention to those group prototypical attributes that are characteristic of oneself rather than one's opponents). In what follows we will look at each of these strategies in turn but hone in on the last aspect as this lies at the heart of the current thesis.

The level of *inclusiveness* as well as the meaning of a social category can be transformed through discourse and interaction within and between different groups (Drury, Reicher, & Scott, 2003; Hopkins, Kahani-Hopkins, & Reicher, 2006). This is a point that Drury and others (2003) illustrated in a qualitative study of the way in which demonstrators transformed the boundaries of their collective identity from a small specialized group directed at the particular issue it was protesting against (i.e., the construction of the M11 in London) to a global group whose common purpose was resistance to illegitimate authority more generally. This transformation of the boundaries of the social category had direct implications for the masses that this movement was able to mobilize (cf. Reicher et al., 2005).

Another telling example is provided by Reicher, Cassidy, Wolpert, Hopkins, and Levine (2006) who analyzed representations made to the Bulgarian government by opponents to Nazi tyranny that sought to avoid the oppression of Bulgarian Jews during the Second World War. In their appeals, these advocates defined Bulgarian national identity in civic, rather than ethnic (or religious), terms that incorporated all people who were living on Bulgarian soil. In this way, Bulgarian Jews were defined as integral part of what Bulgarian identity epitomized such that "our sufferings are their sufferings, our joys their

joys, too" (p.58). It followed that any attempts to concede to Nazi practices that aimed to oppress Bulgarian Jews would also violate Bulgarian understanding of their national identity and thus be an attack on *all* Bulgarians. Thus, to the degree that leaders define the inclusiveness of social categories they are capable of not only determining the mobilization of particular people but also making a case for specific agendas (see also Hopkins & Reicher, 1997).

In addition to modifying the inclusiveness of a social category, leaders may also manipulate the *social context* in order to make a case for their leadership or in order to make particular identity strategies salient. Some initial insights into these processes is provided by a qualitative study conducted by Elsbach and Kramer (1996) that investigated the reactions of business school leaders to identity threats that were posed by US business school rankings. The study showed that when confronting these threats, leaders creatively constructed and emphasized new, less inclusive, frames of reference. For example, rather than focusing on tables that ranked all business schools, they focused on those in a given geographical region, or with a particular program emphasis. This in turn allowed the leaders to engage in more favourable comparisons, and to construe more positive images of ingroup identity and, through this, make a case for their own leadership as ingroup advancing.

As a corollary, leaders can manipulate the social context to their favour to the extent that a given comparison with a relevant outgroup changes the prototypical ingroup position (and thereby define what 'us' means; Haslam & Turner, 1992; Haslam et al., 1995; Hopkins & Cable, 2001; Hopkins et al., 1997). In framing the social context, leadership is as much about *promoting the position and policies of the ingroup* as it is about making clear what one's own group *does not stand for*, thereby differentiating 'us' from 'them'. For

instance, in political debates, we can observe that politicians often talk as much about an opposing party's weaknesses and shortcomings as about the strengths and successes of their own parties. An inference that can be drawn here is that effective leadership involves exploiting the social context in ways that allow leaders to positively distinguish their own version of the ingroup category from other versions and, by this means, to make a case for their own projects as instantiations of ingroup identity (cf. Haslam & Reicher, 2007).

In order to determine the group's prototypical position (and to be perceived as prototypical) leaders also utilize rhetoric and engage in purposeful acts of interpretation in an attempt to make themselves and their policies appear to be in line with the *normative content* of a social category (e.g., Reicher & Hopkins, 1996a, 1996b, 2003). On the one hand, this assumes that group members and leaders have already created a social category that specifies a group's norms, values, or attitudes so that leaders can actively align themselves with the ingroup (Haslam & Reicher, 2007; Postmes, Haslam, & Swaab, 2005). On the other hand, however, leaders are not inevitably constrained by the normativeness of an existing social category but are also able to *reshape* a category's normativeness (Haslam, 2004).

Along these lines, Reicher and Hopkins (2003) outline three rhetorical strategies through which leaders manipulate the content of a social category. The first is *naturalization* through which leaders relate landscapes and geographical places to proposed features of a social category (e.g., where conservative Spanish politicians describe the Spanish as inherently hard as a result of hot dry summers and frosty winters, so as to make a case for the austerity of their own policies). Through *eternalization* leaders relate historical events and customs to proposed current characteristics of a category (e.g., where French liberal politicians describe the French as inherently egalitarian as indicated by

historical events such as the French Revolution, so as to make a case for economic deregulation). Finally, *nominalization* allows leaders to relate proposed features of a social category to human creations that are described as objects and symbols that supposedly exist independently of humans (e.g., where Italian cultural politicians describe fellow Italians as possessing inherently a sense of beauty as can be seen in their numerous picturesque churches, so as to make a case for increasing the national budget for restoration of cultural heritage). In sum, this research suggests that by creatively utilizing associations and interpretations, leaders can define the current meaning of social identity content — that is the characteristics, beliefs, norms, or values that are central to a group — in ways that signal the inherent appropriateness of their own leadership.

Leaders can engage in identity entrepreneurship by (re)defining characteristics of the ingroup category (i.e., defining its inclusiveness, the social context, and content), but they can also do this by *creating an image of themselves* as prototypical of (and similar to) followers. In this regard, Haslam and colleagues (2011) observe that leaders sometimes go to great lengths in order to dress in such a way as to appear aligned with those whose support they aim to win. For example, the researchers analyze the way in which George W. Bush addressed Americans from the deck of the aircraft carrier *USS Abraham Lincoln* in a full flying suit in order to fuse his own leadership with the US military, thereby highlighting ways in which he, like US troops, was fighting in the name of all Americans. However, as Reicher and Hopkins (2003) assert, "categories are about creating, rather than reflecting, reality – about 'becoming' more than 'being'" (p.202). While research has theorized about the way in which leaders create images of themselves as a way to assume a prototypical position, there is little research on the way in which leaders can capitalize on

their images as prototypical group members in order to subsequently redefine group norms and ideals.

Some experimental evidence of leaders' ability to change ingroup norms emerges from a study conducted by Taggar and Ellis (2007). This examined leaders' ability to influence formal team norms as a function of leaders' and team members' expectations about normative behaviours. When team members expected low levels of problem-solving on the part of other team members, leaders who had high expectations regarding these behaviours were able to positively influence team norms such that these behaviours were subsequently more frequent. Additional indirect evidence for leaders' ability to influence norms comes from a series of experiments conducted by Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques, and Hutchison (2008). These revealed that people in formal leadership positions (in contrast to rank-and-file group members) are given more leeway by followers to deviate from ingroup norms and are evaluated more favourably after norm transgressions. These ideas also converge with findings indicating that leaders who are capable and inspirational are perceived in more favourable terms (i.e., followers are more forgiving and are less likely to withdraw from the organization) if these leaders violate norms and create disappointment (i.e., Shapiro, Boss, Salas, Tangorala, & von Glinow, 2011).

In this way, experimental research has focused on leaders' expectations about followers' behaviours as well as on followers' reactions to leaders' norm transgressions. However, to date, there has been little experimental examination of the ways in which leaders' prototypicality and personal performance may impact on their ability to shape the subsequent content of shared identity. Specifically, we lack theoretical insights into whether, once they are perceived to be prototypical of an ingroup, leaders are also able to change a group by creating novel group norms and ideals. Similarly, there is also very little

research that has scrutinized whether leaders who display exceptional performance and contribute to group success are able not only to increase the support they can gain from followers, but also to change what it means to be 'one of us'. These are further questions that the current thesis seeks to address. Moreover, because prior research has primarily employed qualitative analyses (for reviews see Haslam et al., 2011; Reicher & Hopkins, 2003; van Knippenberg, 2011), the present thesis seeks to complement these analyses by using experimental methods to examine these processes.

Aim and overview of the present thesis

In Chapter 1, we reviewed the body of literature on leadership and followership in general as well as theories of leaders' performance more specifically. In the present chapter we have introduced and outlined the social identity approach to leadership. This allows us to understand more clearly the group processes that lay the foundations for leaders' ability to lead. In applying the social identity approach to leadership we have seen that effective leaders not only need to embody the ingroup but also to champion its causes and to craft a shared sense of 'us'. However, little research has explored to what extent leaders' ability to advance, and create, a novel sense of social identity varies as an interactive function of their prototypicality and personal performance. The present thesis seeks to address these lacunae.

Although the following three empirical chapters have been written as stand-alone contributions, in combination they seek to provide a rounded analysis of the role that leaders' personal performance and prototypicality play in enhancing their capacity to lead. In the course of the following chapters we attempted to avoid recurrent theoretical outlines and arguments. However, because these effectively constitute separate manuscripts, some repetition in the line of reasoning is unavoidable.

In Chapter 3 we explore the interactive effects of leaders' personal performance and prototypicality on followers' responses to those leaders. In particular, while previous research has indicated that performance and prototypicality are important determinants of followers' responses to leaders, it has tended to neglect how these two elements *combine* to structure leaders' ability to be seen as ingroup champions capable of realizing shared ingroup goals and ambitions. In line with the social identity approach to leadership, we expect a leader's personal performance to enhance followers' perceptions of leaders' group advancement when leaders are prototypical of the ingroup. However, this positive impact of leaders' personal performance and competence is expected to be less pronounced when those leaders fail to represent ingroup identity. Consistent with these hypotheses, we report findings from two laboratory and one field study that show that leaders' extraordinary performance is more likely to engender followership when that performance is aligned (rather than non-aligned) with ingroup values and attitudes.

Although a leader's personal performance and prototypicality may have an interactive impact on followers' perceptions, this does not mean that followers' perceptions of these factors are independent of each other. In Chapter 4, we analyse whether (and how) followers' perceptions of leader performance and prototypicality are inter-related as well as whether they also feed into leaders' ability to act as identity entrepreneurs such that they are able to change group norms and ideals. Specifically, we report findings from three studies that explore the potential *bidirectional* relationship between followers' perceptions of leader performance and prototypicality. In addition, these studies investigate to what extent followers also infer what it means to be 'one of us' from the behaviours of leaders who embody the ingroup and who display elevated performance.

Leader evaluation, of course, can be performed by those who are either internal or external to the group in question (i.e., by 'insiders' or 'outsiders'). Previous research, however, provides little insight into the degree to which internal and external evaluators differ in the extent to which they value leaders' performance and prototypicality. In Chapter 5 we theorize about the relevance of this distinction, and then report two experimental studies that examine differences in the way that internal and external evaluators respond to leaders whose performance and prototypicality vary. On the basis of social identity theorizing we expect that leaders who are highly representative but show only moderate performance would be perceived to advance the group more — and hence be more likely to be selected as leaders — by internal rather than external evaluators. On the other hand, we also expect that compared to internal evaluators, external evaluators would respond more positively to leaders who are unrepresentative but display elevated personal performance.

Finally, in Chapter 6 we summarize the key findings of the empirical work before we then discuss the broader theoretical and practical contributions of the present thesis. In particular, we discuss the ways in which the research we report serves to refine our understanding of the importance of leader performance for a leader's capacity to lead, and the way in which this understanding serves to refine and extend the social identity approach to leadership. At the same time, we also discuss the limitations of the current research and identify potential directions for future research.

A key conclusion here is that a leader's personal performance is not a determinant of leader effectiveness that is uninfluenced by followers' beliefs about the characteristic attributes of the group they belong to. The present thesis thereby qualifies theoretical notions and practical procedures that place great emphasis on leader performance in the abstract. In effective leadership, personal performance and prototypicality are reciprocally

related and act in concert. Leaders need to be both aligned with group members' shared

aspirations and be seen to be able to realize them.

Chapter 3

Leaders as ingroup champions: The interplay between personal
performance and prototypicality

Example is not the main thing in influencing others, it is the only thing.

Albert Schweitzer (cited in Congressional Record, 2002, p.5491)

In meritocratic societies, the value of individuals is judged against their abilities and achievements. On the one hand, the likelihood of an individual assuming a leadership position is determined by his or her performance. On the other hand, performance is also an essential quality of good leaders, such that those whose performance is outstanding are thought to be more effective by virtue of the fact that they are able to lead by example. Indeed, as the above quote attests, in its strongest form, this analysis suggests that *only* those who lead in this way can exert influence.

In the current investigation we will scrutinize the importance of leaders' personal performance for their leadership in relation to another factor — the degree to which they are representative of the group; that is their *prototypicality*. Two experimental studies and a field study demonstrate that a leader's effectiveness is determined neither by performance nor by prototypicality in isolation, but rather by their interaction. Contrary to the idea that performance alone is a basis for leadership, this suggests that followers are much more willing to follow leaders whose performance is exceptional if those leaders are

representative of followers' ingroup and therefore are perceived to advance shared group interests.

Leaders as high-performing role models

Implicit leadership theory asserts that performance cues can positively influence followers' evaluations of leaders' effectiveness (e.g., Lord, Binning, Rush, & Thomas, 1978; Phillips & Lord, 1982; Rush et al., 1977). The theory claims that leader effectiveness is determined both by performance and by the degree to which followers perceive the behaviours of leaders to match their implicit theories about leadership qualities (Lord et al., 1984; Offermann et al., 1994; Rush et al., 1977). In line with this model, it has been argued and shown that feedback about the achievements of both groups (e.g., Lord et al., 1978; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987; Rush et al., 1977; Phillips & Lord, 1982) and individuals (e.g., Marak, 1964; Pheterson, Kiesler, & Goldberg, 1971) has an impact on leadership evaluations. Thus, as leaders' performance becomes more exceptional (and, as a corollary, less typical of other members in their group), followers should support and trust them more.

Along similar lines, transformational leadership theories suggest that leaders are more likely to be effective if they exhibit transformational behaviours. Among other things, this involves setting high standards and acting as role models for followers (e.g., Bass & Riggio, 2006; Judge & Piccolo, 2004; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990). One effective way for leaders to do this is by displaying high performance and contributing to the success of the group, thereby motivating followers to do likewise. Indeed, it has been shown that relevant role models who display elevated performance (and who model behaviour that followers believe they are able to perform themselves) can increase followers' inspiration and motivations for self-enhancement (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997),

their identification with the leader (Buunk et al., 2007), and their own perceived ability (Marx & Roman, 2002). Moreover, these outcomes may in turn enhance followers' goal setting and performance (Earley & Kanfer, 1985; Rakestraw & Weiss, 1981). Leaders who model appropriate behaviour through elevated performance may thus increase the effectiveness with which they can fuel followers' efforts to contribute to the achievement of group goals. In these terms, to the extent that leaders' performance is exceptional (and distinct from that of followers), they are more able to impress those they seek to motivate and inspire.

Leaders as ingroup prototypes

While a considerable body of theory highlights the important role that leaders' exceptional performance and achievements play in determining their effectiveness, such work tends to overlook followers' perspectives and issues pertaining to the relationship between leaders and the group they lead (e.g., Bennis, 1999; Hollander, 1958; Hollander & Julian, 1969). One school of thinking that has placed considerable emphasis on such factors is provided by social identity theorizing (as represented in both social identity and self-categorization theory; e.g. Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Turner & Haslam, 2001).

This approach argues that leaders' effectiveness varies as a function of their capacity to be perceived as *prototypical* of the group that they are leading (i.e., such that they are seen as representative of the group's social identity). Amongst other things, self-categorization theory suggests that leaders will be more ingroup prototypical to the extent that they embody an ingroup identity that is shared with followers and that distinguishes the ingroup from relevant comparison outgroups (Turner, 1991). Here it is important to note

that being prototypical of an ingroup is not synonymous with being an average or typical member of a group. For example, it has been argued that a prototypical position in a group varies as a function of the comparative context and can thus shift away from a typical or average position (e.g., Haslam & Turner, 1992; Hopkins et al., 1997). At the same time, van Knippenberg (2011) makes the point that in most cases, prototypicality does not capture the average or typical but rather the ideal position in a group (see also van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). As we will elaborate in the current chapter and in much more detail in Chapter 4, it is possible that a leader's prototypicality of the ingroup increases to the degree that he or she displays non-typical high performance and is therefore capable of contributing to shared success.

Several studies have investigated these claims empirically either by assessing or by manipulating leaders' ingroup prototypicality (in terms of group norms, attitudes, beliefs, or opinions) and then measuring leader effectiveness on a range of dimensions (for comprehensive reviews see Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; van Knippenberg, 2011). For example, Platow and van Knippenberg (2001) investigated followers' endorsement of leaders who varied in both their distributive justice behaviour (being either ingroup-favouring, even-handed, or outgroup-favouring) and in their ingroup prototypicality (low vs. high). Among followers who identified weakly with their group, leadership endorsement depended only on leaders' distributive justice behaviour, such that leaders were more likely to be supported if they behaved in a distributively fair rather than unfair manner. However, highly identified followers strongly supported leaders who were highly prototypical of the ingroup regardless of whether those leaders showed ingroup-favouring, outgroup-favouring, or even-handed behaviour, but these same followers only endorsed leaders who were less prototypical of the ingroup when they showed ingroup-

favouring behaviour. Such findings imply (a) that leader prototypicality becomes more important to the extent that potential followers identify strongly with their group, (b) that in order for leaders who are unrepresentative of their group to secure followers' endorsement, their behaviour needs clearly to promote ingroup interests, and (c) that follower endorsement becomes less contingent on leaders' actual justice behaviour the more they are perceived to be representative of the ingroup.

Further evidence of the impact that leaders' ingroup prototypicality has on their effectiveness comes from studies conducted by Giessner and van Knippenberg (2008). These examined the influence of ingroup prototypicality on followers' evaluations of leaders when a group fails to achieve its targets. The researchers examined these issues in several experimental and field studies and drew on the notion that individuals judge other individuals in qualitative terms (i.e., as acceptable or non-acceptable) when they fail to achieve *minimal goals* and in quantitative terms (i.e., as more or less positive) when people fail to achieve *maximal goals* (Kessler et al., 2010). When leaders failed to reach minimal goals, prototypical and non-prototypical leaders were perceived to be equally (in)effective. However, when they failed to reach maximal goals, prototypical leaders were perceived to be more effective and were more trusted than non-prototypical leaders. Similarly, when leader activities led to group success, prototypical and non-prototypical leaders were evaluated as equally effective, whereas when their activities led to failure, prototypical leaders were seen to be more effective than their non-prototypical counterparts (see also Giessner et al., 2009; Haslam et al., 2011). These findings suggest that leaders are increasingly "protected" from any undesirable outcomes of their leadership the more they are perceived to be prototypical of their group. Such conclusions are further supported by other empirical evidence that indicates that as leaders become more similar to, and

representative of, their group they may not only be protected from undesirable

consequences but also be seen as more effective (e.g., Abrams et al., 2008; Fielding &

Hogg, 1997; Hogg et al., 1998; Platow et al., 2006; Ullrich et al., 2009; van Knippenberg &

van Knippenberg, 2005).

Leaders as ingroup champions

Although leaders' ability to embody a group is a crucial ingredient in effective

leadership, it may not be sufficient to generate enthusiasm for their leadership among

followers. Leaders may be perceived as representative of a social identity — but what can

they *do* in order to move their group forwards? More recently, it has been argued that

leaders' effectiveness varies not only as a function of the degree to which they are

perceived as ingroup prototypes, but also as a function of their capacity to be *ingroup*

champions who play a central role in advancing group interests (Haslam et al., 2011). Not

only must a leader be 'one of us', but he or she must also 'do it for us'.

Empirical evidence for this claim is provided by Haslam and Platow (2001) in

studies that investigated the influence of leaders' behaviour on group members' support for

those leaders. Here followers acted in support of a leader's new proposal when that leader

behaved in an identity-affirming manner (i.e., by supporting ingroup policies), but not when

the leader behaved in an even-handed or identity-negating way. Findings from a range of

similar studies also confirm that followers tend to follow leaders only to the degree that

those leaders are affirming and promoting group identity (e.g., Duck & Fielding, 1999;

Haslam et al., 2011; Platow et al., 1997). Yet the question remains, what role does leaders'

performance play in enabling them to be perceived as champions of the group and hence to

be effective?

In this regard, it would appear that the performance of leaders is likely to play a central role in shaping followers' perceptions of them as ingroup champions and thereby in securing their followership. That is, a leader whose performance is extraordinary (rather than ordinary) has greater capacity to contribute to the shared goals of the group and thus to advance group interests and aspirations. In this way, as Reicher and Hopkins (1996a, 2001, 2003) have argued, embodiment of social identity is not merely about 'being' but also about 'becoming'. Group members are concerned not only with the 'here and now', but also with goals and objectives that will determine the group's position in the future.

Accordingly, the performance of group members is likely to play a pivotal role in advancing the achievements of the group and in exemplifying *ideal*, future-oriented character in situations where a group either seeks to guarantee its survival or else to improve its status relative to other groups (Doosje, Spears, & Ellemers, 2002). Thus, leaders who typify not only a group's present understanding of 'what it means to be one of us' but also its ideals of 'what we want to be' in the future may be particularly able to secure endorsement from members of their group. Moreover, in such contexts, a leader who embodies only the current meaning of the group and displays only average, ordinary performance may be less likely to secure group members' endorsement than a leader who embodies the group but also exemplifies extraordinary performance. At the same time, the social identity approach leads us to expect that a leader whose performance is extraordinary but who is *not* representative of the group (i.e., who is clearly not 'one of us') (a) will not necessarily be more effective than a leader who is prototypical but whose performance is average (or typical) and (b) may actually be less effective than a leader whose performance is extraordinary and who also embodies the characteristics that define the collective identity in question. For this reason leaders whose performance is outstanding (as opposed to

mediocre) have greater potential to act as role models, to be perceived as ingroup

champions, and ultimately to be supported by followers. However, we suggest that this

potential will only be realized if those leaders epitomize identity-defining attributes (in

terms of their attitudes and opinions) such that their performance is perceived to advance

followers' social identity-related aspirations.

The present research

The above ideas are investigated in three studies that explore the impact of leaders'

ingroup prototypicality and performance on followers' responses to their leadership. In line

with arguments and evidence generated by (a) implicit and transformational leadership

theories (which point to the importance of leader performance) and (b) the social identity

approach (which points to the importance of leader ingroup prototypicality), we predict two

main effects such that leaders' performance and prototypicality will both contribute to

followers' favourable reactions to these leaders (H1 and H2). Critically, though, the social

identity approach also leads us to anticipate an interaction between leaders' performance

and prototypicality such that leaders who display high performance elicit more favourable

responses than their counterparts who display average performance to the extent that they

are also prototypical (rather than non-prototypical) of the ingroup. In other words, leaders'

personal performance is expected to be perceived as, and responded to, more positively by

followers to the extent that those leaders are perceived to be representative of the ingroup

(H3). Furthermore, following the social identity approach, this interaction is expected to be

mediated by the degree to which followers perceive the leader to advance shared group

interests (H4). These hypotheses were tested in series of three studies in both the laboratory

(Study 1 and 2) and in the field (Study 3). Study 1 tested the first three of these hypotheses; Studies 2 and 3 also tested H4.

Study 1

Method

Participants

Seventy-three undergraduate psychology students at a British university voluntarily participated in exchange for course credit. Of these, 62 were female and 10 were male; one participant did not indicate his or her gender. The participants ranged in age from 18 to 31 years (M=19.00, SD=1.74) and were randomly assigned to the four conditions in a 2 (leader's attitude prototypicality: prototypical vs. non-prototypical) X 2 (performance: average vs. high) between-participants design.

Design and Procedure

Independent variables. Participants were asked to imagine that together with other group members they were part of the same work team. In this scenario it was indicated that they and other team members (a) had a clear understanding of what it meant to be a member of the team and (b) knew that their team was different from other teams. The position of the team leader was to be filled by a team member, and the new team leader (a man) was introduced. In the high attitude prototypicality condition information about the leader's relationship to other team members was described as follows:

When you think about [the leader's] attitudes in relation to other team members, you clearly see [the leader] as being *very similar to other team members*. With regards to attitudes [the leader] is undoubtedly a *very typical member* of your team.

A graph sketched a normal distribution of the team members along the dimension 'attitudes' which ranged from *less typical* on one extreme, over the mid-scale *most typical*, to *less typical* on the other extreme (as in Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) in which the leader was shown to occupy a *typical* position. In the comparable low attitude prototypicality condition the italicized phrases above were substituted by *very different from other team members* and *a very non-typical member*, respectively. In the graph, the leader had an extreme position denoted as *less typical*.

In the average performance condition the leader was described as an average-performing team member, a very typical team member in his current job performance, and as performing like most other members of the team. The leader occupied an intermediate position in a graph which showed the performance of team members ranging from one extreme labelled with a minus symbol ('−') to the other extreme labelled with a plus symbol ('+'). In the comparable high performance condition, the leader was said to be performing well above the average, to be not a typical member in his current job performance, and to be one of the few very best performing members of the team. In the corresponding graph the leader had an exceptional, high-performing position that was labelled with a plus symbol.

Dependent measures. Following the manipulations, participants completed two sentences in which they indicated whether they felt that the leader was typical vs. non-typical compared to other team members in terms of (a) performance and (b) attitudes. These two sentences served as manipulation checks. Six participants completed the manipulation checks in a way that did not match the presented material and were excluded from further analysis. Following this, participants responded to several items assessing *leadership endorsement* (four items adapted from Ullrich et al., 2009; $\alpha = .96$; e.g., "I

endorse [this leader] as team leader"; "I back up [this leader] as our team leader") and *trust in the leader* (three items adapted from Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2001; α = .89; e.g., "I trust [this leader] as our team leader"; "[This leader] is a credible team leader") on 7-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). They then completed relevant demographic measures. After this, participants were fully debriefed.

Results

Leadership endorsement. A 2 (performance) X 2 (attitude prototypicality) between-participants analysis of variance on leadership endorsement yielded an effect for attitude prototypicality (supporting H2), $F(1,63) = 7.56$, $p = .008$, $\eta^2 = .10$, but not for performance, $F(1,63) = 1.08$, $p = .30$, $\eta^2 = .01$. Supporting H3, this main effect was qualified by a significant interaction, $F(1,63) = 4.87$, $p = .031$, $\eta^2 = .06$. This is presented in Figure 3.1. The interaction was further decomposed by means of pairwise comparisons. When the leader had typical attitudes his performance had a significant effect on leadership endorsement, $F(1,63) = 5.68$, $p = .020$, suggesting that followers were more supportive of a leader with prototypical attitudes whose performance was high (M=6.03; SD=.75) than of a leader with prototypical attitudes whose performance was average (M=5.15; SD=1.29), a leader with non-prototypical attitudes whose performance was high (M=4.68; SD=1.22), and a leader with non-prototypical attitudes whose performance was average (M=5.00; SD=1.14). Moreover, followers were more supportive of a high-performing leader with prototypical attitudes (M=6.03, SD=.75) than of a high-performing leader with non-prototypical attitudes (M=4.68; SD=1.22), $F(1,63) = 12.38$, $p = .001$.
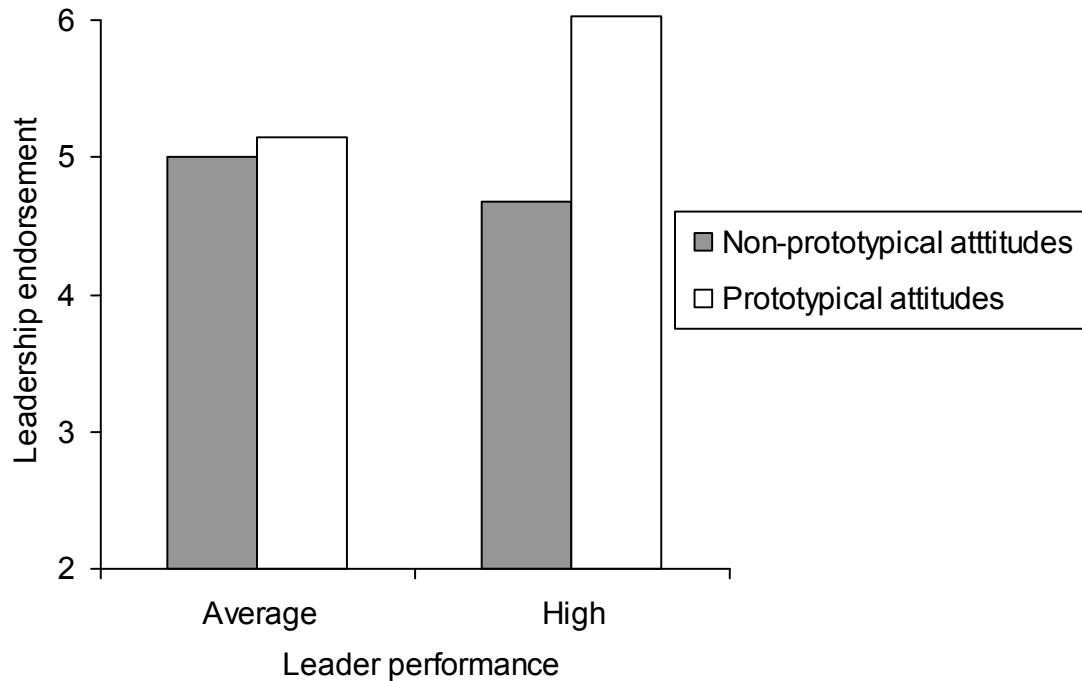
Figure 3.1 Study 1: The impact of leader's personal performance and attitude

prototypicality on leadership endorsement.

Trust in leader. Analysis of followers' trust in the leader revealed a significant main

effect for performance, $F(1,63) = 4.12$, $p =.047$, $\eta^2 = .05$, as well as for attitude

prototypicality, $F(1,63) = 9.95$, $p =.002$, $\eta^2 = .13$ (supporting H1 and H2, respectively). The

findings are presented in Figure 3.2. The interaction between performance and attitude

typicality did not reach significance, $F(1,63) = 1.71$, $p = .195$, $\eta^2 = .02$. However, simple

comparisons revealed that followers trusted leaders with prototypical attitudes more if they

were high-performing (*M*=6.00; *SD*=.76) rather than average-performing (*M*=5.24;

SD=1.06; high-performing leaders with non-prototypical attitudes: *M*=4.98; *SD*=1.09;

average-performing leaders with non-prototypical attitudes: *M*=4.81; *SD*=.82), $F(1,63) =$

6.02, p =.017. Also, in the case of high-performing leaders, trust varied significantly as a function of attitude prototypicality, $F(1,63) = 10.05$, p =.002, indicating that followers trusted high-performing leaders with prototypical attitudes (M=6.00; SD=.76) more than high-performing leaders with non-prototypical attitudes (M=4.98; SD=1.09).
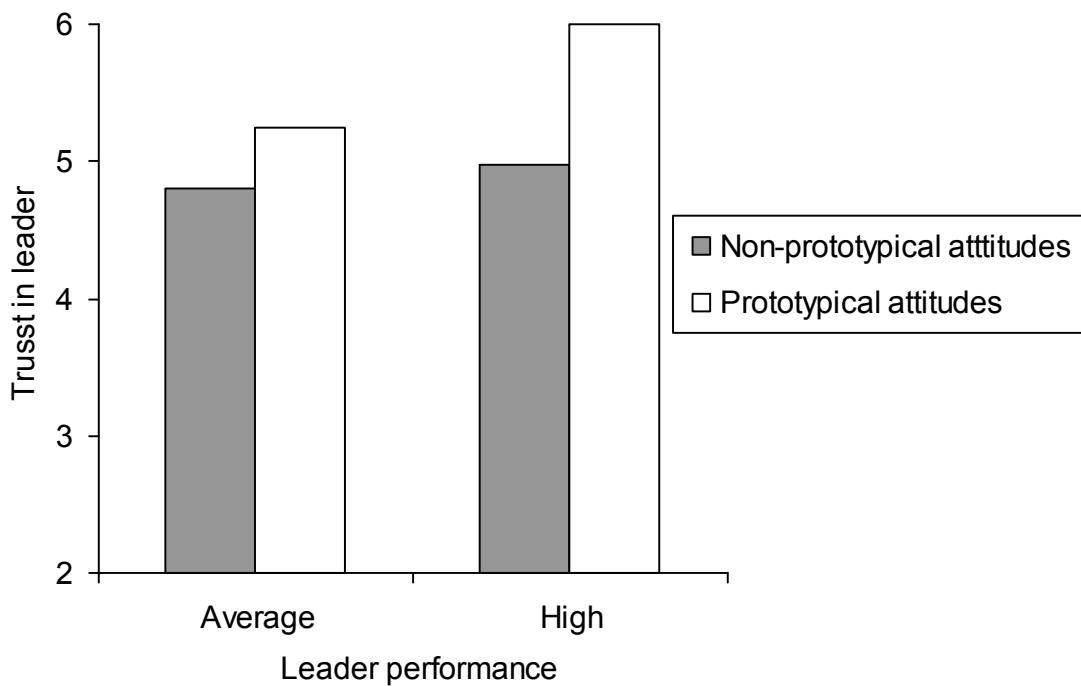
Figure 3.2 Study 1: The impact of leader's personal performance and attitude prototypicality on trust in leader.

Discussion

The above findings suggest that followers' support for a leader is determined both by that leader's performance and by that leader's attitude prototypicality. Consistent with H1, a high-performing leader was more trusted (but not more supported) by followers than one whose performance was average. Consistent with H2, followers were more supportive and trusting of a leader with attitudes prototypical of the ingroup than they were of one

whose attitudes were non-prototypical. Importantly, however, followers' support for a leader also varied as an interactive function of these two variables in a manner consistent with H3. Thus, a high-performing leader received more support than an average-performing one only when that leader's attitudes were prototypical of the group. Although this interaction was not significant for the measure of followers' trust in their leaders, simple comparisons also indicated that a high-performing leader was more trusted than an average-performing one only if that leader's attitudes were prototypical of respondents' ingroup.

These findings thus lend solid preliminary support for the arguments outlined in the Introduction. Nevertheless, the underlying *processes* that might account for the interactive effects of leaders' performance and group attitude prototypicality are still unclear. To investigate these issues in greater depth we therefore conducted a second study.

Study 2

Study 2 aimed to replicate and extend the findings of the previous experiment by (a) using a different sample (economics students), (b) employing continuous manipulation checks in order to assess the strength of the manipulations, (c) utilizing descriptive graphical illustrations (i.e., labelling performance as *low* and *high*) rather than prescriptive ones (i.e., labelling performance with minus and plus symbols), and (d) testing the hypothesis that a (male) leader's perceived advancement of the ingroup mediates the interactive effect of that leader's performance and attitude prototypicality on followers' support for, and trust in, his leadership (i.e., H4).

Method

Participants

Eighty-nine undergraduate economics students at a British university volunteered to participate in this study as part of a class exercise (56 males and 31 females; two participants did not provide demographic data). The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 40 years (M=19.47; SD=2.56). Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (leader's attitude prototypicality: group prototypical vs. non-prototypical) X 2 (performance: average vs. high) between-participants experimental design.

Design and Procedure

Independent variables. The manipulations were similar to those in Study 1; however, the graphical illustrations of leaders' performance and attitude prototypicality were altered in the following ways. First, the graph that indicated the distribution of team members along the dimension 'attitudes' ranged from *mild*, through the scale mid-point *intermediate*, to *extreme*. In this graph the leader was shown to occupy either an intermediate position at the scale mid-point (in the prototypical condition) or an extreme position at the upper end of the dimension (in the non-prototypical condition). Second, the graph that showed team members' distribution in 'performance' ranged from *low* to *high* and the leader occupied either a position denoting average relative performance or a position indicative of high relative performance.

Dependent measures. Following the manipulations, participants first indicated how typical they felt the leader was in terms of (a) attitudes and (b) performance on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*very untypical*) to 7 (*very typical*). These two items served as manipulation checks. Second, participants responded to items that assessed (a) *leader's team advancement* (four items; α = .90; e.g., "The way [this leader] relates to the team

allows him to advance the team"; "The way [this leader] relates to the team is ideal for leadership of the team"), (b) *leadership endorsement* (the same four items as in Study 1; α = .92), and (c) *trust in the leader* (the same three items as in Study 1; α = .82) on 7-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). After providing demographic data, participants were invited to provide comments on the study, and, once they had done this, they were fully debriefed.

Results

Manipulation checks. A series of 2 (performance) X 2 (attitude prototypicality) between-participants analyses of variance examined responses to manipulation checks and other dependent measures. Analysis of perceived *attitude typicality* yielded only a significant main effect for attitude prototypicality, $F(1,85) = 146.83$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .63$, suggesting that the leaders' attitude prototypicality was perceived to be higher in the prototypical condition ($M=6.08$, $SD=1.23$) than in the non-prototypical condition ($M=2.31$; $SD=1.55$). Analysis of perceived *performance typicality* yielded only a significant main effect for performance, $F(1,85) = 118.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .57$. In line with the manipulation, the leader's performance was perceived to be more typical in the average performance condition ($M=6.02$; $SD=1.30$) than in the high performance condition ($M=2.33$; $SD=1.84$). These patterns indicate that both manipulations were successful.

Table 3.1 Study 2: Means and standard deviations for followers' evaluations of leaders as a function of attitude prototypicality and personal performance.

	Leader with non-prototypical attitudes		Leader with prototypical attitudes	
Dependent measure	Average-performing	High-performing	Average-performing	High-performing
Leader's team advancement	4.38_c (1.33)	4.15_{ac} (1.22)	3.53_a (1.43)	5.05_b (1.09)
Leadership endorsement	4.22_{ab} (1.30)	4.20_{ab} (1.19)	3.72_a (1.32)	4.84_b (1.16)
Trust in leader	4.09_a (1.12)	4.64_{ab} (.92)	3.69_a (1.09)	5.20_b (1.09)

Note: Means in same row with no common subscript letter are significantly different from each other ($p < .05$).

Leader's team advancement. Means and standard deviations for all dependent measures are presented in Table 3.1. Consistent with H1, analysis yielded a main effect for performance, $F(1,85) = 5.52$, $p = .021$, $\eta^2 = .05$. However, supporting H3, this effect was qualified by a significant interaction, $F(1,85) = 10.05$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .10$. The interaction is illustrated in Figure 3.3 and was decomposed by means of pairwise comparisons. These indicated that the leader with prototypical attitudes was seen to advance the team to a greater extent when his performance was high ($M=5.05$) rather than average ($M=3.53$), $F(1,85) = 12.72$, $p = .001$. Moreover, a leader who displayed average performance was considered to advance the team more when his attitudes were non-prototypical ($M=4.38$) rather than prototypical of the team ($M=3.53$), $F(1,85) = 4.49$, $p = .037$. Furthermore, high-performing leaders were seen to advance the team more when they had prototypical ($M=5.05$) rather than non-prototypical attitudes ($M=4.15$), $F(1,85) = 5.63$, $p = .020$.
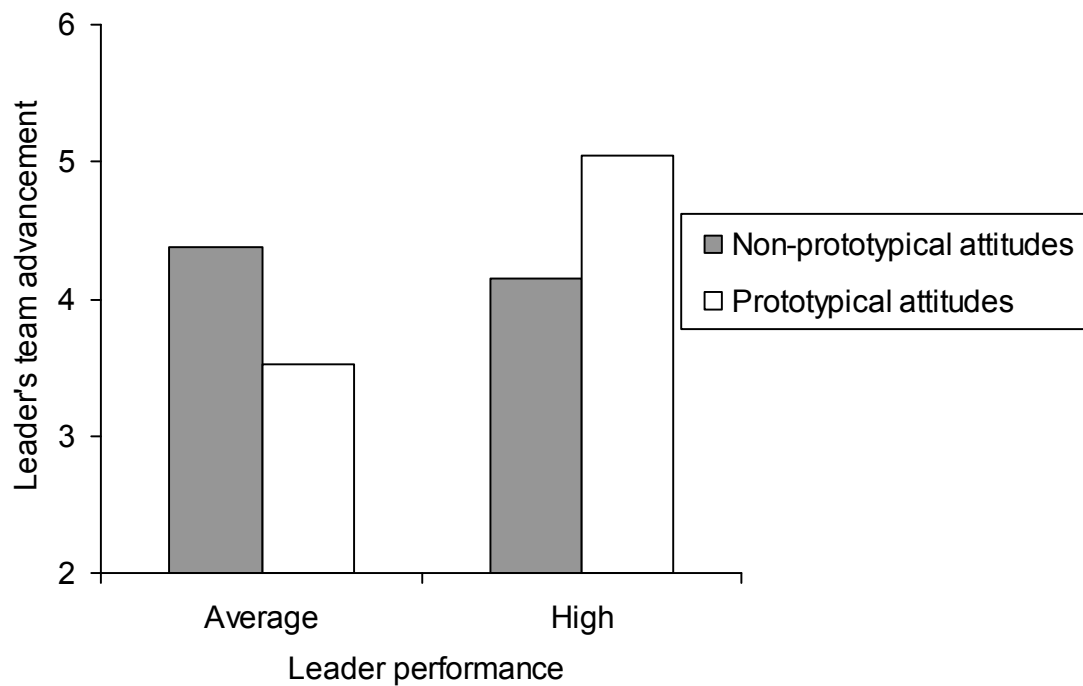
Figure 3.3 Study 2: The impact of leader's personal performance and attitude prototypicality on leader's team advancement.

Leadership endorsement. Analysis revealed a main effect for performance, $F(1,85)$ = 4.17, p = .044, η^2 = .04, that was consistent with H1. Supporting H3, this main effect was again qualified by a significant interaction, $F(1,85)$ = 4.48, p = .037, η^2 = .05. This is presented in Figure 3.4 and was decomposed by means of pairwise comparisons. These indicated that followers were more supportive of leaders with prototypical attitudes who displayed high performance (M=4.84) than of leaders with prototypical attitudes who displayed average performance (M=3.72), $F(1,85)$ = 7.22, p = .009. Moreover, respondents tended to be more supportive of high-performing leaders with prototypical attitudes (M=4.84) than of high-performing leaders with non-prototypical attitudes (M=4.20), $F(1,85)$ = 4.56, p = .09.
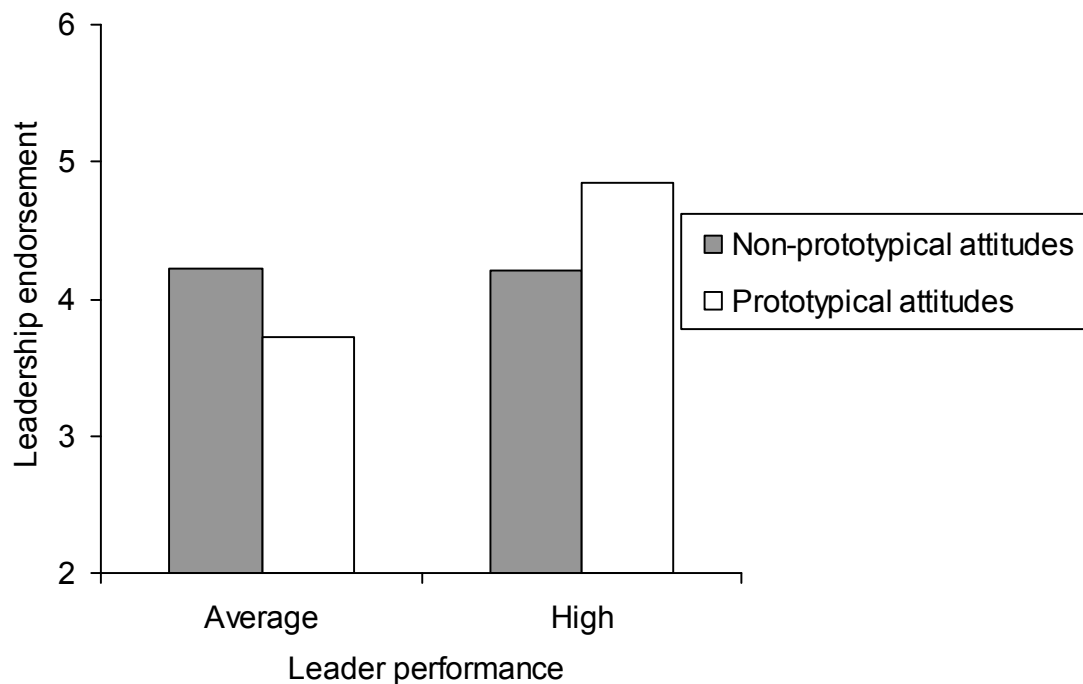
Figure 3.4 Study 2: The impact of leader's personal performance and attitude

prototypicality on leadership endorsement.

Trust in leader. In line with H1, the analysis yielded a significant main effect for

performance, $F(1,85) = 20.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .18$. This too was qualified by a significant

interaction, supporting H3, $F(1,85) = 4.41$, $p = .039$, $\eta^2 = .04$. This interaction is illustrated

in Figure 3.5. Pairwise comparisons indicated that followers trusted leaders with

prototypical attitudes who displayed high performance more (*M*=5.20) than those with

prototypical attitudes who displayed average performance (*M*=3.69), $F(1,85) = 18.37$, *p*

<.001. At the same time, followers tended to trust leaders with non-prototypical attitudes

more if they were high-performers (*M*=4.64) rather than average-performers (*M*=4.09),

$F(1,85) = 3.68$, *p* =.058. However, followers also tended to trust high-performing leaders

more when their attitudes were prototypical of the group (*M*=5.20) rather than non-prototypical (*M*=4.64), $F(1,85) = 3.19$, $p = .078$.
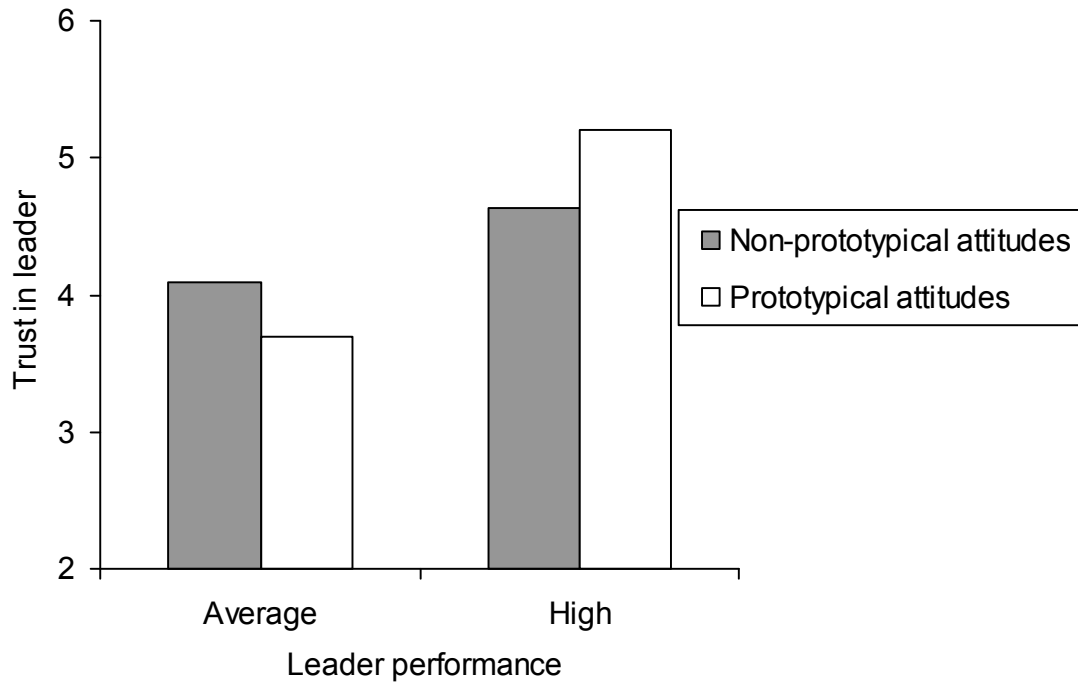
Figure 3.5 Study 2: The impact of leader's personal performance and attitude prototypicality on trust in leader.

Mediated moderation analysis. This analysis examined whether the interactive effects of leader performance and attitude prototypicality on measures of followers' trust in, and support for, his leadership were mediated by the leader's perceived team advancement. This involved conducting mediated moderation by means of a series of multiple regression analyses and Sobel tests (following procedures recommended by Baron & Kenny, 1986; Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005). Step 1 found that the interaction between the leader's performance and attitude prototypicality predicted significantly trust in leadership, $\beta = .21$, $t(85) = 2.10$, $p = .039$, as well as leadership endorsement, $\beta = .23$, $t(85) = 2.12$, $p = .037$.

Step 2 revealed that the mediator (leader's perceived team advancement) was also predicted by the interaction between leader's performance and attitude prototypicality, $\beta = .33$, $t(85) = 3.17$, $p = .002$ (as well as by performance, $\beta = .24$, $t(85) = 2.35$, $p = .021$, but not by attitude prototypicality, $\beta = .01$, $t(85) = .09$, $p = .931$). In Step 3, trust in the leader and leadership endorsement were separately regressed on leader's performance, attitude prototypicality, their interaction, as well as leader's advancement of the team. As expected, when all predictors were entered in the analysis, the relationship between the mediator (leader's team advancement) and leadership endorsement was still significant, $\beta = .38$, $t(84) = 3.61$, $p = .001$, but the influence of the interaction between performance and attitude typicality on leadership endorsement was reduced, Sobel test, $z = 2.38$, $p = .002$, and became non-significant, $\beta = .10$, $t(84) = .97$, $p = .337$. Similarly, analysis revealed that the relationship between leader's team advancement and trust in the leader was still significant, $\beta = .42$, $t(84) = 4.46$, $p < .001$, while the effect of the interaction between performance and attitude prototypicality on trust in the leader was significantly reduced, Sobel test, $z = 2.58$, $p < .001$, and became non-significant, $\beta = .07$, $t(84) = .75$, $p = .458$. In sum, supporting H4, and as shown in Figure 3.6, the leader's perceived team advancement mediated the moderation of leader's performance by attitude prototypicality on both trust in, and support for, his leadership.

```
          β = .33'        Leader's team        β = .38'
                          advancement

Leader's performance X                              Leadership endorsement
attitude typicality       β = .23*    β = .10


          β = .33'        Leader's team        β = .42''
                          advancement

Leader's performance X                              Trust in leader
attitude typicality       β = .21'    β = .07
```
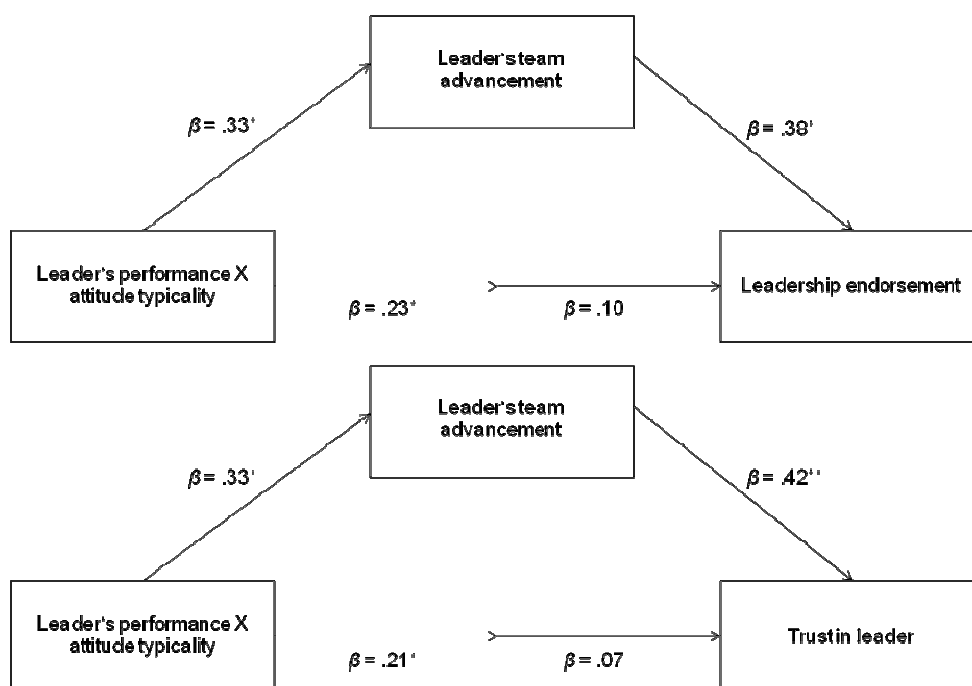
Figure 3.6 Study 2: Leader's team advancement mediates the moderation of leader's personal performance by attitude prototypicality.

Discussion

Study 2 extends the findings of Study 1 in two significant ways. First, it replicated the previous finding that followers' responses to a leader varied interactively as function of that leader's performance and attitude prototypicality in a different sample (i.e., students of economics rather than psychology). Thus, as in Study 1, it is apparent that a leader's high performance only made a difference to followers' trust and support if that leader was also representative of the group in attitudinal terms.

Furthermore, the moderation of leader's performance by his attitude prototypicality (as shown on measures of trust and leader endorsement) was mediated by the degree to which followers perceived the leader to advance their team. In other words, followers trusted and supported a high-performing leader with prototypical group attitudes more than

either a low-performing leader with prototypical group attitudes or a high-performing leader with non-prototypical group attitudes, because this leader was seen as someone who was advancing the ingroup. In short, it is only when — and because — leaders 'do it for us' that their high performance impresses followers.

Although findings from scenario experiments are valid and are often identical to those generated by field studies (De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2002; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005), it is nevertheless the case that we still lack evidence for the proposed relationships in the field. In order to address this issue and to further substantiate our hypotheses, we therefore conducted a third study.

Study 3

Study 3 aimed to examine our hypotheses in the field. In this study, we adapted an experimental strategy that has been used successfully to explore the effects of leaders' representativeness and vision on their effectiveness (Halevy, Berson, & Galinsky, 2011) by asking participants to reflect on their (current or past) team leader. In the current study participants were asked to call to mind a team leader who resembled a provided leader description, with the aim of manipulating leaders' prototypicality and performance (see details below). Dependent measures assessed not only the leader's team advancement but also his or her charisma (after Burns, 1978) — a central leadership resource that has been shown to be related to various positive work and organizational outcomes (e.g., for reviews see Bass & Riggio, 2006; Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Haslam & Reicher, in press; Hiller, DeChurch, Murase, & Doty, 2011; Judge & Piccolo, 2004).

Method

Participants

Two hundred twenty-six people (116 female; 105 male; five did not indicate their demographic data) from the US, UK, and Canada were recruited via Amazon's Mechanical Turk — an online research tool that makes use of a large participant pool, an integrated compensation system, and a streamlined process of participant recruitment and data collection (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). The survey's advertisement indicated that participation was restricted to people with work experience and that they would receive a reimbursement of $0.20 upon the survey's completion. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 79 years (M=35.40, SD=11.92), their work experience ranged from one to 45 years (M=13.53, SD=10.18), and their experience with their team leader from one to 34 years (M=3.58, SD=3.94). Team size varied from one to 56 members (M=10.01, SD=7.55), the vast majority of participants were white-collar workers (from over 25 different industries), and they had worked on average for four different organizations (SD=3.38; Min=1; Max=31). Participants were randomly assigned to one of four leader descriptions in a 2 (leader's attitude prototypicality: group prototypical vs. non-prototypical) X 2 (performance: average vs. high) between-participants design.

Design and Procedure

Independent variables. Participants were asked to reflect on a current or past team and its leaders. They were asked to recall a leader "who is very [vs. not very] representative of what it means to be a member of the team, and who at the same time is extremely [vs. moderately] skilful and shows high [vs. moderate] performance". Participants were then provided with a more detailed leader description. Specifically, those who were presented with a description of a highly prototypical [vs. non-prototypical] leader were asked to recall

a leader who does [vs. does not] represent the characteristics of their team. The leaders' attitudes and opinions were indicated to be very similar to [vs. different from] those of other team members. With regards to his or her attitudes and opinions, the leader was described to be a very typical [vs. non-typical] team member who embodies [vs. does not embody] what it means to be a member of the team.

After this, we provided descriptions of the leader's performance. Here, we sought to avoid any inference that the performance of team members, the team, or the organization could be attributed to leaders' personal performance (e.g., Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987). In order to distinguish between performance and capacity of the individual leader as opposed to that of other organizational members, we referred to leaders' capability in terms of performance, skills, and abilities that related clearly to the individual (vs. that of other team members). In particular, participants provided with a description of a leader whose performance was high [vs. average] were asked to reflect on a leader who is an outstanding [vs. average] team member with regards to his or her performance, skills, and abilities. The leader was described as performing well above the average of other team members [vs. performing like an average member of the team]. His or her capability and performance were indicated to be better than [vs. similar to] that of most other members of the team.

Dependent measures. Following the manipulations, participants responded on 7-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) to items measuring (a) *leader prototypicality* (two items adapted from Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; $r = .84$; "This team leader is representative of other team members"; "This leader has attitudes and opinions that are typical of other team members"), (b) *leader performance* (two items; $r = .80$; "This leader has the ability to do tasks very well", "This team leader has outstanding skills"), (c) *leader's team advancement* (three items; $\alpha = .93$; "The way in

which this leader relates to the team advances the team", "This leader promotes the interests of the team", "The way this leader relates to the team is ideal for leadership of the team"), and (d) *leader charisma* (four items inspired by Bass, 1985, and adopted from Platow et al., 2006; α = .94; "This person is a charismatic leader", This leader has a vision that spurs people on", "This leader increases others' optimism for the future", "This leader gives people a sense of overall purpose"). After this, participants completed relevant demographic measures and were debriefed in full.

Results

Manipulation checks. A 2 (prototypicality) X 2 (performance) between-participants analysis of variance on perceived prototypicality yielded a significant effect for prototypicality, $F(1,222) = 215.61$, $p < .001$, no effect for performance, $F(1,222) = .10$, $p = .750$, and a trend towards a significant interaction, $F(1,222) = 2.63$, $p = .106$. The main effect indicated that prototypical leaders were perceived to be more representative ($M=5.71$, $SD=1.26$) than their non-prototypical counterparts ($M=2.92$, $SD=1.60$). Analysis of perceived leader performance yielded a significant effect for performance, $F(1,222) = 41.98$, $p < .001$, a trend for prototypicality, $F(1,222) = 2.76$, $p = .098$, but no significant interaction between the two, $F(1,222) = 1.30$, $p = .255$. This suggested that the performance of high-performing leaders was perceived to be greater ($M=5.92$, $SD=1.26$) than that of their moderate-performing counterparts ($M=4.77$, $SD=1.43$), but that respondents also tended to perceive the performance of leaders who were prototypical to be more distinguished ($M=5.53$, $SD=1.41$) than that of leaders who were non-prototypical ($M=5.23$, $SD=1.50$).

Analyses of the manipulation checks indicated that manipulations (i.e., leader descriptions) affected perceptions of (a) performance and (b) prototypicality. However,

these manipulations were not completely independent. Specifically, perceptions of leaders'

prototypicality also tended to be influenced by the interaction between descriptions of

performance and prototypicality. At the same time, perceptions of leaders' performance

tended to be determined by their prototypicality. These findings are in line with ideas and

observations discussed in Chapter 4 that suggest that perceptions of leader prototypicality

and performance are often positively related in the field. Nevertheless, they warn against

the use of analysis of variance (due to the violation of assumptions of independence

between independent variables)[1] and instead suggest use of regression analysis in order to

ensure that independent variables (leader prototypicality and performance) map onto

followers' actual perceptions of prototypicality and performance (i.e., explicit measures).

Accordingly, we ran a series of linear regressions in which dependent measures were

regressed on explicit measures of performance and prototypicality (i.e., the manipulation

checks) as well as the interaction term between them. In line with recommendations by

Aiken and West (1991), independent variables were *z*-standardized before calculating the

interaction term.

Leader's team advancement. Analysis revealed a significant effect for

prototypicality, $\beta = .70$, $t_{(217)} = 17.58$, $p < .001$, and for performance, $\beta = .31$, $t_{(217)} = 7.55$, p

$< .001$ (supporting H1 and H2). However, supporting H3, these were qualified by a

significant interaction, $\beta = .08$, $t_{(217)} = 2.03$, $p = .044$. The interaction is presented in Figure

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[1] We nevertheless also ran a 2 X 2 between-participants analyses of variance on the
dependent measures. This analysis revealed significant main effects of performance and
prototypicality and a non-significant interaction on both team advancement and perceived
charisma. It is not surprising that this ANOVA fails to reveal a significant interaction given
the fact that neither of the manipulations of the independent variables was constrained to
the intended variables. As indicated above, in order to address these issues and to ensure
that the analysis reflects actual perceptions of performance and prototypicality we
employed linear regression analysis (Aiken & West, 1991).

3.7 (note that low and high refer to 1 SD below and 1 SD above the sample mean,

respectively) and was decomposed by means of simple slope analysis (Aiken & West,

1991). This indicated that when leaders were non-prototypical of the ingroup, performance

had a positive impact on team advancement, $\beta = .23$, $t_{(217)} = 4.80$, $p < .001$. However,

providing support for H3, when leaders were prototypical this impact was more

pronounced, $\beta = .39$, $t_{(217)} = 6.02$, $p < .001$.
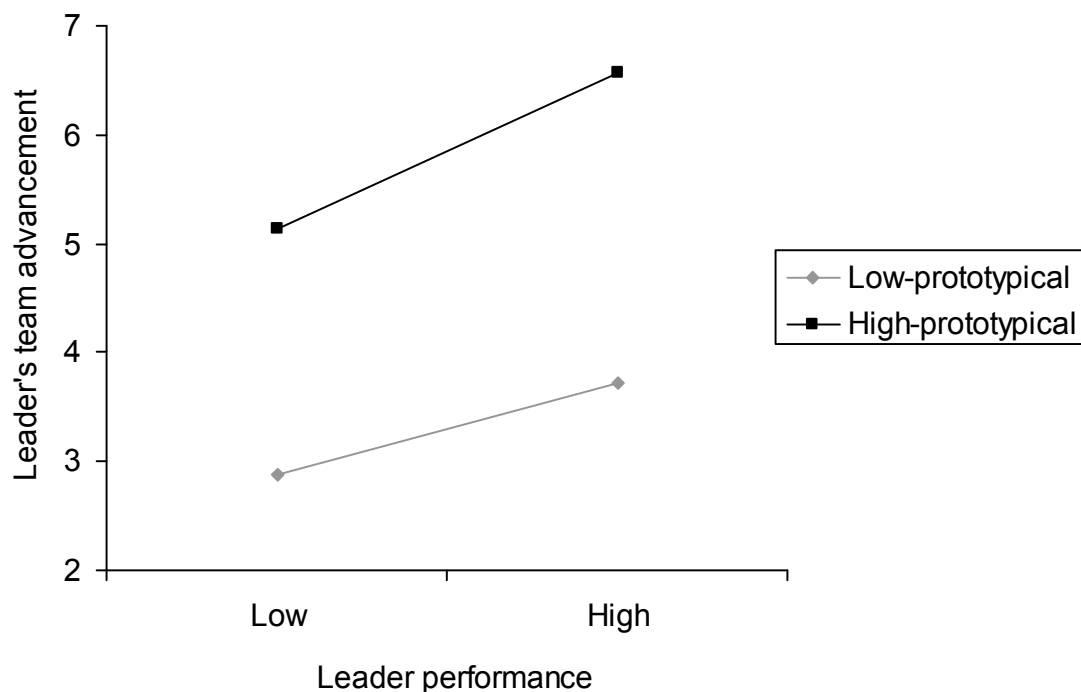
Figure 3.7 Study 3: The impact of leader's personal performance and prototypicality on

leader's team advancement.

Leader charisma. Leader charisma was significantly predicted by leader

prototypicality, $\beta = .54$, $t_{(217)} = 11.28$, $p < .001$, performance, $\beta = .39$, $t_{(217)} = 7.95$, $p < .001$,

and by their interaction, $\beta = .14$, $t_{(217)} = 2.98$, $p = .003$, which is presented in Figure 3.8

(note that low and high refer to 1 SD below and 1 SD above the sample mean,

respectively). Simple slope analysis indicated that performance impacted positively on leader charisma when leaders were non-prototypical, $\beta = 25$, $t_{(217)} = 4.33$, $p = .001$. Importantly, though, in support of H3, when followers perceived the leader to be prototypical, this positive effect on charisma was even stronger, $\beta = .53$, $t_{(217)} = 6.86$, $p < .001$.
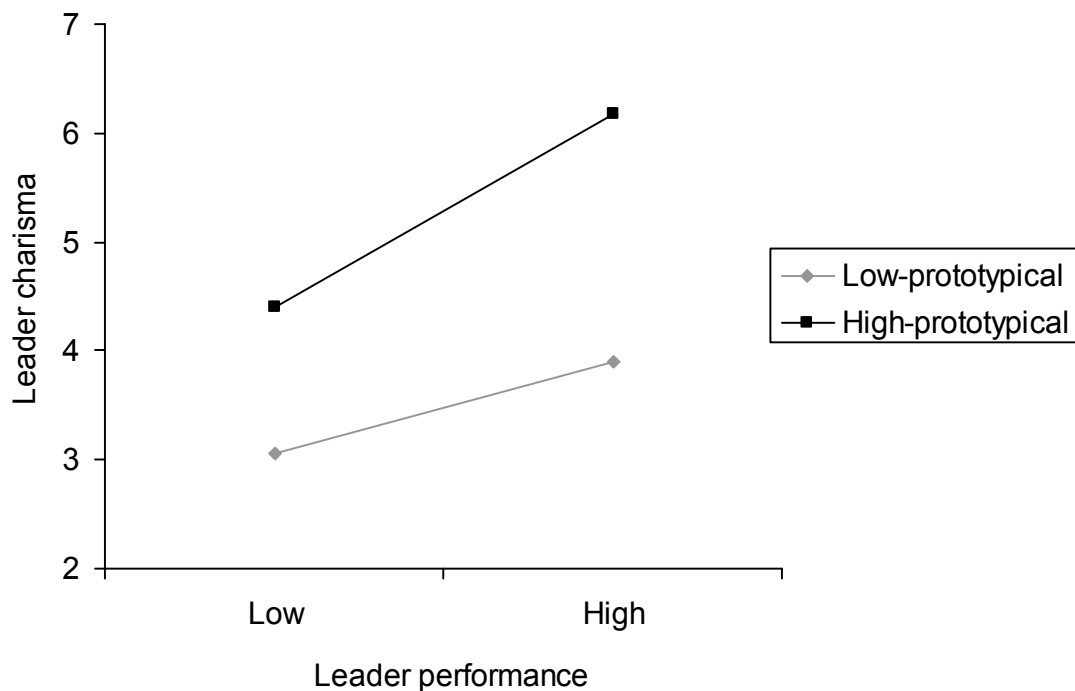
Figure 3.8 Study 3: The impact of leader's personal performance and prototypicality on leader charisma.

Mediated moderation analysis. Following recommendations by Baron and Kenny (1986; see also Muller et al., 2005), we also ran a series of regressions and a Sobel test in order to examine whether effects on charisma were mediated by leaders' team advancement. As indicated above, separate regression analyses revealed that performance and prototypicality predicted both team advancement (the mediator) and charisma (the

dependent variable). However, when team advancement was added as a predictor to the independent variables, leader's team advancement significantly predicted charisma, $\beta = .81$, $t_{(217)} = 13.34$, $p < .001$, but the interaction between performance and prototypicality, $\beta = .08$, $t_{(217)} = 2.29$, $p = .023$, was significantly reduced, Sobel test, $z = 2.02$, $p = .044$. Thus, leaders' team advancement partially mediated the moderation of performance by prototypicality on perceptions of charisma.

Discussion

This evidence from the field indicates that followers' favourable reactions to leaders are determined both by leaders' personal performance and by their prototypicality. Specifically, findings suggest that followers perceived leaders to advance the group more and to be more charismatic as leaders' prototypicality and performance increased. Importantly, leaders' prototypicality and personal performance also interacted such that the positive impact of leaders' performance on perceived team advancement and charisma was more pronounced to the extent that they were perceived to represent an identity that was shared with followers. Moreover, there was also evidence that effects on leader charisma were mediated by perceptions of social identity advancement. More precisely, it appears that followers were more likely to use performance as a basis for ratings of leaders' charisma (in ways suggested by Meindl, 1995) when those leaders were also prototypical of the ingroup.

The current study complements and extends the findings from the previous two studies in two important respects. First, the study validates previous findings by indicating that the proposed processes are not limited to findings generated under laboratory conditions. However, as ratings of independent (performance and prototypicality) and dependent variables (team advancement and charisma) originated from the same source

(i.e., followers), they are likely to enhance correlations between them (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). However, this methodological limitation actually worked against, and provided a more conservative test of, our interaction hypothesis (H3) because common method variance cannot generate spurious interactions and in fact reduces the likelihood of revealing them where they exist (McClelland & Judd, 1993).

Second, the current findings not only provided further evidence that leaders' personal performance and prototypicality interact to determine perceptions of team advancement, but also extend these findings by indicating that these two variables interactively impact on perceptions of charisma. On the one hand, this finding is significant because charisma can be seen as a critical resource that is central to influential models of leadership (Bass & Riggio, 2006; Burns, 1978; Conger & Kanungo, 1998). On the other hand, the findings are significant because they support previous claims that perceptions of leader charisma are bound up with processes of both representing and championing a shared social identity (Haslam et al., 2001; Platow et al., 2006).

General Discussion

In the three studies presented here we expected (a) that followers would generally react more positively to leaders whose performance was exceptional (i.e., non-typically high) than to those whose performance was average (i.e., group typical) and (b) that leaders with ingroup prototypical attitudes would generally elicit more positive reactions from followers than leaders with non-prototypical attitudes. The former prediction follows from implicit leadership and transformational leadership theory (Bass & Riggio, 2006; Lord et al., 1978; Phillips & Lord, 1982; Rush et al., 1977); the latter follows from previous work inspired by social identity theorizing (e.g., Haslam, 2001; Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001;

Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; Turner & Haslam, 2001; Platow et al., 2006; Subašić, Reynolds, Turner, Veenstra & Haslam, 2011; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). Although effects were always in the predicted direction, and often significant, across the suite of studies, support for both of these predictions was mixed.

Importantly, though, we also predicted that these main effects would be qualified by an interaction between leaders' personal performance and group prototypicality (H3). Support for this hypothesis was strong across all three studies. More specifically, Studies 1 and 2 generated evidence that high-performing leaders only secured greater trust and greater support from followers than average-performing leaders if they were perceived to be representative of ingroup identity in attitudinal terms. In addition, findings from Study 3 indicated that when leaders were perceived to be prototypical (rather than non-prototypical) of the ingroup, the impact of their personal performance on perceptions of charisma was more pronounced. It thus seems that leaders who are outstanding performers have exceptional *potential* to lead followers — because they may be admired for their extraordinary capabilities and act as role models (e.g., Bass & Riggio, 2006; Earley & Kanfer, 1985; Podsakoff et al., 1990; Rakestraw & Weiss, 1981) — but that this potential is only *fulfilled* when they are also perceived to be 'one of us' such that their extraordinary performance is seen to advance the group in the right way (Haslam et al., 2011). Consistent with this idea, mediational analysis in Studies 2 and 3 supported the suggestion that interactions between performance and prototypicality arose from the fact that high-performing group prototypical leaders were more likely to be perceived to be advancing group interests (H4). In other words, 'doing it well' only enhanced a leader's standing when — and because — that leader was also 'doing it for us'.

Theoretical implications

In the first instance, the present findings show that leaders' representativeness of a group is often *crucial but not sufficient* for those leaders to be endorsed and perceived as trustworthy and charismatic (cf. Halevy et al., 2011). While considerable research has investigated and demonstrated the importance and influence of leader ingroup prototypicality on various forms of leader effectiveness (for reviews see Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; van Knippenberg, 2011), the current research indicates that leaders' representativeness (in the present) is not the only factor that determines whether followers are motivated to back up their leaders. Indeed, the present studies show that — providing they are seen to be normatively representative of the group — leaders can be influential if they are also *un*representative in ways that help the group to advance its goals (in the present case, if they have distinctive abilities that will help advance the group in the future). Accordingly, in interaction with their prototypicality, leaders' capacity to serve as high-performing role models plays an important part in enhancing their impact on followers. The evidence that supports these claims marries with recent theorizing that suggests that leaders have to be perceived not only to *embody* a shared identity and but also to *champion* group interests (as well as to craft and embed a shared identity; Haslam et al., 2011).

In supporting these ideas, the present findings also help to shed light on the concept of prototypicality as it has been conceived and operationalized in previous research. In particular, they help us to answer the question as to whether leaders need to be *typical* (i.e., similar to other members of the group) or *ideal* (i.e., dissimilar to other members of the group) in order to lead other group members effectively. What we see here is that leaders may be most effective if they are typical on identity-defining dimensions (e.g., in their

values, attitudes, and opinions) such that they are clearly understood 'to be one of us',

while at the same time being ideal on identity-advancing dimensions (e.g., in terms of their

knowledge, skills, abilities, and performance) such that they are clearly able 'to do it for

us'.

Along these lines, Reicher and colleagues (Reicher & Hopkins, 2003; Reicher et al.,

2005; see also Haslam et al., 2011) have argued that leading social identities is as much

about 'becoming' as it is about 'being'. Effective leaders develop an understanding of the

group that they are leading and actively strive to create a social reality that corresponds to

the shared beliefs of the group (Haslam & Reicher, 2007). Thus, in order to be maximally

effective (i.e., influential), a leader needs not only to be representative of the group in the

present, but also to epitomize the goals and ideals that the group is striving for — and be

perceived to have the ability and skills to take the group towards their realization.

The findings also provide some insights into ways of integrating the social identity

approach to leadership (e.g., Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003) and

transformational and charismatic theories of leadership (e.g., Bass & Riggio, 2006; Conger

& Kanungo, 1998; Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). Transformational leadership theory

asserts that leaders are charismatic (and effective) to the degree that they act as role models

and demonstrate extraordinary capabilities, thereby leading by example and exerting

idealized influence (Bass & Riggio, 2006; Podsakoff et al., 1990). While the current

findings support the claim that leaders' exceptional capabilities and performance may

enhance their charisma, they also suggest that the extent to which this is recognized

depends on the way in which followers categorize themselves and their leaders in terms of

shared group membership. In this way, the findings underscore previous findings which

demonstrate that charisma is inferred from the degree to which leaders are representative of

a common identity (Platow et al., 2006). However, they also extend these findings by suggesting that charismatic leader behaviours are not defined as such in the abstract, but rather acquire their meaning and value only when assessed against the backdrop of a shared social identity with which they are understood to be aligned (Haslam et al., 2011).

Limitations and future research directions

In addition to manipulating a leader's typicality with regard to attitudes and performance, future research should investigate the influence of the wider social context as well as the importance of comparison outgroups on perceptions of leadership (Reynolds, Turner, & Haslam, 2000). For instance, one might expect followers to respond more favourably to high-performing leaders with representative attitudes whose performance further increases the distinctiveness of the ingroup relative to salient outgroups as compared to those whose performance decreases the distinctiveness of the ingroup (Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1997). Moreover, followers might also be more approving of leaders with group-prototypical attitudes who display high performance than of their counterparts who display average performance in contexts of intergroup competition as compared to those of cooperation.

There would also be value in future research examining the degree to which performance contributes to the *normative content* of a group's identity (e.g., in elitist groups, in high performance sports teams, in nonconformist groups pursuing "alternative lifestyles"). In particular, it would be interesting to explore the active role of leaders in establishing performance as part of the normative content of the group's identity (e.g., by formulating organizational goals that emphasize performance-related attributes) and in shaping the social context (e.g., by encouraging a group's participation in competitions with other groups and by creating a culture of performance). Along similar lines, it would

be useful to examine the relationships between leaders' prototypicality, their personal performance, as well as the success of their group or organization (Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987). Here, one might expect that when groups fail to achieve group goals, prototypical leaders will be responded to more favourably when they display elevated, rather than moderate, performance and abilities but that this might not be the case for non-prototypical leaders.

Furthermore, in future research it would be worthwhile investigating leaders' group typicality on additional attributes (beyond attitudes and performance) that may be relevant to other social identity processes and other organizational contexts (e.g., a leader's power and status; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003; Ridgeway, 2001; H. J. Smith & Tyler, 1997). For instance, leaders with outstanding competence and recognized status might be highly respected by members of outgroups in general and this in turn may facilitate leaders' influence vis-à-vis outgroups (e.g., such leaders may find it easier to set up collaborations with rival groups). In line with the theorizing of the present investigation one might expect that if leaders of high standing fail to embody group identity, followers might disagree with the leader about the *direction* of group advancement and contest the *right course* to steer (Haslam & Reicher, 2007). In such a case, a leader's outstanding competence and acknowledged status could even prove damaging to the group as a whole and consequently to the leader's success.

Conclusion

The findings of the present research challenge widespread beliefs and organizational practices that place a primary (and sometimes exclusive) emphasis on performance (e.g., in recruitment and promotion, organizational strategic planning, or training and development). Distinguished performance *per se* is not the key to effective leadership. Indeed, it may be of

limited worth if it is perceived by followers to be misdirected. Accordingly, it appears that superior abilities and performance of leaders only guarantees leaders success if followers believe that these will be directed in ways that are beneficial to the group. To return to the quotation with which we started, it would appear that Albert Schweitzer was almost certainly right to observe that setting an example is key to one's success as a leader. Nevertheless, what the present research shows is that the process of setting a good example is far more nuanced than commentators and theorists have typically supposed.

Chapter 4

Leader performance and prototypicality: Their inter-relationship and

impact on identity entrepreneurship

Leaders must be close enough to relate to others but far enough ahead to motivate them.

John Maxwell (cited in Baum & Hassinger, 2002, p.51)

The above quote from John Maxwell speaks to an apparent paradox that lies at the

heart of the leadership process. On the one hand, we want leaders to be similar to other

group members, but, on the other, we also want them to be different. A key question is thus

how leaders are to meet both of these needs in the process of taking the group forward as a

whole. This is the issue that the present research attempts to tackle. In doing so, it provides

an alternative to previous research that has tended to treat representativeness and

exceptionality as if they were opposing forces. Instead we argue that in successful

leadership the two are aligned and interdependent.

As background to this investigation, there is evidence from previous research that

success as a leader is predicated both on leaders' performance (Haslam, Peters, & Steffens,

2011; Lord et al., 1978; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987; Meindl et al., 1985) and on their capacity

to embody the distinctive qualities of the group that they are leading (i.e., to be perceived as

prototypical of the ingroup; Hogg, 2001; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; Platow & van

Knippenberg, 2001; Turner, 1991; Turner & Haslam, 2001). Yet, while previous theory and

research has examined the independent impact of these factors on leaders' effectiveness

(e.g., Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008; see also Chapter 3), it has tended to neglect the impact that perceptions of leader performance and prototypicality have on each other.

In order to address this gap and to extend previous research, the present chapter reports findings from one field and two experimental studies that scrutinize the inter-relatedness of performance and prototypicality. More specifically, the research explores (a) whether followers' perceptions of a leader's ingroup prototypicality are correlated with assessments of the leader's performance, (b) whether followers make inferences about leaders' prototypicality on the basis of leaders' performance, and (c) whether the degree of leaders' ingroup prototypicality determines followers' perceptions of the performance of leaders. Furthermore it moves beyond the focus on perceived leader effectiveness to examine (d) the impact of performance and prototypicality on followers' perceptions that the leader is advancing their social identity as well as on a leader's ability to redefine ingroup norms and ideals (i.e., to be identity entrepreneurs; Haslam et al., 2011; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001, 2003).

The impact of prototypicality on perceptions of performance

The idea that leadership is predicated upon a leader's ability to both represent and advance the interests of the group that he or she leads is derived from work in the social identity tradition, which draws on both social identity and self-categorization theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987). This suggests that while we can think of ourselves, and act, as individuals (i.e., in terms of a personal identity), it is our ability to define ourselves as members of a common group (i.e., in terms of a shared social identity) that makes social influence and hence leadership possible (Turner, 1991). More precisely, it has been argued that a leader's ability to embody the meaning of an ingroup and to differentiate

it from relevant outgroups (i.e., to be prototypical of the ingroup; Hogg, 2001; Turner & Haslam, 2001) is a crucial determinant of his or her capacity to influence other group members and mobilize them to work towards the goals and vision that he or she articulates (Turner, 1991).

Since Turner's (1991) seminal analysis of social influence, a plethora of research has investigated the impact of leaders' relative ingroup prototypicality on their effectiveness (for comprehensive reviews see Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; van Knippenberg, 2011; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003). This research has provided abundant evidence from both the field and the laboratory that supports the theoretical claim that leaders are more successful to the extent that they are perceived to be prototypical of the ingroup. Indeed, when leaders are more prototypical of a group this contributes to a range of objective and subjective leadership outcomes including greater influence, improved effectiveness, and enhanced charisma (e.g., De Cremer et al., 2010; Fielding & Hogg, 1997; Lipponen et al., 2005; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; Platow et al., 2006; Ullrich et al., 2009; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). Moreover, not only does the ability to embody the ingroup result in higher effectiveness, but it also seems to "protect" the leader against unfavourable outcomes. Amongst other things, this means that prototypical leaders have a 'license to fail' (Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008; Giessner et al., 2009), such that they are subject to less criticism if they fall short of group goals (when these are maximal rather than minimal; Kessler et al., 2010).

However, although such research examines the impact of prototypicality on the leader's capacity to be effective, it fails to examine whether (and how) these elements relate to one another in the first place. Are perceptions of a leader's prototypicality and

performance dependent on each other? And if so, what is the nature of their inter-

relationship? These are the questions that the present chapter addresses.

To start with the former question, we argue that perceptions of prototypicality and

performance are not independent, but are in fact positively related. On the one hand, leaders

who display extraordinary (rather than ordinary) performance are likely to be seen not only

as more effective as leaders in general, but also as group members who embody group

qualities particularly well. On the other hand, whether leaders' performance is seen to be

ordinary or extraordinary should also depend on common group membership such that

performance evaluations are contingent on *whether* (or not) a leader shares group

membership and, more precisely, on the *degree* to which a leader is seen to be

representative of a shared social identity.

While perceptions of prototypicality and performance may go hand in hand, this

brings us to the question of the *direction* of this relationship and the issue of whether a

leader's prototypicality and performance are bidirectionally related (E. R. Smith, 1982). To

begin an analysis of their inter-relatedness, we suggest that prototypicality has a *causal*

influence on followers' perceptions of their performance. This is because self-

categorization processes are likely to shape the *meaning* of performance such that the

extent to which leaders' good performance is recognized will be determined by the degree

to which they are regarded as 'one of us' and their performance is displayed on the right

dimensions. Speaking to this point, there is empirical evidence that when people are seen to

share group membership and be ingroup prototypical, they are perceived (a) to have more

favourable qualities in general (Brewer, 1999), (b) to be more trustworthy (Platow et al.,

1990), (c) to be fairer (van Dijke & De Cremer, 2008), and (d) to be more creative

(Adarves-Yorno, Postmes, & Haslam, 2006, 2007). Extending this research, we expect not

only that a leader's prototypicality and performance may be positively correlated, but also that prototypicality may have a *causal* impact on perceptions of performance such that the performance of a leader who is highly representative of the ingroup is perceived to be superior to that of one who is less representative.

The impact of prototypicality on identity advancement and entrepreneurship

A leader's prototypicality and performance are critical aspects of their effectiveness. However, it has been argued that beyond these traditional conceptions of leader effectiveness, influential leaders act as (a) ingroup champions who stand up for the group and advance shared goals and ambitions (Haslam et al., 2011), and (b) identity entrepreneurs who not only create a 'sense of us' but also play a key role in defining what 'us' means (Haslam et al. 2011; Reicher et al., 2005). Yet while research has provided detailed qualitative analysis of the role that leaders' discourse and rhetorical strategies play in identity entrepreneurship (e.g., Haslam & Reicher, 2007; Reicher & Hopkins, 1996b, 2003), there is limited experimental evidence of these processes at work.

In this regard, we suggest that a leader's capacity to act as an ingroup champion who advances shared ambitions is predicated upon his or her representativeness of a common ingroup. Evidence for this proposition comes from research that demonstrates that followers support leaders when those leaders affirm (rather than deny, or are indifferent to) a shared social identity by promoting group interests (Haslam & Platow, 2001). What is more, group members also feel more empowered to the extent that they are able to live out valued social identities and realize the shared projects associated with them (Drury & Reicher, 2005; Reicher, 2004). Building on this theorizing, we anticipate that followers

infer that leaders who embody the group's essence are also seen to be ingroup champions capable of realizing and advancing shared aspirations.

Moreover, we also expect a leader's prototypicality to lay the foundations for his or her capacity to act as identity entrepreneurs by providing guidance for a group and by shaping its norms and ideals. In particular, a leader who is prototypical is likely to be able to influence followers' perceptions of norms in terms of what group members 'are doing' and 'should be doing' (which are powerful determinants of people's attitudes and behaviours; e.g., Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990[2]). This is because it is as an embodiment of the group that a leader is given freedom by followers to deviate from existing customs and cultivate new ingroup norms. Along these lines, empirical evidence suggests that when group members hold legitimate leadership positions (e.g., when they are conferred with the title "leader" rather than "member" of a group), followers are more likely to give them "credit to innovate" and to evaluate them more positively if they violate group norms (Abrams et al., 2008). Extending this research, we expect that followers will be more likely not only to forgive the transgression of prototypical (rather than non-prototypical) leaders, but also to adopt and internalize norms and ideals that these prototypical leaders promote.

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[2] In some writings, researchers have made the distinction between descriptive norms (i.e., reflecting beliefs about people's current behavior) and injunctive norms (i.e., reflecting beliefs about what people generally approve or disapprove of). The concept of 'ideals' or 'ideal norms' shares some overlap with that of injunctive norms. In the current thesis we will adhere to the terms 'ideals' and 'ideal norms' because they (a) capture those aspects that are related more closely to desires and ideals rather than approval and obligations, (b) are consistent with a tradition in cognitive psychology that refers to ideals and goals as part of a category's defining representation (e.g., Barsalou, 1985; Borkenau, 1990), and (c) mirror discussions in the leadership literature about the importance of leaders' creations of ideals and visions (e.g., Halevy et al., 2011; Reicher et al., 2005).

The impact of performance on perceptions of being 'one of us'

At the same time as a leader's embodiment of the group may influence followers' perceptions of performance, followers may also make inferences about leaders' prototypicality on the basis of their performance. In this regard, research suggests that followers' evaluations of leaders vary not only as a function of group achievements (Haslam et al., 2011; Lord et al., 1978; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987; Rush et al., 1977), but also as a function of leaders' accomplishments as individuals (e.g., Marak, 1964; Pheterson et al., 1971). Furthermore, it has been shown that when leaders exert extraordinary effort and display elevated performance this can serve to motivate followers (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997), enhance their perceived self-efficacy (Marx & Roman, 2002), and also increase their identification with the leader (Buunk et al., 2007).

Along related lines, research informed by leader categorization theory has shown that a leader's performance can be a cue to leader *stereotypicality* (i.e., the perception that he or she is a good leader in general; Phillips & Lord, 1982). In addition to being a cue to leader stereotypicality, we anticipate that performance is also cue to leader *prototypicality* (i.e., the perception that he or she is 'one of us'; Hogg, 2001; Turner & Haslam, 2001). Specifically, leaders who show high levels of performance themselves can augment the perceived value of their group and, on this basis, be perceived by followers as exemplary and valuable group members. Moreover, elevated performance can also increase a leader's prototypicality when the positive associations with performance provide more benefits to the ingroup rather than to a potential outgroup and thus increase intergroup differentiation. Along these lines, it is possible that non-typical high performance, rather than group-typical average performance, may actually *increase* perceptions of prototypicality. In sum then, a

leader who 'does what we value well' and contributes to the successes of the group may also be more likely to be seen as 'one of us' (see also Chapter 3).

The impact of performance on identity advancement and entrepreneurship

Key questions raised by the foregoing discussion are whether leaders' performance also enhances their capability to realize and advance shared ambitions and to act as identity entrepreneurs. We suggest that it does. Indeed, empirical evidence indicates that when leaders visibly promote the ingroup's interests and are perceived to be 'doing it for us', followers perceive them to be particularly charismatic (Haslam et al., 2001; see also Haslam et al., 2011). Similarly, when leaders are 'doing it well' by displaying elevated performance, followers are also more likely to infer that they take the group forward by contributing to the realization of collective aspirations. Thus, we anticipate that high-achieving leaders are not only seen to be prototypical group members but also to be particularly capable of advancing shared ambitions.

Again, the suggestion that leaders will be seen to advance group aspirations as a result of their extraordinary performance leads us to ask whether that performance also enhances their ability to influence group norms and goals. Here we anticipate that when leaders contribute to group achievements through their own high performance, they also enhance their ability to guide followers by defining the meaning and content of their shared social identity. This observation relates to research by Hollander (1958, 1964) that shows that, through their contribution to group goals, group members accumulate 'idiosyncrasy credits' which can then, metaphorically speaking, be "cashed in" in order to allow the leader to deviate from ingroup norms. Supporting these ideas, there is empirical evidence that the more capable and inspirational leaders are, the more likely followers are prepared

to tolerate their transgressions and the less likely they are to withdraw from the group (Shapiro et al., 2010).

While research suggests that leaders' contributions to group goals plays a role in determining whether they can (or cannot) get away with behaviour that clearly violates group norms (for a review of reactions to norm violations, see Packer, 2008), we also suggest that it plays a role in determining their ability to introduce novel group norms and ideals. Specifically, we propose that followers will look to high-achieving leaders in order to derive a sense of what it means to be 'one of us' in the here and now, and to form a sense of what we should aspire to become in the future. Putting these various points together, we propose a model (represented schematically in Figure 4.1) in which performance and ingroup prototypicality are bidirectionally related and jointly contribute to leaders' social identity advancement and entrepreneurship.
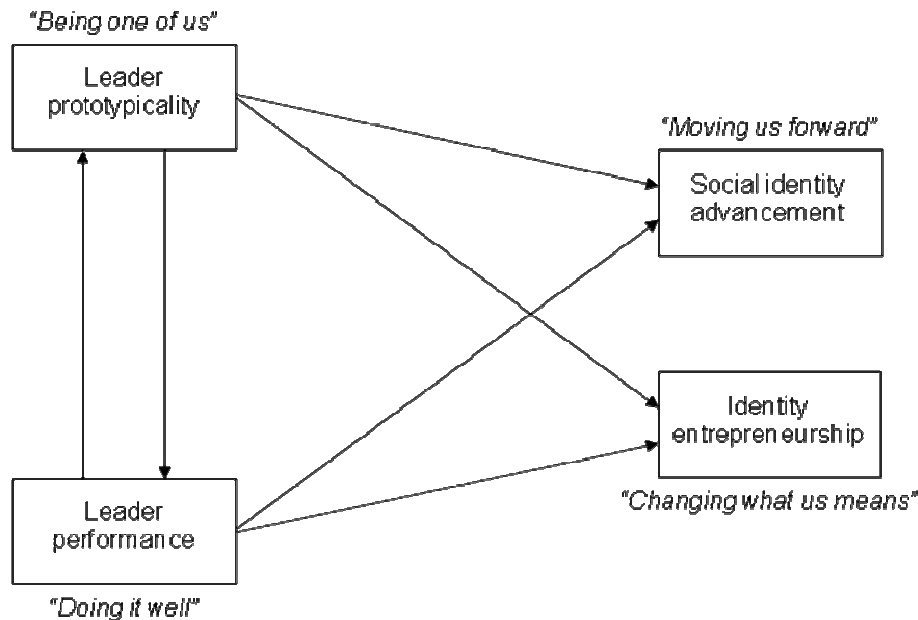
Figure 4.1 Model specifying the bidirectional relationship between leader performance and prototypicality each of which contribute to social identity advancement and entrepreneurship.

The present research

To explore these ideas, we present findings of one field study and two experimental studies that explore the inter-relatedness of leaders' prototypicality and performance. Based on the above theorizing, it is anticipated that followers' perceptions of leaders' performance and prototypicality are interdependent such that they are positively correlated in the field (H1). Beyond this, we examine the impact of leader performance on perceptions of prototypicality and leaders' capacity to engage in identity entrepreneurship. It is anticipated that leaders' performance (H2) will affect followers' perceptions of leaders' (a) prototypicality, (b) advancement of shared aspirations, and (c) effectiveness. Finally, the performance of leaders is expected to affect their ability to be identity entrepreneurs (H3) such that they are perceived to (a) shape group norms and ideals, (b) be influential, and (c) be good role models.

Furthermore, we assess the effect of leader prototypicality on perceptions of performance (and thereby test the bidirectional relationship between these two) and identity entrepreneurship. We hypothesize that prototypicality (H4) will impact on followers' perceptions of leaders' (a) performance, (b) advancement of shared goals and aspirations, and (c) effectiveness. We also hypothesized that prototypicality will determine a leader's capacity to engage in identity entrepreneurship (H5), as manifest in judgments that (a) they shape group norms (descriptive and ideal), (b) are influential, and (c) are good role models.

Study 4 provides a first test of the relationship between performance and prototypicality in the field. Findings are further explored in experiments that examine the impact of leader performance on perceptions of prototypicality, group advancement, and identity entrepreneurship (Study 5) as well as the effect of leader prototypicality on

perceptions of performance and leaders' capacity to act as ingroup champions and identity

entrepreneurs (Study 6).

Study 4

Study 4 investigated the nature of the relationship between a leader's performance

and prototypicality by surveying people with work experience from a range of different

industries. Specifically, the study provided a preliminary test of the proposed positive

correlation between performance and prototypicality (H1). Furthermore, it examined

whether performance (H2) and prototypicality (H4) would be positively related to (a)

followers' perceptions of social identity advancement and (b) their perceptions of leader

effectiveness.

Method

Participants

We recruited 105 people (77 females and 16 males; 12 missing data points) aged

between 17 and 55 years (M=28.85, SD=10.41; 14 missing data points) via websites in the

UK and the USA to participate in an online survey entitled "Social perceptions and feelings

in work groups". Participants' work experience ranged from one to 35 years (M=8.24,

SD=7.67; seven participants did not indicate their demographic data), their experience with

their team from one to 30 years (M=3.36, SD=4.12), and with their team leader from one to

30 years (M=2.66, SD=3.65). The teams comprised between two and 100 members

(M=12.45, SD=14.76), participants worked in over 30 different industries (the vast majority

were white-collar workers), and they had worked on average for four different

organizations (SD=2.66, Min=1, Max=19). Participation was voluntary, anonymous, and

not incentivized.

Design and Procedure

Participants were asked to reflect on their current work team and the corresponding team leader. If they did not have a current work team or team leader, they were asked to reflect on their most recent work team and the team leader they had worked for. Participants were asked to refer to the same team and team leader throughout the entirety of the survey. Once they had completed the survey, participants were thanked and fully debriefed.

Dependent measures. Participants responded on 6-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) to items assessing *leader prototypicality* (three items; $\alpha = .87$; e.g., "This team leader has attitudes that are typical of others in my team", "This team leader has similar attitudes to the members of my team"), *leader performance* (three items; $\alpha = .94$; e.g., "In his/her tasks, this team leader performs well", "This team leader displays an elevated level of performance in his/her tasks"), *social identity advancement* (three items; $\alpha = .92$; e.g., "This team leader advances the interests of my team", "This team leader promotes the ambitions of my team"), and *leader effectiveness* (two items; $r = .86$; "This team leader is a good leader", "This team leader is an effective leader").

Results

In order to assess the reliability of the factor structure concerning the three central variables in our analysis (i.e., leader prototypicality, performance, and social identity advancement) we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) by means of maximum likelihood estimation. Inspection of the factor loadings indicated that all items loaded significantly on the respective factors (ranging from .67 to .97). As there is no single indicator that allows to calculate model fit (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002), we used the

following indicators of satisfactory fit: (a) a chi-square of three or less (Medsker, Williams,

& Holahan, 1994), (b) a root mean square error of estimation (RMSEA) of .09 or lower

(Browne & Kudec, 1993), and (c) a comparative fit index (CFI) of .90 or higher (Medsker

et al., 1994). Overall, the proposed three-factor model yielded satisfactory fit to the data

($\chi^2(24) = 41.589$; $\chi^2/df = 1.733$; RMSEA = .086; CFI = .979). Moreover, the CFA for this

three-factor model yielded a significantly better fit than any alternative model with fewer

factors: (a) compared to a two-factor model collapsing prototypicality and performance into

one factor ($\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df = 144.069/2 = 72.035$, $p < .001$), (b) compared to a two-factor model

collapsing social identity advancement and performance into one factor ($\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df =$

$81.931/2 = 43.466$, $p < .001$), (c) compared to a two-factor model collapsing prototypicality

and social identity advancement into one factor ($\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df = 133.01/2 = 66.505$, $p < .001$),

and (d) compared to a one-factor model comprising all three variables ($\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df = 220.372/2$

$= 110.186$, $p < .001$).

Descriptive statistics and correlations between variables are presented in Table 4.1.

Supporting H1, there was a positive correlation between followers' perceptions of leader

performance and prototypicality, $r = .41$, $p < .001$. In line with H2 and H4, performance

and prototypicality were positively related to (a) social identity advancement, $r = .78$, $p <$

.001 and $r = .47$, $p < .001$, respectively, and (b) leader effectiveness, $r = .78$, $p < .001$ and r

$= .46$, $p < .001$.

Table 4.1 Study 4: Descriptive statistics and correlations between variables.

Variable	*Mean (SD)*	1	2	3	4
1. Prototypicality	3.83 (1.17)	-			
2. Performance	4.35 (1.28)	.41**	-		
3. Social identity advancement	4.09 (1.32)	.47**	.78**	-	
4. Leader effectiveness	4.15 (1.50)	.46**	.78**	.84**	-

Note: ** $p < .01$. Ratings on Likert-scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).

We then conducted linear regression analyses in order to test whether performance and prototypicality are each related to social identity advancement as well as leader effectiveness (while controlling for the impact of the other). Consistent with predictions, this analysis regressing social identity advancement on performance and prototypicality yielded a significant effect for performance, $\beta = .71$, $t(102) = 10.82$, $p < .001$, as well as for prototypicality, $\beta = .18$, $t(102) = 2.69$, $p = .008$. Predicting leader effectiveness, the analysis also revealed a significant effect for performance, $\beta = .72$, $t(102) = 10.29$, $p < .001$, as well as for prototypicality, $\beta = .15$, $t(102) = 2.12$, $p = .037$.

Discussion

Supporting H1, Study 4 found that followers' perceptions of leader prototypicality and performance were positively correlated. Findings also supported H2 and H4 in suggesting that performance and (although to a lesser extent) prototypicality were both positively related to (a) leaders' social identity advancement and (b) leader effectiveness. However, the regression analysis does not allow us to infer that performance impacts on prototypicality or vice-versa because we have not *manipulated* any of these variables (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Kenny, 2008). In order to test fully whether performance and prototypicality are bidirectionally related, we would have to manipulate each of these

variables separately and to assess their impact on each other (and on dependent measures). If results indicated that performance impacts on prototypicality and dependent measures in one study and that prototypicality impacts on performance and dependent measures in another, we then could conclude that performance and prototypicality (a) have a bidirectional relationship to each other (E. R. Smith, 1982), and (b) impact on leadership effectiveness as indicated by identity advancement and entrepreneurship (i.e., as suggested in Figure 4.1).

Thus, while this study provides clear evidence of the proposed relationship between performance and prototypicality, the conclusions that we can draw are limited because the study's correlational design means that we are not able to make inferences about causality. To address this issue and to extend the work to examine the extent to which leader performance and prototypicality also enables them to act as identity entrepreneurs, we therefore conducted studies in which relevant variables were experimentally manipulated.

Study 5

In order to provide an experimental test of the premise that followers make inferences about leaders' prototypicality based on their performance (H2), Study 5 manipulated leader performance and measured its effect on followers' perceptions of leader prototypicality. It also sought to examine whether leader performance would determine the leader's capacity to advance the group and to engage in identity entrepreneurship (H3).

Method

Participants

Fifty-eight psychology undergraduate psychology students at a British university (43 females and 15 males) volunteered to participate in the study in exchange for course

credit. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 48 years (M=20.86, SD=5.47) and were

randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions (leader performance: average vs.

high).

Design and Procedure

    Manipulation of performance. Participants were presented with a performance

review of a leader within the School of Psychology (their department), a (male) full

professor whose performance during the past year had been reviewed by the Head of

School. This performance review process was based on an actual university procedure

[although it was adapted for the purpose of the current study] and the review consisted of

(a) basic information about the school member whose name had supposedly been changed

for anonymity purposes [in order to provide background information about reviewee and

reviewer], (b) the performance review [in order to manipulate the school member's

performance], and (c) the reviewer's further observations about the school member [in

order to investigate the impact on identity entrepreneurship].

    The professor's performance varied along four main dimensions (publications,

teaching, PhD supervision, and grant income), each of which were evaluated by the

reviewer and the professor himself. In the average performance condition [the comparable

descriptions for the high performance condition are in parentheses], the professor self-

assessed his performance by indicating that he (a) had published one [vs. six] academic

article(s) in international journal(s) and one [vs. three] book chapter(s), (b) had taught one

MSc course and one [vs. two] undergraduate module(s), (c) was currently supervising one

[vs. two] PhD student(s) as first supervisor, one as second supervisor, while another PhD

student had just failed [vs. successfully completed] their PhD, and (d) won a small grant

worth £10,000 [vs. a large grant worth £300,000; equal to about $17,000 and $500,000,

respectively]. The reviewer responded to performance in these dimensions with the comments *acceptable, adequate, acceptable,* and *acceptable* [vs. *excellent, very good, excellent*, and *excellent*].

Furthermore, the reviewer rated the professor's performance on a number of dimensions to indicate that the performance (a) of the average-performing leader was similar to that of the group as a whole and (b) of the high-performing leader was significantly higher than that of other group members. Thus, performance was marked on a scale that ranged from 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely), with a midpoint of 4 which referred to the "average across all members of the school" in order to render average performance *typical* of other group members (in order to test whether non-typical high, rather than average, performance increases prototypicality). Dimensions were: research activity ("The school member has conducted research to a very high standard"), consultancy ("The school member has performed significant roles in external consultancy"), research impact ("The impact of the school member's research was very significant"), and teaching ("The teaching observations by peers and students for this school member have been excellent"). Ratings were 3, 3, 4, and 3 [vs.7, 7, 6, and 7].

Dependent measures. After the manipulation, participants completed the manipulation check ("[This leader's] academic performance is excellent") and the first series of dependent measures on 7-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely). Specifically, participants responded to items measuring *leader prototypicality* (four items; α = .94; e.g., "[This leader] embodies what the School of Psychology stands for", "[This leader] is representative of members of the School of Psychology"), *social identity advancement* (four items; α = .91; e.g., "[This leader] promotes the interests of the School of Psychology", "[This leader] helps the School to meet its goals"), and *leader*

effectiveness (three items; α = .96; e.g., "[This leader] is an effective Professor in the

School of Psychology", "[This leader] is a good Professor in the School of Psychology").

    Identity entrepreneurship. After completing the first series of dependent measures,

participants read the reviewer's further observations about the professor (in order to

investigate the professor's ability to influence norms and ideals). In these, the reviewer

commented on the professor's research style. In both conditions, the observations read as

follows:

> In his style of doing research, this professor is best described as a 'Fox' (rather than a
>
> 'Hedgehog'; after research styles identified by I. Berlin, 1953). He is a pragmatic
>
> researcher and in his work he pursues many divergent ends (rather than a single grand
>
> one). In his research he draws on a variety of ideas and adopts multiple perspectives. In
>
> conclusion, by doing this, this professor adopts an *integrated approach* to research.

    Participants then responded to the second series of dependent measures that

included *leader's influence on descriptive norms* (four items; α = .90; e.g., "Doing research

in an integrated way is characteristic of members of the School of Psychology", "School

members typically take an integrated approach to research"), *leader's influence on ideal

norms* (three items; α = .94; e.g., "Members of the School of Psychology should pursue an

integrated approach to research", "It is a good idea for members of the School of

Psychology to do research in an integrated way"), *perceived leader's influence* (three items;

α = .80; e.g., "[This leader] influences how others do things", "[This leader] shapes

perceptions of the School's norms and ideals"), and *leader's role modelling* (two items; r =

.71; "[This leader] is a role model for others to follow", "[This leader] provides an example

for others"). Finally, participants provided demographic details, were thanked for their

participation, and fully debriefed.

Results

Manipulation check. A between-participant *t*-test was conducted to test the impact of the manipulation on perceptions of leader performance. As expected, the performance of the high-performing leader was perceived to be higher (*M*=6.27; *SD*=.64) than that of the average-performing leader (*M*=3.57; *SD*=1.07); $t(56) = -11.74$, $p < .001$, suggesting that the manipulation of performance was successful.

Perceptions of prototypicality and leadership evaluations. To examine followers' perceptions of the average-performing and high-performing leader, we conducted a series of *t*-tests. Means, standard deviations, and effect sizes for all dependent measures are presented in Table 4.2. Supporting H2, high-performing leaders were perceived (a) to be more prototypical of the ingroup, $t(56) = -10.49$, $p < .001$, (b) to advance social identity to a greater extent[3], $t(56) = -9.37$, $p < .001$, and (c) to be more effective, $t(56) = -11.20$, $p < .001$, than their average-performing counterparts.

---

[3] We conducted a CFA to test the reliability of the factor structure of the central variables leader prototypicality and social identity advancement. In line with Study 4, this analysis yielded satisfactory fit of the specified two-factor model to the data as well as significantly better fit than a one-factor model collapsing prototypicality and social identity advancement ($\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df = 13.442/1$, $p < .001$).

Table 4.2 Study 5: Means and standard deviations for followers' evaluations of leaders and identity entrepreneurship measures as a function of performance.

Measure	Average-performing leader (*n* = 28)	High-performing leader (*n* = 30)	*t*(56)	Effect size *r*
Leader prototypicality	3.39 (.93)	5.79 (.82)	-10.49**	.81
Leader's social identity advancement	3.57 (.88)	6.27 (.79)	-9.37**	.78
Leader effectiveness	3.44 (1.09)	6.06 (.64)	-11.20**	.83
Influence on descriptive norms	4.19 (.89)	5.05 (.81)	-5.70**	.46
Influence on ideal norms	4.99 (.99)	5.64 (1.00)	-2.51*	.32
Perceived leader's influence	3.92 (.92)	4.93 (1.00)	-4.02**	.47
Role modelling	3.91 (.96)	5.47 (1.11)	-3.84**	.61

Note: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Leader's identity entrepreneurship. Providing support for H3, analysis suggested that compared to average-performing leaders, high-performing leaders had more influence on (a) descriptive, $t(56) = -5.70$, $p < .001$, as well as ideal ingroup norms, $t(56) = -2.51$, $p < .001$, and were perceived to be (b) more influential, $t(56) = -4.02$, $p < .001$, and (c) a better role model to follow, $t(56) = -3.84$, $p < .001$.

Discussion

Study 5 provides support for the suggestion that judgments of a leader's prototypicality are partly inferred from evidence of his or her performance (H2a). It also indicates that leaders who display elevated, rather than average, performance are perceived by followers to promote the group's aspirations to a greater extent (H2b) and to be more effective (H2c). Supporting H3, findings also suggest that high-performing leaders are more capable than their average-performing counterparts of engaging in identity

entrepreneurship such that they are (a) able to shape the group's descriptive as well as ideal norms, and are perceived by followers to be (b) more influential, and (c) better role models.

It is noteworthy that the prototypicality of a high-performing leader was perceived to be greater than that of a moderate-performing leader despite the fact that the performance of the latter was more proximal to the average group member. Thus, in line with suggestions that prototypicality may to some degree reflect an ideal position in a group (e.g., van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005; van Knippenberg, 2011), the current findings suggest that prototypicality is distinct from mere 'averageness' or typicality in so far as prototypicality *increases* as performance becomes more outstanding and *less* group-typical. Overall, Study 5 provides consistent support for our proposed model and hypotheses. Clearly, though, this is only a partial test of the model as it only examines the impact of performance on prototypicality and leadership outcomes. In order to establish the bidirectionality specified in the model we therefore conducted a further study to examine the impact of prototypicality on perceptions of performance.

Study 6

Study 6 examined the full circle of the reciprocal relationship between leader prototypicality and performance by manipulating leaders' prototypicality and assessing its impact on followers' perceptions of leader performance, social identity advancement, and effectiveness (H4). In addition, the study examined whether leader prototypicality would determine the leader's capacity to act as an identity entrepreneur (H5).

Method

Participants

Fifty-eight undergraduate psychology students (50 female and eight male) ranging in age from 18 to 33 years (M=20.28, SD=.95) volunteered to participate in this study. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions (leader prototypicality: low vs. high).

Design and Procedure

Manipulation of prototypicality. The procedure was similar to that of Study 5, although here participants were presented with a School Integration and Performance Review of a leader in the School of Psychology (as in the previous study a male full professor). This review differed to that used in Study 5 in that participants were presented with information in relation to the school member's integration into the school [in order to manipulate the school member's prototypicality] prior to the school member's performance review (which displayed identical performance in both conditions).

In order to manipulate the professor's prototypicality, his behaviours in the School Integration Review were of the same nature and intensity but differed in their representativeness of other group members. Specifically, in the low prototypicality condition [information in the comparable high prototypicality condition is indicated in parentheses], the reviewer indicated that the professor (a) had participated in a few conferences and small group meetings that were not [vs. were] well attended by other members of the school, (b) had run a couple of workshops and given several talks, thereby supporting key competitors [vs. partners] of the school and the university, (c) sat on the panel of several research councils that were not [vs. were] primary targets of the school, and (d) was an active member of several professional bodies that were not [vs. were]

typical of the professional bodies to which other members belonged. Furthermore, on scales ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much), the reviewer rated the extent to which the professor (a) engaged in activities that were aligned with the school's strategy, (b) engaged in typical levels of external consultancy, (c) represented the school's distinctive interests, and (d) conducted research that was characteristic of the school's research profile with ratings of 2, 3, 2, and 1 [vs. 6, 5, 6, and 7].

After the manipulation, participants in both conditions read *identical* performance reviews (similar to the one used in Study 5) that contained assessments by the professor as well as the reviewer. In both conditions the professor's performance was moderately high as evidenced by publications (he published five articles and two book chapters), teaching (he taught one MSc and two undergraduate modules), grant income (he won a large grant worth £120,000 and a small grant worth £12,000), PhD supervision (he supervised two students as first and one student as second supervisor while one student successfully completed her PhD), and research impact (two research projects had been reported in the [inter]national press). The reviewer indicated that all performance goals had been achieved. Following the performance review, participants responded to the first series of dependent measures.

Dependent measures. The measures were identical to those of Study 5 (Cronbach alphas for all scales were greater than .85 indicating high internal consistencies) with the differences that (a) the four items assessing leader prototypicality served as a manipulation check and (b) additional items were included in order to assess the dependent variable *leader performance* (four items; $\alpha = .92$; e.g., "[This leader's] performance is excellent", "[This leader] displays an elevated level of performance in the tasks he does"). After this, participants read the reviewer's further observations (which were identical to those in Study

5 on which the leader's identity entrepreneurship measure was based) and completed the second series of dependent measures. They then provided demographic details, were thanked for their participation, and fully debriefed.

Results

Manipulation check. A between-participants *t*-test indicated that followers perceived the high-prototypical leader to be more prototypical (*M*=5.26; *SD*=.69) than the low-prototypical leader (*M*=3.74; *SD*=1.18), $t(56) = -5.95$, $p < .001$, indicating that the manipulation of prototypicality was successful.

Perceptions of performance and leadership evaluations. Means, standard deviations, and effect sizes of the dependent measures are presented in Table 4.3. Supporting H4a, a series of *t*-tests suggested that followers perceived the performance of the high-prototypical leader to be greater than that of the low-prototypical leader, $t(56) = -2.11$, $p = .039$. Results also provided support for H4b (but not H4c) in indicating that the high-prototypical leader was perceived to advance more significantly the group's aspirations[4], $t(56) = -4.26$, $p < .001$, but not to be more effective, $t(56) = -1.09$, $p = .280$, than the low-prototypical leader.

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[4] Consistent with Study 4 and 5, a CFA specifying a two-factor model separating leader performance and social identity advancement yielded satisfactory fit to the data and significantly better fit than a one-factor model in which these variables were combined ($\Delta\chi^2/\Delta df = 105.244/1$, $p < .001$).

Table 4.3 Study 6: Means and standard deviations for followers' evaluations of leaders and identity entrepreneurship measures as a function of prototypicality.

Measure	Low-prototypical leader (*n* = 30)	High-prototypical leader (*n* = 28)	*t*(56)	Effect size *r*
Leader performance	5.14(1.01)	5.66(.85)	-2.20*	.28
Leader's social identity advancement	4.06(1.38)	5.37(.89)	-4.26**	.49
Leader effectiveness	4.62(1.41)	4.98(1.02)	-1.09	.14
Influence on descriptive norms	4.19(.78)	4.61(.67)	-2.17*	.28
Influence on ideal norms	5.04(.80)	5.30(.64)	-1.33	.17
Perceived leader's influence	4.04(.92)	4.56(.87)	-2.19*	.28
Role modelling	4.02(1.13)	5.13(1.06)	-3.86**	.46

Note: * $p < .05.$ ** $p < .01.$

Leader's identity entrepreneurship. Providing support for H5, compared to their low-prototypical counterparts, high-prototypical leaders had more influence on (a) descriptive norms, *t*(56) = -2.17, *p* = .034, but not on ideal norms, *t*(56) = -1.33, *p* = .190. They were also perceived by followers to be (b) more influential, *t*(56) = -2.19, *p* = .033, and (c) better role models, *t*(56) = -3.86, *p* < .001.

Discussion

Reversing the causal direction observed in Study 5, this study provides support for the assertion that judgments of leaders' performance are inferred in part from evidence of their prototypicality (H4a). What is more, relative to a low-prototypical leader, one who was highly prototypical was also seen to be contributing more to social identity advancement (supporting H4b). Findings also provided support for H5 in demonstrating that prototypicality determined the leader's capacity to engage in identity entrepreneurship

by influencing descriptive ingroup norms, as well as followers' perceptions of the leader's influence and status as a role model. However, there was no evidence that the more prototypical leader was seen as more effective (H4c) or as having greater impact on ideal ingroup norms.

In sum, then, the study provides evidence of the reverse relationship to the one that was demonstrated in Study 5. There high performance led to judgments of enhanced prototypicality, here high prototypicality led to judgments of enhanced performance.

General Discussion

This chapter has presented findings from one correlational and two experimental studies that seek to clarify the relationship between leader performance and leader prototypicality. Taken together, the studies provide strong evidence of a bidirectional relationship between performance and prototypicality. Furthermore, our findings indicate that followers' perceptions that a leader contributes to the advancement of shared aspirations are predicated upon both a leader's performance and prototypicality (in line with the model presented in Figure 4.1). In this way, the study supports but also extends a large body of research that has been inspired by the social identity approach to leadership (Ellemers et al., 2004; Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; Subašić et al., 2011; Turner & Haslam, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003). Further, Studies 5 and 6 also suggest that both performance and, albeit to smaller degree, prototypicality are determinants of leaders' ability to act as role-modelling entrepreneurs of identity who influence the content of shared group norms (Haslam et al., 2011; Reicher & Hopkins, 2003; Reicher et al., 2005).

Theoretical and practical implications

These findings have four important implications. First, our results indicate that high performance can be a *cue* to prototypicality. Previous research has shown that performance cues can influence followers' categorization of leaders such that people's perceptions that someone is a good leader are intensified to the extent that they display high performance (e.g., Phillips & Lord, 1982; Rush et al., 1977). Extending this research and theory, the present findings reveal that in addition being a cue to leader *stereotypicality*, performance is also a cue to a leader's *ingroup prototypicality* (e.g., Hogg, 2001; Turner & Haslam, 2001). Evidence also suggests that leaders displaying exceptional performance are perceived not only to be effective and representative leaders but also to be realizing collective aspirations and to be 'moving us forward'.

Second, findings indicate that perceptions of ingroup prototypicality do not (merely) reflect the degree to which someone is group-typical or 'average'; instead, they are skewed towards the embodiment of group ideals such that perceptions of someone's relative prototypicality *increase* to the extent that they show group *non-typical*, high performance rather than group-typical, average performance. This means that leaders can increase their prototypicality by being both typical on dimensions that are characteristic of the ingroup (such as attitudes and opinions) in the present and non-typical on dimensions (such as performance and achievements) that define what the group wants to become in the future (Reicher & Hopkins, 2003).

Third, prototypicality shapes perceptions of performance. In particular, followers deduce that a leader who epitomizes what the group stands for also enhances the group's social standing through greater personal contributions to group goals and ambitions. More specifically, our findings suggest that a leader's performance is interpreted through the lens

of shared group membership and associated self-categorization processes. More bluntly, this means that a group's social identity — and its notion of prototypicality — serve to define the *meaning* of performance. Thus, performance evaluations are not simply formed on the basis of whether performance is ordinary or extraordinary 'in the abstract' or in relation to externally-defined criteria, but on the basis of the evaluator's perception that the performance is *congruent* with the group that furnishes the evaluator with a sense of collective self.

These findings have important practical implications for the evaluation of competence and performance in general and for practices of leader selection and reward. In particular, they point to the limits of standard assessment practices by showing that objective indications of performance and competence do not correspond in a straightforward way to the subjective judgments of evaluators. In this regard the findings open up a range of intriguing research avenues relating to questions of (a) how sensitivity to leader prototypicality and performance depends on evaluators' perspectives (e.g., whether they are ingroup members or external to the group in question and therefore pursue differential goals; Reynolds & Oakes, 2000), and (b) how followers respond to the achievements and activities of leaders who are appointed internally or externally (i.e., from within or outside the organization).

Fourth, leaders' identity-congruent performance and their ingroup embodiment are determinants of their capability to engage in *identity entrepreneurship* (Haslam et al., 2011; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001, 2003; Reicher et al., 2005). Leaders who display exceptional performance and enhance the group's achievements act as role models such that followers infer what it means to be member of the group (in terms of descriptive ingroup characteristics) from attributes and behaviours of those leaders. Moreover, the findings lead

us to suggest that followers may look up to high-achieving leaders not only because they help them to make sense of what the group stands for in the present, but also because they allow them to anticipate what the group might become in the future (in terms of ideal ingroup characteristics). In this sense, it is those leaders who advance social identity (by being exemplary group members who contribute to group success) who are best placed to act as identity entrepreneurs capable of defining the meaning of the group for followers. In this way too, the findings provide empirical evidence for the dynamic nature of prototypicality such that once leaders are *defined* by the group — and assume a prototypical position so that they are seen to be 'one of us' — they are also in a position to *redefine* the meaning and content of the social identity (Haslam, 2004). However, even though followers may perceive prototypical leaders to be more influential and to be instructive about the group's present meaning, they do not necessarily infer that their attributes are ideal attributes worthwhile pursuing (i.e., in terms of becoming; for a related discussion of leaders' prototypicality and vision see Halevy et al., 2011).

Limitations and future research

Although there was evidence that performance and prototypicality each have a direct influence on each other, there was weaker evidence for the impact of prototypicality on perceptions of performance and related leadership outcomes than for the impact of performance on perceptions of prototypicality and leadership outcomes. Specifically, prototypicality was related to perceptions of leader effectiveness in Study 4 but not in Study 6. Thus, these findings suggest that perceptions of leader effectiveness (i.e., being perceived as a good leader in general) may depend more on leaders' triumphs and successes than on their prototypicality. Similarly, leaders' influence on ideal ingroup norms was also contingent on their performance but not on their ingroup embodiment. This may suggest

that followers' conceptions — and researchers' operationalisations — of prototypicality are typically predicated on the *present* (reflecting perceptions of what it means to be a group member in the here and now), while they often — albeit equally important — neglect the *future* (reflecting perceptions of what it will mean to be a member of the group in the time to come). Yet, leading and transforming social identities is not only about 'being' but it is also about 'becoming' (Drury & Reicher, 2001, 2005; Reicher & Hopkins, 2003; Reicher et al., 2005; Spears, Jetten, & Doosje, 2001). In future research it would therefore appear to be worthwhile examining this unfolding dynamic of prototypicality (of the present vs. the future).

It also would be interesting to examine additional antecedents and consequences of performance, prototypicality, and social identity advancement. For instance, it is possible that performance leads to perceptions of prototypicality partly because it is also valued by relevant outgroups and relatively more ingroup prototypical of a meaningful and respected superordinate group (Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Weber, 2003). Similarly, perceptions of social identity promotion and prototypicality might be enhanced not only through people's own performance and achievements but also through their facilitation of the ease and effectiveness with which fellow group members can contribute to group prosperity. Furthermore, it would be intriguing to investigate how the relation between perceptions of leader performance and prototypicality may interplay with (a) gender-related leader stereotypes (Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, & Bongiorno, 2010) and (b) followers' perception of a leader's identification with the group (van Dick & Schuh, 2010).

Conclusion

The present research supports the proposition that perceptions of performance and prototypicality are neither independent of each other nor set in stone. Instead, each informs

the other and by serving to advance a social identity that leaders share with followers both also provide a basis for leaders to define the meaning of group identity and to take the group forward. Accordingly, there is a need to recognize that appraisals of leader performance are conditioned by leader prototypicality, just as appraisals of leader prototypicality are conditioned by leader performance. Consistent with the observations of John Maxwell with which we began, it thus appears that leaders' success hinges upon a dual capacity to be ahead of followers in terms of performance but alongside them in terms of prototypicality. Indeed, to the extent that leaders fail to be seen to be either one of these things, it is likely that this will compromise their capacity to be seen to be the other. Moreover, by undermining the leader's capacity to advance social identity, this will prove fatal for their capacity to lead.

Chapter 5

Ideal for 'us' or for 'them'? Insiders' and outsiders' differential

responses to leader performance and prototypicality

Nobody doubted his capacity to rule until he became Emperor.

Tacitus commenting on Emperor Galba (cited in Adair, 2005, p.103)

Organizations invest a considerable amount of time and money on decisions about who to appoint to leadership positions. They do this because getting such decisions wrong can have devastating consequences for the organization as a whole. Speaking of Roman Emperor Galba, Tacitus points out that we may have high regard for a leader's *potential* only to find out that, once in office, he or she fails miserably in winning followers over. Accordingly, in order to ensure that assessments are informed and the entire organization is engaged, organizations increasingly use selection procedures comprising both internal and external evaluators — thereby soliciting input from those who are part of the same group or department as well as those who belong to other groups or departments either within the organization or outside it. Yet while there is evidence that both a leader's performance and prototypicality (i.e., the degree to which he or she is representative of the unique qualities of a group; Hogg, 2001) determine leader effectiveness (e.g., Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003; see also Chapters 3 and 4), we lack insight into how internal and external evaluators weigh up these two things in the process of deciding about a person's future leadership potential.

In order to address this lacuna, the current research explores the impact of an evaluator's perspective on appraisal of the performance and prototypicality of leadership candidates. It tests the core hypothesis that external evaluators will be less responsive to leader prototypicality than their internal counterparts and that they therefore will be more willing to respond favourably to potential leaders whose high performance is not matched by high ingroup prototypicality. Study 7 investigates how internal and external evaluators not only evaluate aspirants who differ in their performance and prototypicality but also select the most appropriate leader among them in a quasi-experimental design with natural groups. Findings are followed up in a second study that manipulates all variables in a full experimental design and measures their effects on evaluators' assessments of different leadership candidates.

Leader assessments as a function of prototypicality

A growing body of leadership research in the social identity tradition (after Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987) asserts that processes of leadership and social influence rest on leaders' ability to create, represent, and promote a shared social identity with their followers (Haslam, 2001; Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003). In this regard, a critical aspect of leaders' influence over followers derives from their capacity to represent the distinct attributes of the group that they lead and to differentiate it from significant outgroups (i.e., to be prototypical of the ingroup; Hogg, 2001; Turner & Haslam, 2001). Empirical evidence has corroborated these theoretical claims by showing that leaders' effectiveness increases as followers come to perceive them as representative of a common group (for comprehensive recent reviews see Haslam et al., 2011; van Knippenberg, 2011).

Illustrative evidence comes from a study by Platow and colleagues (2006) that showed that followers' perceptions of leader charisma (a central characteristic in charismatic and transformational leadership theories, e.g., Avolio et al., 2009; Bass & Riggio, 2006) increased as a consequence of those followers' perception that the leader embodied the common ingroup. In addition, Giessner and van Knippenberg (2008) showed that followers evaluated leaders who were highly prototypical of the ingroup to be more trustworthy and effective after failing to perform in the achievement of group goals than those who were not prototypical. Along similar lines, Ullrich et al. (2009) suggested that leader prototypicality can substitute for procedural fairness, such that followers who identify highly with their group are willing to endorse leaders who are less fair so long as they are prototypical of the ingroup.

Empirical evidence indicates that sensitivity to leader prototypicality is not confined to evaluations of leaders but also affects followers' actual behaviours. In particular, followers who identify strongly with their group show more creativity to the extent that they perceive their leaders to be representative of the ingroup (Hirst, van Dick, & van Knippenberg, 2009). Furthermore, followers' actual performance becomes less contingent on leaders' self-sacrificing behaviours as those leaders' group representativeness increases (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). In sum, these findings suggest that followers are highly sensitive to leaders' prototypicality and that this affects their evaluations of leaders as well as various acts of followership.

Leader assessment as a function of performance

While it is critical for leaders to be perceived by followers as embodying a shared social identity in order for them to be seen as effective, research also suggests that leaders'

effectiveness varies as a function of their performance, skills, and abilities. Along these lines, research informed by leader categorization theory indicates that followers are more likely to perceive their leaders as *good* to the extent that those leaders display high performance (e.g., Phillips & Lord, 1982; Rush et al., 1977). There is also evidence that, as role models, successful leaders encourage followers to have belief in their own abilities (providing that success seems attainable and that leaders and followers pursue congruent goals; Lockwood & Kunda, 1997; Lockwood, Jordan, & Kunda, 2002) as well as to identify with leaders and seek to engage in career-oriented behavior (e.g., by developing skills and building up networks; Buunk et al., 2007).

What is more, empirical evidence shows that leaders' performance can have an impact on the actual performance of followers. Along these lines, Earley and Kanfer (1985) found that leaders who display elevated rather than low performance encourage followers to set more challenging goals for themselves — ultimately resulting in enhanced follower performance. Similarly, leaders who set examples by contributing to the welfare and success of their group also enhance followers' own contributions to the common cause (Güth et al., 2007; Potters et al., 2007; Yaffe & Kark, 2011).

All in all, this body of research suggests that high-performing leaders prompt group members not only to evaluate those leaders more favourably but also to feel more inspired and to be more effective themselves. But while both a leader's performance and prototypicality may determine group members' reactions to them, how do evaluators assess these two things *in combination*? Moreover, do all evaluators prize these factors in the same way or do they differ when choosing between leader candidates?

Leader assessment by internal and external evaluators

With the aim of overcoming subjective biases and ensuring high-quality and objective selection processes, organizations are increasingly reluctant to rely solely on the judgment of single evaluators. Instead they draw on judgments of both internal evaluators (i.e., those who are part of the same group or department) and external evaluators (i.e., those who are either part of other groups or departments of the same organization, or part of other independent organizations). For instance, a diverse set of evaluators (both internal and external) are frequently involved in the process of making senior appointments in both the public and private sector. And although selection procedures that call on the judgments of a variety of people are more costly than those that rely only on internal interviewers, they are assumed to generate better decisions (Chalos & Pickard, 1985; for a comprehensive review of leader selections, see Bass & Bass, 2008; pp.1123-1155). Here though, a critical question is whether internal and external evaluators differ in their sensitivity to performance and prototypicality when assessing the worth of leadership candidates? And if so, how?

On the basis of previous theorizing in the field we propose that internal and external evaluators are likely to show differential evaluations of candidates whose performance and prototypicality differ such that internal evaluators are more likely than external evaluators to value leader candidates' prototypicality (relative to their performance). Evidence for this assertion comes from a body of research suggesting that people evaluate social information in a way that is self-serving and affirms their own identity (for a comprehensive review see Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). For instance, findings suggest that people (a) perceive those who they share group membership to be more trustworthy (Platow et al., 1990), (b) evaluate the attributes that apply to self to be more desirable (Kunda, 1987), (c) devalue information that has negative implications for self (Ditto & Lopez, 1992), (d) evaluate more

positively the outputs of those who affirm their own identity (Morton, Haslam, Postmes, & Ryan, 2006; Peters, Daniels, Hodgkinson, & Haslam, 2012), and (e) show solidarity with ingroup members when outgroups threaten the ingroup's status or distinctiveness (Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997).

In sum, as internal evaluators are more psychologically invested in a group than external evaluators, it is likely that they will be more sensitive to the degree to which potential leaders are able to affirm their identity and therefore less prepared to forgo a leader's group representativeness for apparent benefits deriving from his or her skills and abilities in the abstract (i.e., independent of group values). These ideas are particularly relevant to the question of how leader prototypicality and performance bear upon internal and external evaluators' perceptions of candidates' capability to advance the group in the future and thus their suitability for a particular position. As Haslam and colleagues (2011) have argued, managing and leading a group effectively does not only entail representing it but also championing it in ways that defend and advance its interests (see also Haslam & Platow, 2001; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). However, we expect that evaluations of candidates' group advancement are as contingent on the social identity of the evaluators as they are on candidates' characteristics (their prototypicality and performance).

Similar arguments can also be drawn from literature informed by the Attraction–Selection–Attrition model and by research on person–organizational fit (P–O fit) that suggests that organizations are likely to select (as well as attract and retain) leader candidates who are similar to other organizational members (Schneider, 1987). Research in this tradition has shown not only that P–O fit is a reliable predictor for a range of indicators of career success (e.g., Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005; Saks & Ashforth, 2002), but also that evaluators are sensitive to, and make assessments based on, the fit that

candidates show with the organization they consider joining (Cable & Judge, 1997; Kristof-Brown, 2000; but for critical discussion of this practice see Arthur, Bell, Villado, & Doverspike, 2006). Because P–O fit is often an implicit or imprecisely defined criterion that nevertheless impacts on selection decisions (Bretz, Rynes, & Gerhart, 1993; Rynes, Colbert, & Brown, 2002; Tsai, Chi, Huang, & Hsu, 2011), one might expect that P–O fit is more relevant for internal, rather than external, evaluators such that they are more likely to focus on candidates' P–O fit rather than just performance and skills. Accordingly, we would suggest that to the degree that their perspective on the selection process is that of outsider rather than insider, evaluators would be more likely to endorse high-performing leaders even though they may not be highly fitting for the particular organization (or relevant organizational unit).

The present research

While previous research has examined the key importance of leader performance and prototypicality for leader evaluation and selection, it has concentrated less on the extent to which an evaluator's perspective (as internal versus external to the group in question) impacts on the assessment of these two factors in leadership selections. The current research sought to address this issue by testing the hypothesis that, compared to external evaluators, internal evaluators are more sensitive to a leader's prototypicality relative to his or her performance. More specifically, it was hypothesized that when leader performance and prototypicality diverge, highly-prototypical leaders will be supported more by internal than by external evaluators, while high-performing leaders will be supported more by external than internal evaluators.

Study 7 tests these hypotheses in a quasi-experimental design using participants who are or are not part of the particular group. We manipulate candidates' performance and prototypicality within-participants and assess leaders' perceived group advancement and trust in the leader. In addition, the study examines evaluators' selection of leader candidates as well as ingroup members' actual followership of would-be leaders (i.e., their willingness to respond constructively to a leader's ideas; Haslam & Platow, 2001). Findings are followed up in a second study which manipulates all variables between-participants and measures leaders' group advancement as well as followers' anticipation of the damage that leaders would cause to the group's image should their leadership fail.

Study 7

Study 7 was designed to scrutinize internal and external evaluators' sensitivity to leader performance and prototypicality by employing a quasi-experimental design with natural groups. For this purpose, we recruited students from a British and German university (as internal vs. external evaluators respectively) to give their advice on the selection of candidates for the job of Deputy Vice-Chancellor for Education at the university from which the British students were recruited. German graduate law students were chosen as external evaluators in order (a) to immerse them strongly into their external perspective as well as to ensure that they are trained in the role of adopting other people's perspective and giving independent advice, and (b) to avoid using participants who might have a competitive relationship with the target institution (which might have been the case had we used participants from another British institution).

In the experiment, participants evaluated two candidates, one who was described as being highly prototypical and low-performing, and the other as low-prototypical and high-

performing (for a similar successful design when leaders' vision and prototypicality diverge, see Halevy et al., 2011). We examined evaluators' assessments of leaders' group advancement and their trust in the leader, as well as actual leader selection and ingroup members' willingness to exert effort in order to support the leader's plans. As theorized above, compared to external evaluators, internal evaluators were expected to respond more favourably to highly prototypical leaders than to their high-performing counterparts. Following theoretical assertions and empirical evidence suggesting that followers are only willing to back up leaders when they defend and advance the group's interests (Haslam & Platow, 2001; Haslam et al., 2011; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005), we also expected that evaluators' differential leader selections as well as their willingness to help out a leader would vary as a function of the belief that leaders would advance group interests.

Method

Participants

Seventy-eight students at a British university (52 females; 21 males; five missing data points) and 77 graduate law students in Germany enrolled in a trainee program to become judges (38 females; 31 males; eight missing data points) participated in the current study as internal and external evaluators, respectively. The age of internal evaluators ranged from 18 to 41 years (M=20.84; SD=3.35) and that of external evaluators from 25 to 35 (M=28.66; SD=4.55). External evaluators' experience in the role of working as a judge ranged from one month to three years (M=.88 years; SD=.86). Thirty-six per cent had prior experience in the role of external advisor or consultant to organizations and 31% had assisted in the selection of personnel.

Design and Procedure

The study had a 2 (evaluator's perspective: internal vs. external evaluator) X 2 (leader candidate: highly prototypical/low-performing vs. low-prototypical/high-performing) quasi-experimental design with repeated measures on the second factor. Participants were asked to evaluate different candidates for the job as Deputy Vice-Chancellor for Education either as ingroup members (students of the same British university; hereafter University I) or external advisors (graduate law students from a Germany university; hereafter University O). They then read a job description and were presented with a brief summary of the CVs of three shortlisted candidates (two target and one control candidate) accompanied by a photo of each candidate (which were counterbalanced in order to avoid effects of candidates' appearance; Antonakis & Dalgas, 2009). All candidates were male in order to avoid the potential of gender influencing perceptions of leadership ability (Ryan et al., 2010).

The performance of the candidates was manipulated by describing the high-performing, low-prototypical leader (hereafter referred to as the "high-performing" leader) as a professor who had served as Director of a Research Centre, Head of School, and Chairman of several key funding bodies. He had also published 80 scientific papers and six academic books, given 60 conference papers, and received three major teaching awards. In contrast, the low-performing, highly prototypical leader (hereafter referred to as the "highly prototypical" leader) was a professor who had served as Head of School and Panellist on key funding bodies, and who had published 50 scientific papers as well as three academic books, given 40 conference papers, and received one major teaching award.

In order to manipulate prototypicality, the attitudes of the highly prototypical leader were described as being *very typical* of students at University I and *very similar* to most of

those students concerning relevant university issues (i.e., student welfare, learning resources, degree programs, and staff availability). In comparison, the attitudes of the high-performing leader were described as being *rather non-typical* of students at University I and *quite different* from most of those students. In order to make the task more realistic, a third control candidate was presented with lower levels of performance and prototypicality than that of both target candidates (for a similar design see Haslam & Ryan, 2008). In order to rule out order effects, the sequence in which the two target candidates were presented was counterbalanced (the control candidate was always presented last). Three internal and two external evaluators who ranked the control candidate as the most appropriate candidate were excluded from further analysis, leaving a sample of 150 participants.

Dependent measures. Participants evaluated each candidate by responding on 7-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely) to items measuring (a) *leader's group advancement* (three items; $\alpha = .82$ for both the high-performing and the highly prototypical candidate; e.g., "[This leader] would promote [University I's] interests", "[This leader] would advance [University I's] ambitions"), (b) *trust in the leader* (two items; $r = .67$ for the high-performing and $r = .77$ for the highly prototypical candidate ; "I would trust [this leader] as the Deputy Vice-Chancellor Education", "I would respect [this leader] as the Deputy Vice-Chancellor Education"), and (c) *perspective taken* as a manipulation check ("In making my evaluations, I was taking an external perspective [i.e., the perspective of someone outside University I]"). Participants also selected the most appropriate candidate for the advertised position. Because prototypicality and performance were manipulated within-participants, we did not include manipulations checks for these variables in order to prevent repeated manipulation checks from producing priming effects (Jacoby & Sassenberg, 2011; Sigall & Mills, 1998). Participants then completed

demographic questions, were explicitly told that they had completed the study, and thanked

for their participation.

The supposed completion of the study was followed by a measure of ingroup

members' followership (this measure was administered to internal and not external

evaluators as only they were members of the group on whose behalf the leader would be

acting). Here, ingroup members were told that either the high-performing or the highly

prototypical candidate (which was randomized across conditions) was conducting a short

survey about "Creating a better university by having better coffee on campus" and asked

for people's input in case he would be selected. Ingroup members then indicated whether

they were willing to complete the aspirant's survey. After this, participants were debriefed

in full.

Results

Manipulation check. An independent samples *t*-test on perspective taken revealed a

significant effect of perspective, $t(144) = -8.43$, $p < .001$. External evaluators (*M*=5.24;

SD=1.57) reported adopting an external perspective (i.e., that of someone outside the

university) to a greater extent than internal ones (*M*=2.94; *SD*=1.72) when making their

evaluations. Thus, the quasi-experimental (but reinforced) manipulation of evaluators'

perspective was successful.

Leader's group advancement. A series of 2 (perspective) X 2 (candidate) mixed

ANOVAs with repeated measures on the second factor was conducted in order to assess

effects on leader evaluations. Results are presented in Table 5.1. This analysis revealed a

main effect for candidate that was qualified by a significant interaction as shown in Figure

5.1. Pairwise comparisons indicated that the perceived group advancement of the high-

performing leader was greater for external (*M*=4.98) than internal evaluators (*M*=4.55),

$F(1,146) = 5.18$, $p = .024$. Furthermore, internal (but not external) evaluators perceived the highly prototypical leader's group advancement to be greater (M=5.47) than that of the high-performing leader (M=4.55), $F(1,146) = 24.06$, $p < .001$.

Table 5.1 Study 7: Leader evaluations by internal and external evaluators (means, standard deviations, and inferential statistics).

Dependent measure	Internal evaluator (n=75)		External evaluator (n=75)		Effects		
	Highly Prototypical Leader	High-Performing Leader	Highly Prototypical Leader	High-Performing Leader	Perspective $F(1,146)$	Candidate $F(1,146)\,(\eta^2)$	Interaction $F(1,146)\,(\eta^2)$
Leader group advancement	5.47_a (1.08)	4.55_b (1.22)	5.26_{ac} (1.10)	4.98_c (.56)	.733	20.567^{**} (.12)	$5.997^{\dagger}$ (.03)
Trust in leader	5.67_a (1.04)	4.95_b (1.14)	5.57_{ac} (1.17)	5.31_{abc} (1.18)	.782	17.590^{**} (.11)	4.001^{*} (.02)
Frequency of observations						Pearson Chi-Square	
Selected leader as most appropriate candidate	80% (59 out of 74)	20% (15 out of 74)	68% (50 out of 74)	32% (24 out of 74)		$2.820^{\dagger}$	
Willing to help out a given leader	55% (24 out of 44)	32% (10 out of 31)	-	-		$3.645^{\dagger}$	

Note: Means in same row with no common subscript letter are significantly different from each other ($p < .05$). Two data points are missing in participants' selection of leaders (N=148).
$^{\dagger}p < .10$; $^{*}p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$.
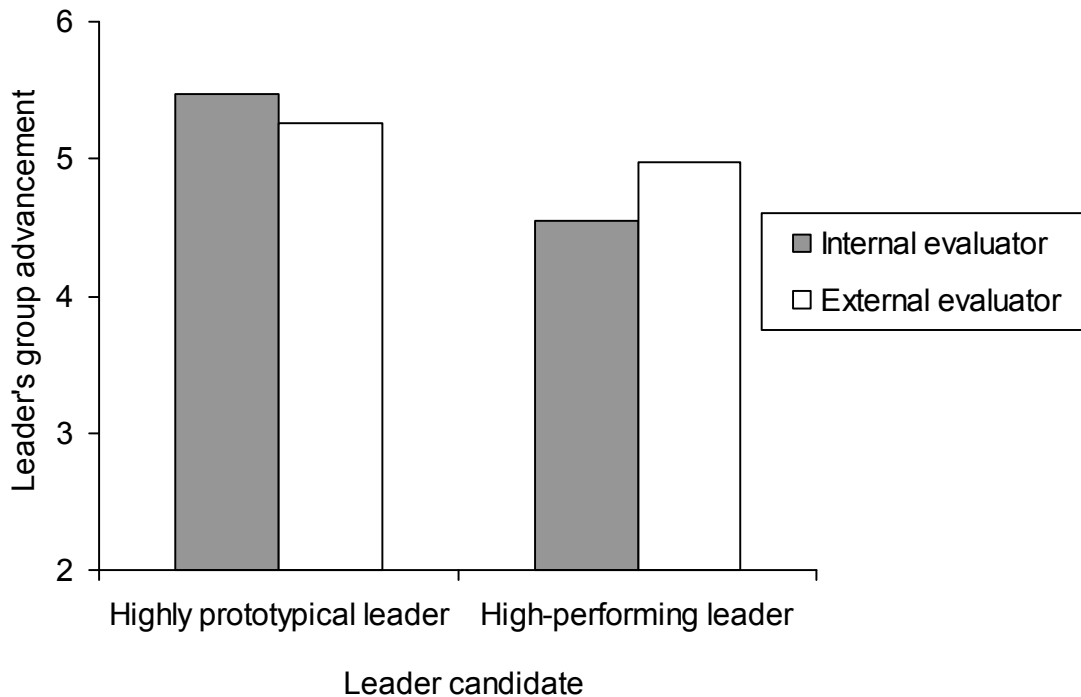
Figure 5.1 Study 7: Interaction effect between evaluator's perspective and candidate on leader's group advancement.

Trust in leader. Analysis yielded a main effect for candidate that was qualified by a significant interaction, which is shown in Figure 5.2. This was decomposed by means of pairwise comparisons that indicated that external evaluators tended to trust high-performing leaders more (*M*=5.31) than internal evaluators (*M*=4.95), $F(1,146) = 3.57$, $p = .061$. Moreover, internal (but not external) evaluators had more trust in highly prototypical (*M*=5.67) than high-performing leaders (*M*=4.95), $F(1,146) = 18.80$, $p < .001$.
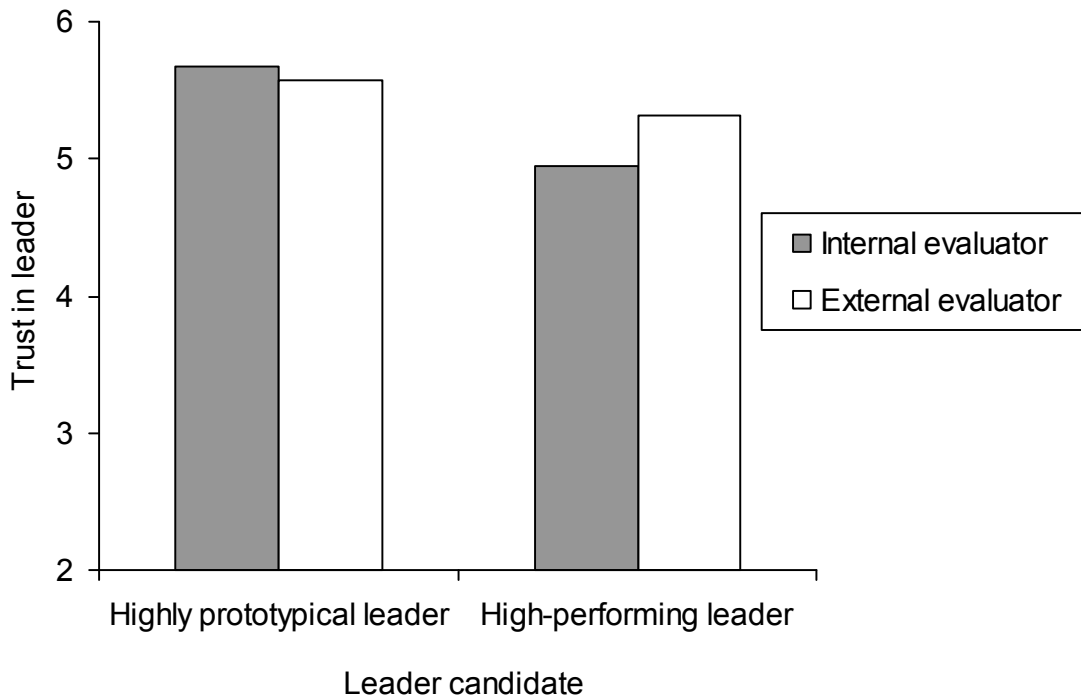
Figure 5.2 Study 7: Interaction effect between evaluator's perspective and candidate on trust in leader.

Leader selection. A Pearson's chi-square test indicated that the association between evaluators' perspective and the selected candidate for the advertised position was marginally significant, χ^2 (1, N=148; 2 missing data points) = 2.82, p = .093, suggesting that internal evaluators tended to be more likely than external evaluators to select the highly prototypical rather than the high-performing leader. As shown in Table 5.1, both internal and external evaluators selected the highly prototypical leader more often than the high-performing leader. However, only one fifth of internal evaluators but nearly one third of external evaluators selected the high-performing leader as most appropriate. An odds ratio of 1.92 indicated that a selected high-performing leader was almost twice as likely to have been selected by an external rather than an internal evaluator.

Following recommendations by Baron and Kenny (1986), we also tested whether the (marginally significant) differential leader selections by internal and external evaluators can be explained by differences in perceptions that the highly prototypical and the high-performing leader would advance group interests. In order to test this, we created a difference score in perceptions of leaders' group advancement that involved subtracting the perceived group advancement of the high-performing leader from that of the highly prototypical leader (thus, the higher the score, the more evaluators perceived the highly prototypical, relative to the high-performing, leader to advance the group). Next we regressed these differences in leaders' group advancement (the mediator) on evaluators' perspective (the independent variable), which yielded a significant relationship between these two, $\beta = .19$, $t_{(144)} = 2.31$, $p = .022$. Moreover, a binary logistic regression also revealed a significant effect of differential perceptions of leaders' group advancement (the mediator) on leader selection (the dependent variable), χ^2 (1, N=148; 2 missing data points) $= 52.43$, $p < .001$, suggesting that the more evaluators perceived the prototypical (relative to the high-performing) leader to advance the group, the more likely they were to select this leader, $B = 1.15$, $SE = .21$, $p < .001$. Finally, a binary logistic regression predicting leader selection as a function of both independent variable and mediator revealed a significant effect for differential perceptions of leaders' group advancement, $B = 1.13$, $SE = .22$, $p < .001$, while the effect for perspective was significantly reduced as indicated by a Sobel test, $z = 2.10$, $p = .036$, and became non-significant, $B = .16$, $SE = .24$, $p = .501$. Thus, external evaluators tended to select the high-performing leader more often than internal evaluators because they perceived this leader to advance the group relatively more than the highly prototypical leader.

Followership. A Pearson's chi-square test revealed that internal evaluators (followers) tended to be more willing to help out the leader when approached by a highly prototypical rather than a high-performing leader, χ^2 (1, *N*=75) = 3.65, *p* = .056. Specifically, findings suggested that 55% of ingroup members were willing to complete a survey for highly prototypical leaders but only 32% were willing to do so for the high-performing leader. An odds ratio indicated that followers were 2.52 times more willing to help out the highly prototypical rather than the high-performing leader.

Following procedures outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986), we also tested whether followers' differential willingness to help out a leader was mediated by differences in perceptions that the highly prototypical and the high-performing leader would promote group interests. For this purpose, we first created a difference score between the perceived group advancement of the leader who asked for a favour (hereafter referred to as "the soliciting leader") and that of his main contender (thus, the higher the score, the more followers perceived the soliciting leader, rather than the contender, to advance the group). A linear regression revealed an association between the leader candidate who asked followers for help (the independent variable) and differential perceptions of leaders' group advancement (the mediator), β = .51, $t_{(71)}$ = 4.95, *p* < .001. Moreover, a binary logistic regression indicated that differential perceptions of leaders' group advancement (the mediator) were also related to followership (the dependent variable), χ^2 (1, *N*=73, 2 missing data points) = 11.01, *p* = .001; *B* = .88, *SE* = .30, *p* = .003. Finally, regressing followership on both the independent variable and mediator revealed a significant effect for differential perceptions in leaders' group advancement, *B* = .89, *SE* = .35, *p* = .011, while the effect for soliciting leader was significantly reduced, Sobel test: *z* = 2.27, *p* = .023, to non-significance, *B* = -.03, *SE* = .61, *p* = .965. Thus, ingroup members were more likely to

follow the highly prototypical rather than the high-performing leader because they then also perceived this leader to advance the group to a greater extent.

Discussion

In line with our central hypothesis, results of Study 7 indicated that internal (but not external) evaluators perceived a highly prototypical leader who displayed low performance to advance the group more and to be more trustworthy than a low-prototypical counterpart who displayed high performance. Evaluators' differential assessments were corroborated by findings suggesting that internal evaluators tended to follow a leader's request to complete a survey more often when the leader was highly prototypical than when he was high-performing — partly because they perceived the highly prototypical leader to advance shared interests and ambitions more than a leader who was high-performing. Moreover, although both external and internal evaluators were, in general, more likely to select a highly representative leader compared to a high-performing one, there was a (marginally significant) tendency for external evaluators to be more likely than internal evaluators to select a high-performing over a highly prototypical leader. Indeed, a selected high-performing low-prototypical leader was twice as likely to have been selected by external evaluators than by internal evaluators. Compared to external evaluators, internal evaluators were also more likely to select a highly prototypical over a high-performing a leader because they perceived this leader to advance group interests more than the opponent who displayed elevated performance.

These findings underscore research informed by the social identity approach to leadership, which asserts that people are more likely to evaluate positively and more willing to follow a leader to the degree that the leader is perceived to be representative of followers (e.g., Hogg, 2001; Haslam, 2004; Haslam et al., 2011; Turner & Haslam, 2001; van

Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003; van Knippenberg, 2011). Moreover, findings also extend previous research that suggests that ingroup members react more strongly to leader prototypicality (rather than displays of behaviours that are stereotypical of effective leaders) as their identification with the group increases (Hogg et al., 1998), by indicating that elevated prototypicality (rather than performance) has a more pronounced impact on reactions to leaders when evaluators are internal rather than external to a group.

While the results provide support for our central hypothesis, one might argue that our ability to draw definitive conclusions is limited by the fact that we used natural groups in a quasi-experiment (that does not allow us to disentangle the precise variables that may be at play here and that may vary naturally with different group memberships). Nevertheless, there was some indication that differential responses by internal and external evaluators can be explained by different perceptions of leaders' group advancement. One might also argue that our ability to draw conclusions on the basis of these findings is limited by the fact that the study's design pitted leaders' performance and prototypicality against each other rather than by manipulating these in a full design (which would allow insights into whether differential responses arise mainly from variations in candidates' performance or variations in their prototypicality). In order to address these limitations, we conducted a second study.

Study 8

Our second study aimed to examine internal and external evaluators' assessments of leaders by manipulating all variables (perspective, prototypicality, and performance) between-participants in a full experimental design. This design thereby allowed us to explore whether evaluators' differential responses (as found in Study 7) are attributable

primarily to variation in leaders' performance or variation in their prototypicality. As in the first study, a key dependent variable was evaluators' perception that the leader would promote the shared interests of the group (i.e., to act as ingroup champions, Haslam et al., 2011). Based on social identity theorizing, we predicted that compared to external evaluators, internal evaluators would be more sensitive to leaders' prototypicality for the ingroup (but not to their performance). More specifically, we expected evaluators' perspective and prototypicality to interact such that internal, rather than external, evaluators would perceive highly prototypical leaders to advance the group more than their moderately prototypical counterparts.

In addition to perceptions of leaders' ability to advance the group, we also assessed followers' expectations about the damage that leaders would cause if their leadership failed. Previous research suggests that people are finely tuned to issues that pertain to their groups such that when they categorize themselves and others in terms of a common category, the experiences of others are seen to be increasingly self-defining (Turner, 1981; Turner et al., 1987). Group members should therefore also perceive the experience of another person as increasingly self-implicating to the extent that this person comes to embody their ingroup (Hogg, 2001; Turner & Haslam, 2001). Accordingly, we also expected that *failure* of a leader with whom respondents perceive that they share group membership and who is clearly 'one of us' would be seen to have a greater impact on the image of the group as a whole. Thus, mirroring perceptions of group advancement, we expected an interaction between evaluators' perspective and prototypicality to also affect anticipated damage to the ingroup's image in the event of leader failure. Specifically, for internal rather than external evaluators, potential failure of a highly prototypical leader was expected to be perceived as more troubling to the group than that of a leader who is only moderately prototypical.

Method

Participants

One-hundred sixteen female and 50 male (*N*=166) undergraduate students at a British university (University I) who ranged in age from 18 to 25 years (*M*=20.02; *SD*=1.39) participated voluntarily in the current study. Participants were recruited on campus and randomly assigned to one of eight experimental conditions of a 2 (evaluator's perspective: internal vs. external evaluator) X 2 (leader performance: moderate vs. high) X 2 (leader prototypicality: moderate vs. high) between-participants design.

Design and Procedure

Independent variables. Participants were told that the Department of Sociology at a German University, University O, was seeking to appoint a new Professor of Sociology (in order to avoid perceptions of a competitive relationship with their own institution we selected a university from a different country). They were told that at University O it was common to have members of various departments on all selection committees and that the university believed it very important to include both internal (staff members from the same department) and external evaluators (staff members from a different department). In order to manipulate evaluators' perspective, participants were asked to imagine that they were either a Professor of Sociology (an internal evaluator) or a Professor of International Studies (an external evaluator) with responsibility for representing the views of the department [vs. the university]. As an internal [vs. external] evaluator they had the task of evaluating a short-listed candidate. Participants then read an advertisement that specified the key requirements for the job and provided a brief summary of one of the potential candidates. In this summary, participants read details of (a) the candidate's performance in

relation to other Professors of Sociology in Germany and (b) the candidate's similarity to other members of the Department of Sociology.

Overall, the performance of the high-performing candidate was described as *excellent*. Moreover, on scales ranging from 1 (poor) through 4 (good; also indicated as "average in relation to other Professors of Sociology") to 7 (excellent) performance relative to criteria for (a) publications in terms of journal articles and books, (b) grant income in terms of value of income won, and (c) teaching at undergraduate and postgraduate level was rated with 7, 6, and 7. In contrast, performance of the moderately performing candidate was described as *good* overall and the specific performance criteria were rated with 4, 5, and 4.

In order to manipulate prototypicality, the attitudes of the highly prototypical candidate were described as *very similar* to those of other members of the Department of Sociology. The degree of similarity to other members of the department on the criteria (a) research area and focus, (b) teaching philosophy, and (c) management style was rated on scales ranging from 1 (not at all similar) to 7 (very similar) as 7, 6, and 7. In contrast, the attitudes of the moderately prototypical candidate were described as *somewhat similar* to those of other departmental members and the degree of similarity on the above criteria was rated as 4, 5, and 4. Following this summary, participants responded to dependent measures, completed demographic variables, and were then informed about the study's purpose.

Dependent measures. Participants responded to all items using 7-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely). Due to the fictional nature of the scenario it was possible that internal committee members would not immerse themselves into the imaginary scenario but perceive themselves to be external to the committee, and we

therefore asked participants to respond to the two items "I see myself as an internal member of the selection committee" and "I see myself as an external member of the selection committee" as manipulation check for perspective taken. Eighteen participants (11%) who answered these items in a way that did not match the presented material (i.e., who failed to regard themselves to be more internal than external in the internal perspective condition or to be more external than internal in the external perspective condition) were excluded from analysis, leaving a sample of 148 participants.

Participants then responded to items assessing (a) *leader performance* as a manipulation check for performance ("[This candidate's] performance is excellent"), (b) *leader prototypicality* as a manipulation check for prototypicality ("[This candidate] is very similar to other members of the Department of Sociology"), (c) *leader's group advancement* (three items; $\alpha = .69$; e.g., "[This candidate] would promote the interests of the department", "[This candidate] would raise the department's aspirations"), and (d) *damage to group image if candidate failed* (two items; $r = .68$; "If [this candidate] failed, it would reflect badly on the department", "If [this candidate] was not successful, people would think badly about the department").

Results

Manipulation checks. A series of 2 (perspective) X 2 (performance) X 2 (prototypicality) between-participants analyses of variance (ANOVAs) was conducted in order to examine effects on manipulation checks and dependent measures. Analysis on the manipulation check for leader's performance revealed a main effect for performance, $F(1,140) = 222.11$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .59$, indicating that the performance of the high-performing candidate was perceived to be higher (M=6.30; SD=.60) than that of the moderate-performing one (M=4.31; SD=1.05). In addition, analysis revealed a significant

effect for prototypicality, $F(1,140) = 5.50$, $p = .020$, $\eta^2 = .01$, which was qualified by a

significant interaction between performance and prototypicality, $F(1,140) = 5.53$, $p = .020$,

$\eta^2 = .01$. Pairwise comparisons indicated that leaders who displayed average (but not high)

performance were perceived to perform better when they were highly prototypical

($M=4.58$; $SD=.97$) rather than moderately prototypical ($M=3.96$; $SD=1.07$), $F(1,140) =$

9.65, $p = .002$ (high-performing leaders who were moderately prototypical: $M=6.30$;

$SD=.55$; high-performing leaders who were highly prototypical: $M=6.30$; $SD=.65$).

However, considering that manipulated performance explained 59% of the variance in

perceived performance (whereas manipulated prototypicality and the manipulated

interaction between performance and prototypicality together explained less than 3%), this

suggests that the manipulation of performance was successful.

Furthermore, analysis of the check for the candidate's prototypicality revealed only

a significant main effect for prototypicality, $F(1,140) = 89.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .38$, suggesting

that evaluators perceived the similarity between the highly prototypical candidate and other

departmental members to be greater ($M=6.08$; $SD=1.04$) than that between the moderately

prototypical candidate and other departmental members ($M=4.40$; $SD=1.00$). Thus, the

manipulation of prototypicality was successful.

Leader's group advancement. Analysis yielded a significant main effect for

performance, $F(1,140) = 20.43$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$, and a marginally significant effect for

prototypicality, $F(1,140) = 3.53$, $p = .062$, $\eta^2 = .02$. It also revealed a significant interaction

between perspective and prototypicality, $F(1,140) = 4.26$, $p = .041$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and between

prototypicality and performance, $F(1,140) = 7.17$, $p = .008$, $\eta^2 = .04$ (no other effect was

significant or approached significance at $p < .10$ level). The interaction between perspective

and prototypicality is shown in Figure 5.3 and was decomposed by means of pairwise

comparisons. Supporting our hypothesis, these indicated that internal (but not external) evaluators perceived highly prototypical leaders to advance the group more (*M*=5.65; *SD*=.77) than their moderately prototypical counterparts (*M*=5.25; *SD*=.95), *F*(1,140) = 8.17, *p* = .005 (external evaluators' assessments of highly prototypical leaders: *M*=5.42; *SD*=.72; external evaluators' assessments of moderately-prototypical leaders: *M*=5.52 ; *SD*=.93).
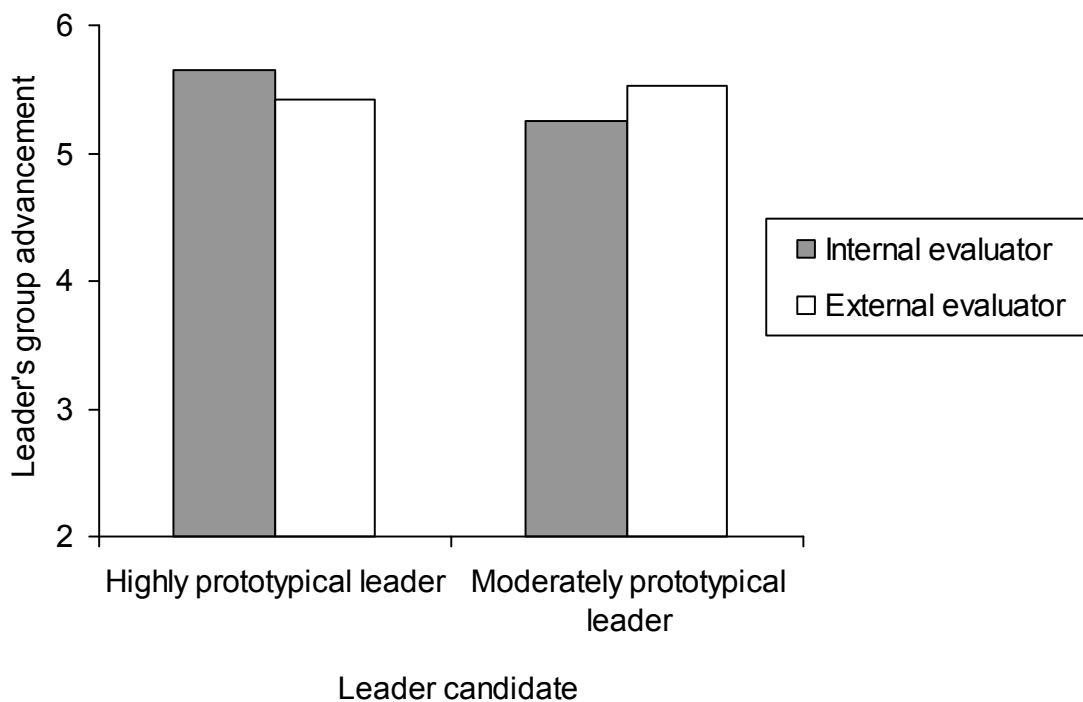
Figure 5.3 Study 8: Interaction effect between evaluator's perspective and leader prototypicality on leader's group advancement.

Decomposition of the interaction between prototypicality and performance showed that moderately prototypical leaders (but not highly prototypical ones) were perceived to advance the group more when they displayed high (*M*=5.75; *SD*=.73) rather than average performance (*M*=4.81; *SD*=.97), *F*(1,140) = 24.73, *p* < .001 (highly prototypical leaders

who displayed high performance: *M*=5.66; *SD*=.68; highly prototypical leaders who displayed moderate performance: *M*=5.42; *SD*=.82). In addition, leaders who displayed moderate (but not high) performance were perceived to advance the group more when they were highly prototypical (*M*=5.42; *SD*=.82) rather than moderately prototypical (*M*=4.81; *SD*=.97), $F(1,140) = 9.08$, $p = .003$.

Group damage in case of leader failure. Analysis revealed only a significant interaction between perspective and prototypicality, $F(1,140) = 4.28$, $p = .040$, $\eta^2 = .03$, which is presented in Figure 5.4 (no other effect was significant or approached significance at $p < .10$ level). Supporting our hypothesis, pairwise comparisons indicated that internal (but not external) evaluators tended to perceive the damage to the group caused by a failing highly prototypical leader to be more severe (*M*=5.44; *SD*=1.30) than that caused by a failing moderately prototypical leader (*M*=4.86; *SD*=1.22), $F(1,140) = 3.63$, $p = .059$ (external evaluators' assessments of highly prototypical leaders: *M*=4.87 ; *SD*=1.20; external evaluators' assessments of moderately prototypical leaders: *M*=5.19 ; *SD*=1.17). Moreover, potential failure of a highly prototypical leader was perceived to reflect more badly on the group image in the eyes of internal (*M*=5.44; *SD*=1.30) rather than external evaluators (*M*=4.87; *SD*=1.20), $F(1,140) = 3.99$, $p = .048$.
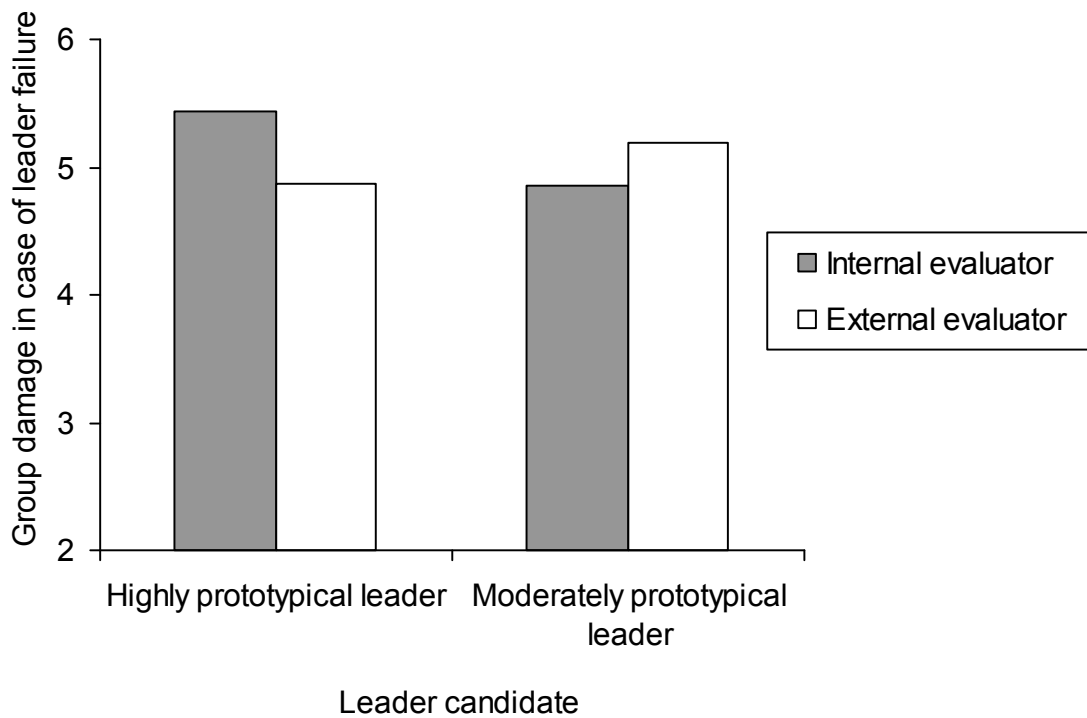
Figure 5.4 Study 8: Interaction effect between evaluator's perspective and leader prototypicality on group damage in case of leader failure.

Discussion

Consistent with key findings from Study 7, findings of the current study revealed that evaluators who saw themselves as internal to a group are more responsive to a leader's ingroup prototypicality than those who saw themselves as external to it. More specifically, and supporting our theoretical analysis, internal (but not external) evaluators perceived highly prototypical leaders to advance group interests more than their moderately prototypical counterparts. Similarly, if a leader failed, internal (but not external) evaluators expected the damage to the group caused by a leader who is highly prototypical to be more severe than that caused by a leader who is only moderately prototypical.

We also found an interaction between performance and prototypicality on leaders'

group advancement. However, it should be noted that variation in both prototypicality and

performance was restricted towards the high end. Indeed, prototypicality did not vary

between low and high but between moderate and high (i.e., between somewhat and very

similar to other departmental members). Similarly, performance did not vary between

low/moderate and high with reference to ingroup members but was manipulated against a

standard of other academic professors (which itself provides an upward comparison to most

academic members). Indeed, compared to high performance (which was described as being

excellent and better than that of other professors in the discipline), moderate performance

was described as good and average in relation to other professors (and therefore better than

that of most other departmental members). Thus, this interaction is likely to reflect a ceiling

effect such that highly-prototypical leaders who displayed "excellent" performance were

not able to further enhance perceptions of group advancement than those whose

performance was "good". This interpretation is corroborated by inspection of the means,

which indicates that perceived group advancement of highly prototypical leaders

(regardless of their performance) was above 5.5 on a 7-point Likert scale and therefore

skewed towards the high end of the scale[5]. For these reasons we refrain from discussing and

interpreting this finding further.

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[5] Means suggest that a moderately prototypical leader whose performance is high
tended to be perceived more favorably by external (*M*=5.87; *SD*=.71) rather than internal
evaluators (*M*=5.64; *SD*=.74). However, because the three-way interaction was not
significant, differences in evaluation seem to be explained by the significant two-way
interaction between perspective and prototypicality, suggesting that internal evaluators
respond less favorably than external evaluators to leaders who are only moderately
prototypical.

By demonstrating that insiders are more sensitive to a leader's prototypicality than outsiders, these findings provide empirical support for social identity theorizing which highlights the critical role that leaders' group representativeness plays in shaping followers' responses to them (Hogg, 2001; Haslam, 2004; Haslam et al., 2011; Turner & Haslam, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003; van Knippenberg, 2011). More precisely though, for evaluators who are internal to a group, leaders' group embodiment also feeds more strongly into perceptions that these leaders will act to defend and advance group interests than for those who are external to it (Haslam et al., 2011; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). On the other side of that coin, internal evaluators' pronounced sensitivity to leader prototypicality also means that the potential failure of a leader who is 'one of us' (rather than as much as 'one of us' as 'one of them') is also seen to be more damaging to the group as a whole.

General Discussion

Findings from two studies employing quasi and full experimental designs provide consistent evidence that evaluators' perspective affects leader evaluations such that group insiders place more value on leaders' prototypicality (but not on leader performance) than group outsiders. Across both experiments, external evaluators perceived leaders who had moderate or low prototypicality (but who were high-performing) to be more capable of advancing group interests than did internal evaluators. By the same token, results of Study 7 indicated that, relative to internal evaluators, external evaluators also regarded leaders who displayed extraordinary performance (but who were minimally prototypical) to be more trustworthy and were somewhat more likely to select them for leadership positions. These findings contribute to, and extend, research that has pointed to the centrality of social

identity processes to leadership (Ellemers et al., 2004; Haslam & Platow, 2001; Haslam et al., 2011; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003; van Knippenberg, 2011) by demonstrating (a) that leader prototypicality is an important basis (and often more important than performance) for active followership (Study 7) and (b) that those who are internal (vs. external) to a group are more concerned about the capacity for the failure of highly representative (rather than moderately representative) leaders to cause harm to the group's image (Study 8).

Theoretical implications

The present results have at least four important theoretical and practical implications. First, they suggest that when evaluators are more psychologically immersed in a group, their responses to leader candidates are more attuned to the leader's group representativeness (Hogg, 2001; Turner & Haslam, 2001). More precisely, psychologically invested evaluators appear to be less willing to sacrifice a leader's group embodiment for the sake of his or her skills, achievements, and performance than independent evaluators who are formally not members of the relevant group. In other words, it appears that internal and external evaluators have different conceptions about the qualities that equip leaders to take the group forward. This becomes particularly clear when leaders' performance and representativeness diverge (and all leaders vary to some degree in either of these dimensions). In this way, the present findings contribute to a growing body of research inspired by the social identity approach to leadership that stresses the importance for would-be leaders of representing the identity of the group that is being led (Ellemers et al., 2004; Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003).

Second, although ingroup members believe that leaders who are highly representative of the ingroup will advance the group more than moderately prototypical

leaders, they are also sensitive to the capacity for the failure of prototypical leaders to reflect badly on the group itself. These findings extend evidence previously provided by Giessner and van Knippenberg (2008) that suggests that followers trust prototypical leaders more when the group fails to fulfil a maximum goal. While this may be the case, the present findings suggest that highly prototypical leaders are also perceived to have greater capacity to harm the image of the group. Indeed, precisely because highly prototypical leaders define the meaning of the group for followers (Haslam, 2004; see also Chapter 4), if they fail then this has greater capacity to cast doubt on the meaning and worth of the group as a whole. In this respect, it seems that a leader's ingroup prototypicality is a double-edged quality that provides followers with affirmation and guidance when 'things go well', but which can create concern and doubt should 'things go wrong'.

Practical implications

The present findings also suggest that in appraisal and selection processes that involve various judges, internal and external evaluators respond in different ways to trade-offs in leaders' achievements and group typicality. In particular, external evaluators (outgroup members) are more likely than internal evaluators (ingroup members) to predicate their evaluations and selections of potential leadership candidates on those candidates' general skills, abilities, and performance at the expense of their relationship with followers. These findings also tie in with theorizing and evidence informed by the attraction-selection-attrition model (Kristof-Brown, 2000; Schneider, 1987) as they reveal additional processes of leader selection that can result in more uniform groups and organizations when selection is in the hands of internal rather than external evaluators. Accordingly, it is plausible that decisions surrounding the composition of selection committees need to be sensitive to insiders' and outsiders' differential responses to

variations in performance and prototypicality — particularly as these bear upon issues of leader acceptance, group performance, and organizational diversity. Although internal evaluators' immediate evaluations of leaders are also likely to determine their future responses, this does not mean that either internal or external evaluators make superior or more accurate assessments of leader candidates as this is likely to depend, inter alia, on (a) the nature of the organizational identity and culture (e.g., the degree to which a group embraces diversity beliefs; van Dick, van Knippenberg, Hägele, Guillaume, & Brodbeck, 2008; van Knippenberg, Haslam, & Platow, 2007), (b) the specific situation and tasks that the organization faces (van Knippenberg, De Dreu, & Homan, 2004; Ryan & Haslam, 2005), and (c) the wider organizational context that may require the organization to change (Corley & Gioia, 2004).

Finally, because leader performance and prototypicality both determine people's evaluations of leaders, it can be beneficial for organizations to factor both of these variables into the selection process. While a whole range of competencies and performances (e.g., research, teaching, familiarity with administrative roles in academia) are part of any standard evaluation, a group member's prototypicality is often not explicitly considered to be part of these competencies, but nevertheless is an important characteristic that often implicitly guides selection processes (for a discussion of the role of P–O fit in selections, see Tsai et al., 2011). Thus, to the degree that evaluators have clear conceptions about the relevance of both of these resources, making these explicit may help an organization (a) reduce discrepancies that internal and external evaluators experience in the course of the selection, and (b) make the selection process as a whole fairer and more transparent for applicants and evaluators alike.

Limitations and outlook into future research

In order to enrich our understanding of internal and external evaluators' assessments, it would be worthwhile to calibrate the trade-off between prototypicality and performance in order to establish the importance of absolute levels of these resources that evaluators deem appropriate. It is also possible that there are differences in the minimum levels that internal and external evaluators consider necessary in order for leaders to be appointable. Thus, it would be interesting to investigate whether (and if so, to which degree) external evaluators rather than prospective followers (internal evaluators) are willing to tolerate leaders who fall short in their capacity to represent followers and believe that such shortcomings can be compensated by elevated performance.

Furthermore, the present research does not provide answers to interesting questions such as how assessments of candidates for leadership positions (for both internal and external evaluators) vary as a function of evaluators' status (e.g., senior staff members responsible for selection, an organization's management board). Here, we anticipate that high-status internal evaluators are also more likely than low-status internal evaluators to respond favourably to high-achieving but only moderate representative leaders (partly because these leaders are more representative of their own ingroup). Moreover, the present research does not explore how followers react to leaders' actions as a function of how these leaders have been selected in the first place (i.e., by internal versus external evaluators). Similarly, in ways envisaged by Hollander's (1958) work on idiosyncrasy credit, it might be interesting to examine the actions and activities that internally and externally selected leaders who vary in their capability and group representativeness engage in, with a view to securing the support of (more or less enthusiastic) followers.

Conclusion

The current research reveals that the leader characteristics that an evaluator considers to be most appropriate for leadership positions vary as a function of his or her perspective. In particular, findings suggest that outsiders are more likely than insiders to favour leaders whose performance is outstanding but who are not representative of other group members. To the extent that internal and external evaluators have divergent understanding of the qualities that leaders require to succeed, it would appear that appointment decisions will look very different when they are made by external rather than internal evaluators and hence that outcomes may be determined as much by who is making them as by who is being evaluated. Certainly, it seems likely that when judgments are made by external rather than internal evaluators, these focus less on the alignment of leaders with followers (and thus more on leader performance in the abstract). Clearly too, this is ultimately likely to have a bearing upon the capacity of those leaders who are selected to be able to lead the group in question. Indeed, the case of Emperor Galba, with which we started this chapter, points to the problems that can arise when external evaluators disregard the perspective of those who are to be led so that an outstanding candidate on paper proves incapable of leading in practice.

Chapter 6

General discussion and conclusion

Purpose and summary of the present thesis

The present thesis has explored the interplay between leaders' prototypicality and personal performance in determining their effectiveness — as demonstrated by their perceived ability to promote group interests. We have argued and provided evidence that followers make inferences about leaders' capacity to lead against the backdrop of whether and how leaders advance common interests and goals. In Chapter 1 we reviewed contemporary theories of leadership with a focus on prominent theories that address leader performance as an antecedent of leadership effectiveness. This was followed, in Chapter 2, by a review of the social identity approach to leadership. We argued that this approach provides a nuanced understanding of the psychology of groups and focuses on processes of social influence made possible by leaders' management of a shared social identity that binds them with followers. We argued that because leadership is a process of social identity management, leaders' effectiveness emanates from their ability to act — and be perceived by followers — not only as (a) ingroup prototypes (which has been the focus of the majority of previous work inspired by social identity theorizing), but also as (b) ingroup champions, and (c) social identity entrepreneurs (as argued by previous reviews; e.g., Haslam et al., 2011; van Knippenberg, 2011).

In the first set of three studies reported in Chapter 3 we have seen that leaders' outstanding performance, skills, and abilities led to more favourable responses by followers

when leaders' performance was congruent (rather than incongruent) with followers' shared identity such that leaders were seen to be 'doing it for us' (or acting as ingroup champions; e.g., Haslam et al. 2001). Moreover, followers' perceptions that leaders were acting as champions of the ingroup, in turn, fed into perceptions that they were also trustworthy and charismatic. Results suggest that leading by example through the display of extraordinary performance does not guarantee followership but, critically, that leaders' performance is judged instead against its capacity to advance shared interests. This means that leader performance is only perceived to be advancing the interests of the collective to the degree that leaders are representative of those attitudes and values that are characteristic of the group.

While the current thesis provides consistent evidence that the capacity of leaders' performance to enhance their effectiveness is contingent on its relationship to ingroup identity, it also theorized that perceptions of performance and prototypicality themselves are not independent but instead are positively and bidirectionally inter-related. Consistent with this assertion, one field and two correlational studies reported in Chapter 4 demonstrated an association between these two aspects of leadership such that (a) followers infer a leader's prototypicality from his or her performance and (b) a leader's prototypicality also affects perceptions of his or her performance. Moreover, these studies indicated that both performance and prototypicality are also resources that allow leaders to engage in identity entrepreneurship in so far as they enhance their ability to determine which attributes are normative and ideal for group members to pursue (see also Reicher & Hopkins, 1996b, 2001, 2003). Specifically, when followers reflect on what it *means* to a member of a group, they look up to leaders who are both high-achieving and 'do what we value well' in order to derive not only 'what we as a group are doing' but also 'what we as

a group should be doing'. At the same time, though, we provided evidence that once leaders are perceived to be representative of the ingroup, they are also able to *redefine* a group's meaning by setting new standards and introducing novel norms.

Furthermore, this thesis explored how the social context may alter whether and how evaluators appraise leaders' performance and prototypicality when assessing their ability to take a group forward. In Chapter 5 we argued that because a group is more defining of the self for appraisers who are internal rather external to the group (i.e., 'insiders' who are members of the same group vs. 'outsiders' who are not), their evaluations of leaders' capacity to advance the group should be grounded more firmly in judgments of leaders' representativeness of this particular group. The results from two experimental studies supported this idea. Findings indicated that leaders who fail to embody collective qualities of a group (i.e., those who are non-prototypical rather than prototypical) are perceived to advance the group more when judged by those who are external rather than internal to the group. As a corollary, this also means that when a leader's personal performance and prototypicality diverge, external evaluators are more likely than internal evaluators to respond positively to (and to select) leaders who stand out by virtue of their exceptional performance despite being deficient in representing followers' attitudes and values. Thus, our findings indicate that, as well as leaders' performance and prototypicality, the relationship between leaders and evaluators is also an important determinant of observers' perceptions of leaders' ability to advance a given group.

Theoretical contribution of the present thesis

Contribution to theories of leader performance

Theoretical assertions from a wide array of contemporary leadership theories lay particular emphasis on the importance of leaders' exceptional performance, skills, and abilities for successful leadership. Indeed, these assertions are central to (a) trait and behavioural theories of leadership that stress leaders' capacity or competence (Bass & Bass, 2008; DeRue et al., 2011), (b) theories of transformational leadership that focus on leaders' capacity for idealized influence through displays of extraordinary capabilities (Bass & Riggio, 2006; Podsakoff et al., 1990), (c) theories of leader categorization and implicit leadership that argue that cues about performance feed into ratings of effective leadership (Phillips & Lord, 1982; Rush et al., 1977), and (d) attributional theories of performance and theories of leader role modelling that assert that leaders' outstanding competence and achievements enhance their capacity to inspire followers' motivation and performance (e.g., Buunk et al., 2007; Hoyt et al., 2012; Lockwood & Kunda, 1997; Marx & Roman, 2002).

While these approaches make the point that performance is an indispensable ingredient that increases leaders' capacity to lead, they tend to overlook (a) the group context in which leaders' extraordinary performance is played out, (b) leaders' relationship to the group identity that they represent (i.e., their prototypicality for the ingroup), and (c) the way in which the interplay between performance and prototypicality affects whether and how leaders are perceived to be effective in taking the group forward as a whole. However, the present findings demonstrate that when judging leaders' effectiveness, their performance, skills, and abilities cannot be regarded as absolute but are always shaped by the group context in which these are expressed. In demonstrating that the perceived

effectiveness and value of performance is conditioned by leaders' prototypicality for the particular ingroup in question, the present thesis contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the importance of leaders' performance than dominant theories provide. It demonstrates that leaders' personal capabilities do not impress followers because they create an image of the leader as a mighty 'idol' in the abstract or because they inevitably create an aura of extraordinary leader charisma. Instead, we have seen that leaders' personal performance is important primarily because, and to the extent that, it is perceived to contribute to the advancement of a shared social identity.

In addition, and along related lines, the current thesis reveals not only that the effectiveness of performance is dependent on the group context, but also that *perceptions of performance* themselves depend on a leader's positioning within a group. As we have seen in studies that explored the inter-relationship between perceptions of prototypicality and performance, whether we value or deprecate a leader's performance and perceive it as 'good' or 'bad' is contingent on the degree to which this leader is seen as embodying a shared identity (and thus as being able to advance it). Thus, when it comes to evaluating the worth of a leader's performance, skills, and abilities, these findings point to the limits of individualistic approaches that draw attention only to personal competencies and capabilities in the abstract (e.g., DeRue et al., 2011). Instead, they highlight the need to take into consideration the frame of reference that is provided by the common group that 'makes' leaders and followers in the first place, which frames a shared understanding of social reality, and thereby determines what performance *means* (cf. Turner, 1981).

Finally, the thesis supports claims by proponents of leader categorization theory that a leader's performance is a cue to leader effectiveness (Phillips & Lord, 1982; Rush et al., 1977). However, it extends this research because our findings demonstrate that when a

leader performs well and is seen to nurture group accomplishments, performance can also signal his or her *prototypicality* (Hogg, 2001; Turner & Haslam, 2001). In this sense, then, the present thesis adds to, and extends, attributional and social constructivist theories of effective leadership (Meindl, 1995). In particular, while previous theories argued and showed that the performance of *groups* shapes social constructions of effective leadership (e.g., Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987), the current thesis demonstrates that perceptions of effective leadership are also determined by a leader's *personal* performance — specifically, the extent to which it is seen to have the potential to contribute to a group's future performance.

In sum, then, the current thesis augments role model theories by conceptualizing successful leader performance as a property that is always grounded in the perceived potential for a leader to advance shared social identity. It is not leaders' high performance on its own that followers value and that motivates them to help turn the leader's vision into reality. Rather, it is performance that is understood to be in 'our' interests and for 'our' cause.

Contribution to the social identity approach to leadership

We have seen that this thesis has significant implications for theories of leader performance, but what is its contribution to the social identity approach to leadership? The present thesis is consistent with the social identity approach to leadership in showing that managing a group is as much about representing it as it is about championing its common interests (along the lines suggested by Haslam et al., 2011). Yet it contributes to the development of this approach in light of the fact that, to date, researchers have put more energy into understanding leaders' prototypicality or representativeness, than into analysing

the preconditions, processes, and consequences of leaders' group advancement (e.g., van Knippenberg, 2011).

More specifically, the body of research that has demonstrated that effective leaders need to 'be one of us' as well as to 'do it for us', has primarily focused on explaining leaders' group advancement through their affirmation or promotion of ingroup interests over personal interests or those of an outgroup (e.g., Duck & Fielding, 1999; Haslam et al., 2001; Haslam & Platow, 2001; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). In doing so, it has largely overlooked the way in which leaders' own performance and abilities are critical aspects of the vigour with which they are able to advance group interests and goals. Critically, the present thesis thus lays bare an additional crucial way in which leaders can drive forward shared interests and ambitions — by displaying elevated performance and ability, and ensuring that these are exercised in furtherance of the group's common cause. In this way, it supports the claim that leaders who are prototypical have the group's interests at heart (e.g., Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008; van Knippenberg, 2011), but also extends this by showing that, *on its own, being perceived as prototypical may not be sufficient to promote and realize those interests.* To use a sailing metaphor, prototypicality is the *rudder* that gives a boat guiding direction, but leader performance, skills, and abilities are the *propeller* that endows it with energizing force. Moreover, and as revealed in Chapter 4, prototypicality and performance are also intertwined because direction implies some level of motion while motion cannot exist without a sense of direction.

What is more, the current thesis also contributes to a social identity analysis of leadership by providing evidence — through use of *explicit measures* — that the effectiveness of leaders in managing a group varies as a function of the extent to which they are seen to be taking group interests forward. This advances our theoretical understanding

in two important ways. First, while previous research has conceptualized leaders' promotion of ingroup interests by manipulating whether and how leaders stand up for group interests and by measuring the subsequent support that these leaders receive (e.g., Haslam & Platow, 2001; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005), it has not assessed explicitly the degree to which leaders are perceived to advance a group. Here assessing explicitly leaders' group advancement allows us to rule out potential alternative explanations and thus enhances our confidence that group advancement is key to explaining leader effectiveness. Second, as we have seen in Chapters 3 and 5, our research proposed and confirmed that perceived group advancement can act as a mediator of followers' responses to leaders. In particular, followers not only support leaders and perceive them to be charismatic (Chapter 3) but also appoint them to leadership positions and follow their suggestions (Chapter 5) partly *because* these leaders are expected to 'do it for us' by realizing shared ambitions.

Furthermore, the present thesis advances our understanding of the concept of prototypicality. Although previous work has shown that prototypicality varies as a function of the normative content of an identity as well as the comparative context (Haslam & Turner, 1992; Haslam et al., 1995; Hogg, 2001; Hopkins & Cable, 2001), discussion of whether prototypical means being 'average' or 'typical' versus 'ideal' or 'atypical' has been rather limited. Indeed, previous research has pointed out that to be group prototypical does not mean being 'average' but rather "capture[s] what is group-defining and in that sense represent[s] the ideal-type of the group more than the group average" (van Knippenberg, 2011, p.1079). However, to date, research has neither (a) demonstrated empirically that leader prototypicality reflects in fact more the ideal than the average position (and if so under which conditions), nor (b) clarified what 'ideal' actually means (e.g., with regard to which comparison standards or dimensions). The present thesis helps

to advance this debate by showing that prototypicality can be conceptualized as being typical (the average) of other group members on dimensions that define the group (such as attitudes, opinions, and values), while being non-typical and ideal on dimensions that contribute to the realization of group interests and goals (such as performance, knowledge, skills, and abilities).

It follows from these discussions that leaders are effective to the degree that they represent an ingroup and champion its interests. In addition, however, Reicher, Hopkins, and colleagues (e.g., Reicher & Hopkins, 2001, 2003; Reicher et al., 2005) have argued that a key to leaders' effectiveness is also their ability to act as identity entrepreneurs capable of creating a group and of shaping the content of an identity in such a way as to render themselves prototypical of it. Although research has provided rich and in-depth accounts of leaders' identity entrepreneurship by means of discursive and qualitative analyses (Reicher & Hopkins, 1996b, 2001, 2003; see also Augoustinos & De Garis, 2012), it has generally not explored these processes experimentally (for recent reviews see Haslam et al., 2011; van Knippenberg, 2011). The current thesis not only provides novel evidence of these processes, but it also complements previous theorizing by using experimental methods to explore the conditions that facilitate or hinder leaders' efforts to act as identity entrepreneurs.

More specifically, the present thesis adds to research on identity entrepreneurship by showing that leaders' prototypicality and performance are two significant resources that allow them to shape the normative content of an identity. In this sense, our research supports suggestions that prototypical leaders are indeed defined by a given group as well as able to *redefine* it (as indicated by their ability to establish novel norms; see also Haslam, 2004). However, it also demonstrates that prototypicality is not the only way to successful

identity entrepreneurship since leaders' elevated performance and contributions to group success represent an additional warrant on which basis they are able to (re)define both 'what we are doing' in the here and now and 'what we should be doing' in the future. Indeed, these factors are highly relevant to a variety of situations in which leaders attempt to create and shape followers' understanding of novel group norms and ideals (e.g., managing reactions to unprecedented events such as new technological advances, scientific discoveries, decisions by other organizations in business contexts, or communal incidents and societal upheavals in political contexts).

Altogether, then, the present thesis presents compelling integrated evidence that indicates that followers' appreciation of a leader's prototypicality and personal performance are critical to that leader's future success in guiding, moving forward, and changing the nature of a group. More generally, though, it shows that leadership does not function in a historical vacuum but is enhanced by a leader's accumulating achievements and accomplishments — so long as these are aligned with followers' understanding and hopes of 'who we are' and 'what we want to be'.

Practical contribution of the present thesis

While the current thesis advances our theoretical understanding of leadership processes, if they are correct, then the insights we have gained should also have practical utility. So, what, then, are the most significant implications for the practice of leadership?

A very simple but powerful insight that can be gleaned from this thesis is that the success of organizational leadership is not guaranteed simply by dint of leaders' demonstrable personal 'excellence' in performance, competence, and capability. This is important in view of widespread beliefs and practices in business that lay great emphasis on

the centrality of leaders' skills and achievements to their ability to role-model and lead effectively (Bolden & Gosling, 2006; Hollenbeck et al., 2006). The present thesis illustrates that while it is important for leaders to display elevated performance, this will have limited value unless it is coupled with a capacity and willingness to engage with followers by representing (and being seen to represent) the attitudes, opinions, and values that characterize the group that is being led and that make it distinct from others. Even more, to the degree that leaders fail to represent a social identity that is shared with followers, efforts to impress them with demonstrations of one's personal performance — and to exert influence on that basis — are likely to be in vain.

Relatedly, the current work also demonstrates that followers' *perceptions of leader performance* are themselves shaped by followers' sense of whether, and how well, leaders represent shared identity. This has important implications for practices of performance appraisal such as regular (e.g., annual) performance reviews that may also have bearing on on-going organizational decisions such as remuneration and promotion of organizational members (e.g., see Kulich, Trojanowski, Ryan, Haslam, & Renneboog, 2011). Critically, the current thesis demonstrates that followers do not evaluate leader performance simply in terms of objective, abstract performance criteria. Instead, evaluations are sensitive to followers' sense that leaders' performance is advancing an ingroup cause — and in this way, 'performance' derives its very meaning from the degree to which leaders are perceived to be representative of a group's identity and thereby contribute to the achievement of shared aspirations. Beyond this, even when leaders are (normatively and comparatively) prototypical of a group as a whole, their performance may be valued less positively because they are in a position of a (low-status) group and are less likely to be associated with leaders in general (cf. Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992).

As a result, it should generally be helpful for organizations to strive to clearly align evaluations of leader performance with statements of shared values and with goals that advance collective interests. For example, because perceptions of performance are determined by salient group memberships, organizations may sometimes need to clarify the values and goals of those groups that are considered relevant to evaluation in a given context (which may concern the work team, the entire department, the organization as a whole). In addition, in order to obtain a clear and complete picture of the performance of an organizational member, it might then be helpful to include separate performance evaluations that speak to the different groups that are central to his or her job and tasks. Moreover, organizations may benefit from including explicit measures of prototypicality and group advancement not only because these are both critical leadership factors that are likely to eventually determine leaders' actual ability to influence, and thus lead, followers, but also because doing this is likely to lay bare — and possibly encourage intra-organizational negotiation about — the organization's nature, strategy, and vision.

In addition, the present results also inform our knowledge about the way in which *evaluation and selection* of leaders may differ as a function of whether evaluators are internal or external to the group in question (i.e., 'insiders' vs. 'outsiders'). This is of practical importance to a whole variety of organizations and their procedures that rely on different types of evaluators for such purposes (e.g., universities appointing new staff members, private organizations appointing new directors and heads of department). The evidence we have presented suggests that external evaluators are as concerned about a candidate's performance as internal evaluators but that they are *less* concerned about whether a candidate is prototypical of the group in question (indeed, because they focus less on prototypicality, external evaluators *seem* to focus more on performance).

It follows from this that differences in the assessments made by internal and external evaluators are likely to become most stark when leaders differ greatly in the degree to which they embody collective qualities. In these situations, internal evaluators would appear to be more likely than external evaluators to respond favourably to leaders who represent an identity that they share with prospective followers — and, to the extent that leadership decisions represent the views of multiple parties (e.g., panels comprised of both internal and external evaluators) this is likely to be a bone of contention. Moreover, if leader selection reflects a consensus between internal and external evaluators, then candidates who are either highly prototypical or highly non-prototypical of the group in question may be at something of a disadvantage. In short, while neither internal nor external evaluators make 'better' or more 'correct' decisions (but simply place different value on leader prototypicality), it makes sense for organizations to be sensitive to the evaluative preferences that flow from evaluators' group memberships when designing selection procedures.

Although an evaluator's perspective influences assessments of leader candidates, this does not mean that candidates' characteristics are unimportant in evaluations — indeed, the current thesis testifies that leader effectiveness is strongly influenced by both performance and prototypicality. However, beyond standard selection procedures that tend to focus on competence, performance, and abilities, organizations may profit from including prototypicality as an explicit selection criterion. This has the potential to be beneficial because (a) selection decisions are indeed often influenced by a candidate's fit within an organization (even though there may not be any explicit reference to this; Bretz et al., 1993; Tsai et al., 2011), (b) prototypicality is an important predictor of a candidate's intra-group influence, (c) it renders the selection process more transparent for both

evaluators and candidates, and (d) the process of defining prototypicality is itself likely to encourage essential discussions about 'who we are' and 'what we want to be' and thus help the organization clarify its vision. Thus, beyond standard leadership criteria, organizations may benefit from including more specific criteria that are tied to the specific department and organization (as well as other groups that are most relevant for a particular job) and that speak to a leader's ability to advance shared aspirations and to contribute to collective success.

Finally, the present thesis also allows us to draw implications about leading organizational change and, more specifically, creating novel norms and ideals (i.e., through engagement in identity entrepreneurship). In addition to approaches that aim to introduce new norms and ideals from either the top (e.g., through management, directors) or the bottom (e.g., unions, individual workers), organizations may benefit from considering the relationship between the source of change (i.e., the change agent) and the identity and goals of the respective group. Indeed, as much as it may matter for organizations *what* those new changes and norms entail, it also matters *who* is proposing them if they want them to be embraced by organizational members. Here, it seems that organizations are more likely to succeed in establishing novel norms (i.e., at least uncontroversial norms that ingroup members are unlikely to expect to infringe upon their interests) when, prior to this, the designer of these changes (or identity entrepreneur) has been aligned with followers' shared identity and made a personal contribution to the organization's success. In short, to the degree that organizational change processes involve processes of social influence (as most do), it may be beneficial if organizational change originates from, or least has the strong backing of, a leader who is 'one of us'.

Limitations and directions for future research

While the current research proposes significant advances in theory and practice, there are a number of relevant issues that have not been addressed within the scope of this work but which are clearly important. In what follows we will outline relevant limitations and what we see as the most fruitful avenues for future research. Specifically, we will discuss in detail issues pertaining to (a) the distinction and overlap between prototypicality and interpersonal similarity, (b) the significance of social identity processes, (c) balance in methodological approaches, (d) the relevance of tangible outcomes of leadership (i.e., followers' performance and health and well-being), and (e) the management of diverse and specialized groups.

The current thesis investigates prototypicality as a key concept that influences followers' perceptions of leaders' group advancement. In some studies, we conceptualized and operationalized prototypicality through leaders' similarity to other group members in attitudinal terms. Indeed, this aligns with common operationalizations and measurements of prototypicality that have been used widely in previous research (e.g., Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008; Hogg et al., 1998; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). Here it is important to note that because being prototypical can be conceptualized as being similar to other group members in some contexts (including those of some studies in the current thesis) but not in all contexts (e.g., in contexts in which the distribution of defining ingroup attributes is multimodal), seeing prototypicality as inherently synonymous with similarity would signal a reductionist understanding of this concept.

To underscore this point, there is plenty of empirical evidence that in intergroup contexts, the prototypical position can shift away from the central position when the group

compares itself with a relevant comparison outgroup (e.g., Haslam & Turner, 1992; Haslam et al., 1995; Hopkins & Cable, 2001). In line with the principle of the meta-contrast ratio (e.g., Turner, 1985), this evidence suggests that the prototypical position changes (and is different from the average position) so as to increase the distinctiveness between the ingroup and a relevant outgroup. However, in intragroup contexts (and in the absence of salient intergroup comparisons), conceptualizing prototypicality as being most similar to other members can be perceived as appropriate because this is most likely to convey the normative aspect of identity content. Thus, in several experiments in which we focussed on the intragroup context, we emphasized the leader's similarity to other group members in order to enhance perceptions of prototypicality. In addition, however, we also referred to the intergroup context in some experiments by stating that members have a clear sense of what makes the ingroup special and different from other groups (Studies 1, 2, 6, 8). As no specific outgroups (and their identity content) were mentioned, these references to intergroup contexts do not shift the prototypical position away from the typical position but rather make the group-typical position most salient and prototypical for the group as a whole.

For these reasons, we contend that the findings revealed by the current thesis are unlikely to be driven merely by interpersonal similarity but instead are contingent upon leaders' representativeness of a common identity. There are two more reasons for believing this to be the case. First, similarity did not refer to a leader's similarity to a particular evaluator. In contrast, it referred to leaders' similarity to other group members and thus the group as a whole (while in most experiments the position of the particular evaluator within the group was not specified such that the degree of interpersonal similarity was not evident). Theoretically one might, in fact, expect that a follower (at least a highly-identified

one) would respond positively to a leader who is prototypical of the entire group although he or she may be dissimilar to the particular follower on a personal level. These ideas also tie in with findings by Hogg, Cooper-Shaw, and Holzworth (1993) who found interpersonal similarity to be more strongly related to interpersonal liking while prototypicality was more strongly related to group-based liking. Group members who were perceived to be prototypical were responded to more positively, in turn, on the basis of group-based liking rather than on the basis of interpersonal liking.

Second, if one was to argue that the findings in the current thesis might be accounted for by mere interpersonal similarity, this interpretation would be at odds with data that suggest that leaders who were dissimilar to other group members in terms of their performance were responded to more favourably than their counterparts who were most similar to other group members by showing average performance. Nevertheless, although there are firm reasons to believe that the findings of the present thesis are more likely to have arisen from prototypicality than from interpersonal similarity, future research should seek to examine further the conditions that influence the degree to which these two constructs are distinct or overlap in any given context.

The foregoing discussion also has implications for the question of the degree to which the current findings point specifically to the impact of processes related to social identity (rather than to those specified by other approaches). To start with, to the degree that one is convinced by the arguments laid out above concerning the importance of leader prototypicality (rather than interpersonal similarity), one will also recognize that the current findings speak to the general importance of social identity processes (and not others) for leadership and followership. These suggestions also align with empirical evidence that has shown that leader prototypicality (rather than leader stereotypicality) becomes a more

important element in leaders' effectiveness as followers' identification with a group increases (Hogg et al., 1998). Similarly, there is also evidence that leaders' distributional as well as procedural fairness have less of an impact on highly-identified followers to the degree that these leaders are perceived to be representative of a common ingroup (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; Ullrich et al., 2009). These findings suggest that followers' reactions to leaders would also be more contingent on leaders' prototypicality (rather than on other factors such as performance) as followers' psychological investment in a group increases. Such an analysis is consistent with findings reported in Chapter 5 in which internal evaluators were found to be more responsive than external evaluators to leaders' degree of ingroup prototypicality. More broadly, though, as prototypicality consistently influenced followers' reactions to leaders across several studies in the current thesis, we can infer that followers are likely to have shown at least some basic levels of identification with their respective group.

Because there is ample evidence that indicates that reactions to leader prototypicality are moderated by salience of a social identity, a study that merely makes this point again would not necessarily add significantly to our understanding of social identity processes. Nevertheless, it is the case that in order to provide explicit evidence of these processes future research should demonstrate empirically that the strength of such processes is moderated by identity salience or perceivers' identification with an ingroup. In line with the theoretical analysis presented in Chapter 3, we would expect that the moderating effect of leaders' prototypicality on personal performance would be stronger for followers who identify strongly rather than weakly with an ingroup. Furthermore, consistent with the rationale outlined in Chapter 4, it is also likely that the influence of leaders' prototypicality on followers' perceptions of leader performance would be more

pronounced as followers increasingly define both themselves and leaders in terms of a shared social identity.

In order to investigate these ideas, future research could harness a range of methods that have been used successfully in past research (for reviews of relevant studies in the area of leadership see Haslam et al., 2011; van Knippenberg., 2011). For example, research could manipulate the salience of a social identity (low vs. high), make salient different social identities (relevant vs. irrelevant), or make salient identities defined at different levels of abstraction (e.g., personal vs. social identity). Alternatively, it would be possible to measure identification with a particular group and examine the ways in which followers who identity weakly versus strongly with a group differ in their reactions to leaders' prototypicality and performance. In addition, it would also be interesting to examine whether followers' reactions to leaders' representativeness and performance depends on the extent to which leaders themselves identify with the group in question (along the lines suggested by work on leader–follower identity transfer; van Dick & Schuh, 2010). Another interesting demonstration of identity processes could, for instance, manipulate the content of an identity and thereby alter the relationship of leaders' performative displays to a shared identity (e.g., whether, as a result, this performance is identity-relevant vs. identity-irrelevant, or normative vs. anti-normative) and measure followers' reactions to these leaders.

One might argue that we would be able to derive stronger conclusions from the findings of the present research had it employed a greater diversity of methods. Here, we would like to emphasize that the current thesis focussed on thorough experimental investigations for theoretical not just practical reasons. In particular, experimental approaches have the advantage of allowing precise control over experimental conditions

and thereby allow us to establish cause and effect (which would not have been possible, had we merely relied on correlational designs). Moreover, experimentation has also allowed us to acquire insights into processes (e.g., perceptions of leaders' group advancement) that can explain the impact of independent variables (leader prototypicality and performance) on subsequent dependent variables (followers' reactions). Controlled experiments are also useful because they facilitate understanding of unfolding processes — an understanding that is necessary for the design of practical interventions. For these reasons we employed experiments in the form of scenarios using fictitious groups (Studies 1, 2, and 8) and questionnaires using natural groups (Studies 5, 6, and 7) bearing in mind that scenario experiments with fictitious groups are a method that not only allows a high degree of experimental control but is also valid in that it often generates identical results to those gathered in field studies (De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2002; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). However, in order to employ a more diverse mix of methods and to validate findings from the laboratory (i.e., to triangulate methods) we also used field experiments which involved people with experience of work teams (Studies 3 and 4).

Again, though, we do think that it would be worthwhile exploring the current research questions using other powerful methodological approaches that bring additional unique advantages. Specifically, future research should investigate the current processes within longitudinal and cross-lagged panel designs (Sacco & Schmitt, 2005). These would allow us to assess, for instance, the relative strengths of the impact that leaders' personal performance and prototypicality exert as they change over an extended period of time. Moreover, it would be interesting to investigate the effects of leaders' personal performance and prototypicality on followers' reactions by means of group studies in the laboratory as well as leadership interventions in the field (for a review of leadership

interventions see Avolio, Reichard, Hannah, Walumbwa, & Chan, 2009). A group study in the laboratory in which leaders' personal performance and prototypicality are manipulated would be worthwhile, for example, because it would allow for observation of actual behaviours and leader–follower interactions (e.g., Nevicka, Ten Velden, De Hoogh, & Van Vianen, 2011). Similarly, insights from such an investigation with ad hoc groups could be complemented by leadership interventions in the field which could validate relevant processes in work groups or teams in organizational contexts. Finally, research could also make use of carefully designed archival studies that identify markers of leaders' prototypicality and personal performance and then relate these to indicators of leaders' effectiveness. Such investigations would enable broader investigations of the current research questions in potentially diverse sectors and open up the possibility of validating the present findings within large-scale samples.

The focus of the current thesis is consistent with that of the field in so far as it concentrates on followers' perceptions and evaluations of leaders (Gardner, Lowe, Moss, Mahoney, & Cogliser, 2010; Hiller et al., 2011). However, it has concentrated less on tangible outcomes such as (a) followers' own performance or (b) their work satisfaction, health, and well-being. To start with the former, in many organizational and business contexts, the performance of individual members plays a pivotal role (and often has consequences for promotion and remuneration). However, here it has to be noted that the degree to which a follower's performance becomes a matter of leadership or social influence is dependent on the nature and content of a leader's influence attempts (i.e., some leaders place more emphasis on performance than others and different leaders promote performance in differential ways). In this manner, followers' evaluations of leaders can be seen as a proxy for their own performance provided that those leaders' influence attempts

are directed at motivating followers to display performance in this particular way. In future research it would therefore be worthwhile focusing more closely on the way in which leaders can capitalize on their performance and prototypicality in order to influence followers' efforts and accomplishments.

In addition to examining followers' performance, there would also be value in investigating the role of leadership in preventing negative health outcomes and illness (e.g., burnout, depression, stress, and sickness) and promoting positive health outcomes and well-being (e.g., work engagement as well as work, supervisory, and life satisfaction). Research that has attempted to scrutinize the role that leaders play in promoting followers' health and well-being is only starting to emerge (for reviews see Kuoppala, Lamminpää, Liira, & Vainio, 2008; Skakon, Nielsen, Borg, & Guzman, 2010). Moreover, while previous reviews reveal associations between transformational leader behaviours, leaders' consideration and initiation of structure, and supervisory support on the one hand and followers' well-being on the other, the processes responsible for these associations are poorly understood. In this regard, it appears that there would be merit in extending the social identity approach to leadership to address this gap.

More generally, though, this extension into the domain of health and well-being opens up a range of novel research areas. For instance, initial research on supervisory support has generated evidence that followers' perceptions of increased supervisory support feed into their satisfaction with both their leader and their job (e.g., Eisenberger, Stinglhamber, Vandenberghe, Sucharski, & Rhoades, 2002; Shanock & Eisenberger, 2006). Here, it might be worthwhile investigating in more detail not only (a) when and why followers perceive themselves to be supported by their leaders (e.g., when they represent and advance a shared social identity, embed identity-related structures) but also (b) the kind

of leadership activities and actions that can promote followers' sense of supervisory support (e.g., those that strengthen social relationships and collaborations between group or organizational members, and those that foster organizational identification; Haslam, Reicher, & Levine, 2012; van Dick & Haslam, 2012).

Further insights into the links between leadership and well-being emerge from a meta-analysis by Kuoppala and colleagues (2008) that reports a positive association between, in the researchers' words, "good leadership" and employees' positive health outcomes in terms of job satisfaction and job well-being. While this research indicates that leaders play a key role in the promotion of employees' health, the researchers included, but did not distinguish between, a variety of different leadership conceptualizations (e.g., consideration and initiation of structure, transformational behaviours). It is therefore unclear how effective different 'kinds' of leadership attempts are in promoting job well-being. Similarly, it is not apparent what good leaders can actually *do* in order to foster health and well-being (in terms of sustainable leadership interventions). Another meta-analysis by Skakon and colleagues (2010) found that employees' well-being and reduced stress was related (a) negatively to leaders' own stress levels, (b) positively to "positive" leader behaviours (such as support, feedback, trust, confidence, or integrity) and negatively to "negative" behaviours (such as control, low support, or abuse), and (c) positively to transformational leadership behaviours. However, in light of the scant empirical evidence available, the authors conclude that there is a marked absence of theorizing about not only psychological processes but also relevant contextual factors.

In order to address this research lacuna, future research could draw on the theoretical and empirical basis provided by the social identity approach to health and well-being (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009; Jetten, Haslam, & Haslam, 2012; Jetten,

Haslam, Haslam, & Branscombe, 2009). In particular, it would be valuable to investigate how the health-related consequences of leader behaviours and actions relate to their capacity (a) to strengthen followers' social identification with the team and the organization (e.g., by allowing followers to collectively create a positive image of the group, or through leaders' displays of social identification; van Dick & Schuh, 2010; van Dick, Hirst, Grojean, & Wieseke, 2007), (b) to enhance followers' empowerment and involvement in a social group (e.g., by allowing followers to actively contribute to the development of organizational practices and strategies; Knight, Haslam, & Haslam, 2010), (c) to strengthen multiple group memberships (e.g., by creating and expanding organizational opportunities to engage in purposeful group life and meaningful social activities; Iyer, Jetten, Tsivrikos, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009; Jetten, Haslam, & Barlow, 2012), and (d) to embed followers' multiple identities in viable organizational structures (e.g., by facilitating followers' expressions of multiple identities within the organizational environment).

Along similar lines, because leadership research has relied largely on cross-sectional investigations (e.g., Gardner et al., 2010; Hiller et al., 2011), it would be worthwhile seeking to develop and implement theory-driven *leadership interventions* that aim to improve employees' health outcomes. Beyond conventional workplace health promotion practices that seek to promote ergonomics and healthy lifestyle (see Kuoppala, Lamminpää, & Husman, 2008), it would be intriguing to test and evaluate practices that seek to activate and enhance employees' identity resources — those associated both with the particular team or organization in question and with other meaningful groups (e.g., those centred on the family, leisure, the community).

Another interesting avenue for future research would be to explore the demands of effective leadership within increasingly changing and diverse societies. Here, a challenge to

leadership lies not only in representing multiple potential groups but also in bridging

divides between these (e.g., Hogg, van Knippenberg, & Rast, 2012; Pittinsky, 2009;

Pittinsky & Simon, 2007). In this regard, research suggests that one fruitful way forward

might involve ascertaining people's identity resources and using these as a basis for

developing organic superordinate identities that embrace subgroup differences (as outlined

in the ASPIRe model; Haslam, Eggins, & Reynolds, 2003; Eggins, O'Brien, Reynolds,

Haslam, & Crocker, 2008; see also Dovidio, Gaertner, & Lamoreaux, 2009; Hornsey &

Hogg, 2000). Moreover, there is also evidence that different groups work together more

harmoniously to the degree that people believe that diversity is beneficial rather than

detrimental to self (i.e., depending on whether people hold pro-diversity vs. anti-diversity

beliefs; van Knippenberg et al., 2007; van Dick et al., 2008). However, it is less clear what

leaders can do in order to cultivate pro-diversity beliefs and thus make diverse groups more

effective. Here, it would be interesting to extend the present examination of the way in

which leaders can increase followers' engagement with novel norms by exploring whether

leaders can similarly create positive associations to diversity and initiate activities that

celebrate group differences.

Related to the previous point, it would also be intriguing to examine the

consequences of diversity for the nature of prototypicality. As we have seen, as a

determinant of the capacity for social influence, this has been one of the fundamental pillars

of the social identity approach to leadership (Haslam et al., 2011; Hogg, 2001; Turner &

Haslam, 2001; van Knippenberg, 2011). But what does it mean to be prototypical of a

group that comprises a lot of very different members and groups? On what basis do we

define group membership here? Moreover, even when we agree about the meaning of

prototypicality, do people from different groups have an equal chance of being seen as

prototypical? Because diversity is itself a diverse construct (e.g., Harrison & Klein, 2007; Roccas & Brewer, 2002), it would be interesting to examine how perceptions of prototypicality as well as related processes of social influence change as group diversity itself changes (e.g., whether subgroups share a great vs. small amount of overlap, are similar vs. different in status).

Finally, when groups become diverse and specialized this may also mean that we conceptualize prototypicality less in the traditional sense of being a 'typical' group member or someone who 'has a lot in common' with other group members because being different becomes an integral part and defining feature of this group (although the group is held together by a overarching common belief in diversity). Instead, it may mean that, depending on the identity content, we come to conceptualize prototypicality in a novel sense in which it means being a *unique group member* — a group member who contributes in a unique way to the collective good that is mutually valued (see also Baray, Postmes, & Jetten, 2009; Hornsey & Jetten, 2004; Jetten & Postmes, 2006). Along similar lines, it would also be worthwhile investigating the constructions of social identities in groups that are not only diverse but also embrace change as part of their identity.

Moreover, change itself and increasingly flexible lifestyles pose challenges to leadership because these can sometimes be associated with loss of identity (and identity continuity), which has detrimental consequences on people's ability to live a fulfilled and meaningful life (Sani, 2008; Sennett, 1998). Thus, increasingly flexible and changing societies may enhance the salience of people's identity trajectories such that they consider more starkly not only 'who they are' but also 'who they were' and 'who they want to be'. While there is evidence from qualitative analysis of the way in which leaders manage identity change by crafting new identity constructions (e.g., Reicher & Hopkins, 2001,

2003; Haslam & Reicher, 2007), it would be worthwhile examining experimentally the impact of changing identities on leaders' ability to manage social influence processes. Along related lines, it would also be useful to investigate how leaders (a) can use a temporal focus to enhance perceptions of their prototypicality and group advancement (e.g., by making salient identity visions of which they are prototypical; Haslam et al., 2011), or (b) can cultivate a sense of continuity in order to keep group members on board when proposing various forms of identity change (van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, & Bobbio, 2008).

Concluding comment

The present thesis supports the idea that followers must be confident that leaders are advancing shared interests and contributing to group success in order to be willing to endorse their leadership. It has demonstrated that followers' perceptions that leaders are advancing a common ingroup are contingent on both the leader's personal performance and their representativeness of that ingroup. However, leaders' personal performance and prototypicality do not exert their influence on followers' beliefs independently, but work symbiotically and in mutually reinforcing ways. To be seen as 'one of us' a leader needs be seen to 'do it for us'; to be seen to 'do it for us' a leader needs to be seen as 'one of us'.

In this way, the current thesis refines our understanding of the way in which the social group contextualizes what it means both to be 'one of us' and to 'do it for us' (Haslam et al., 2011). Indeed, although we often may praise the performance, successes, and achievements of a leader as an individual, these only *become* achievements when they serve to represent and advance a relevant social group. Thus, achievements are not 'soulless' collections of successes but are meaningful to the degree that they allow us to

realize our collective hopes and desires. In the quotation that prefaced this thesis, John F. Kennedy speaks to the enduring importance of leaders' ability to create cognitive alternatives to constrained conditions in the present — the "need [for] men [and women] who can dream of things that never were and ask 'why not?'" To be effective, though, such dreams cannot be the reveries of detached fantasists. Rather, they must be dreams that are understood to be two things: *realizable* and *ours*.

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Appendix

Study 1 Materials

Imagine together with several other group members you form the work team *Thalia*. You and other team members have a very clear understanding of what it means to be one of *Thalia*. You also know well that it sets itself apart from other teams, for instance, in terms of norms, customs, or behaviours. Your team shares an excellent common team spirit and it is fairly successful. You are very satisfied working with your team members.

At present, the position of the team leader is to be filled by a member of your team, which you follow with great interest. Matt is now becoming the leader of your team. When you think about Matt currently as a team member, it strikes you immediately how he relates to your team. You like to see him in the following manner, as described on the next page.

Manipulations of independent variables

Manipulation of leader's attitude prototypicality (prototypical vs. non-prototypical)

[Leader with prototypical attitudes]

When you think of Matt's attitudes in relation to other team members, you clearly see him as being very *similar* to other team members. With regards to attitudes he is undoubtedly a *very typical member* of your team.

[Leader with non-prototypical attitudes]

When you think of Matt's attitudes in relation to other team members, you clearly see him as being very *different* from other team members. With regards to attitudes he is undoubtedly a very *non-typical member* of your team.
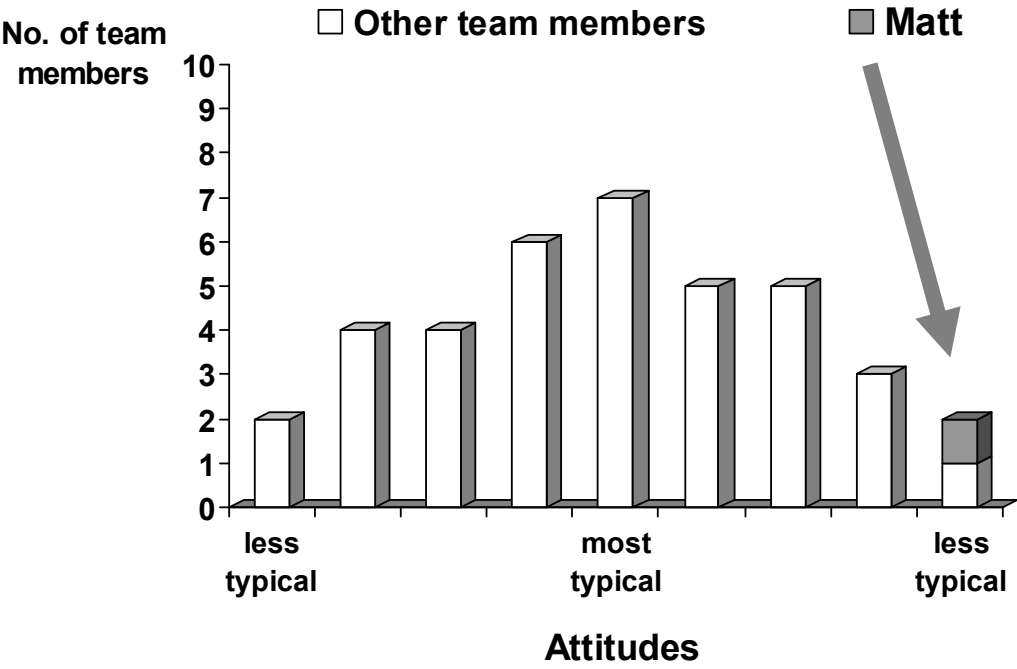
Manipulation of performance (average vs. high)

[Average-performing leader]

In terms of Matt's current performance in his job he is clearly *an average performing team member*. In this regard, he is noticeably a *very typical member,* that is, he is performing *like most other members* of your team.
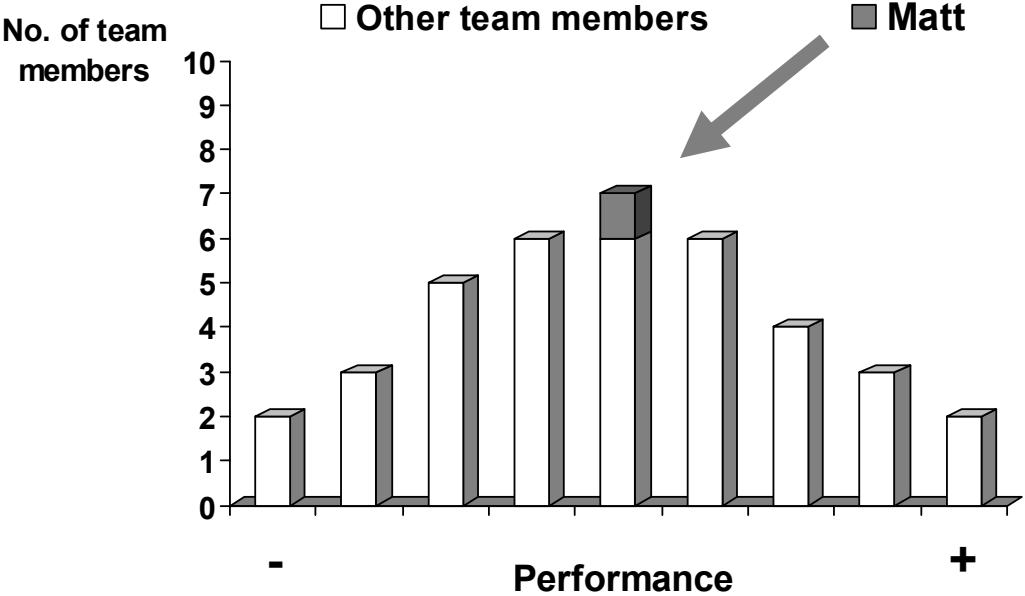
[High-performing leader]

In terms of Matt's current performance in his job he is clearly *well above the average performing team member*. In this regard, he is noticeably *not a typical member*, that is, he is *one of the few very best* performing members of your team.
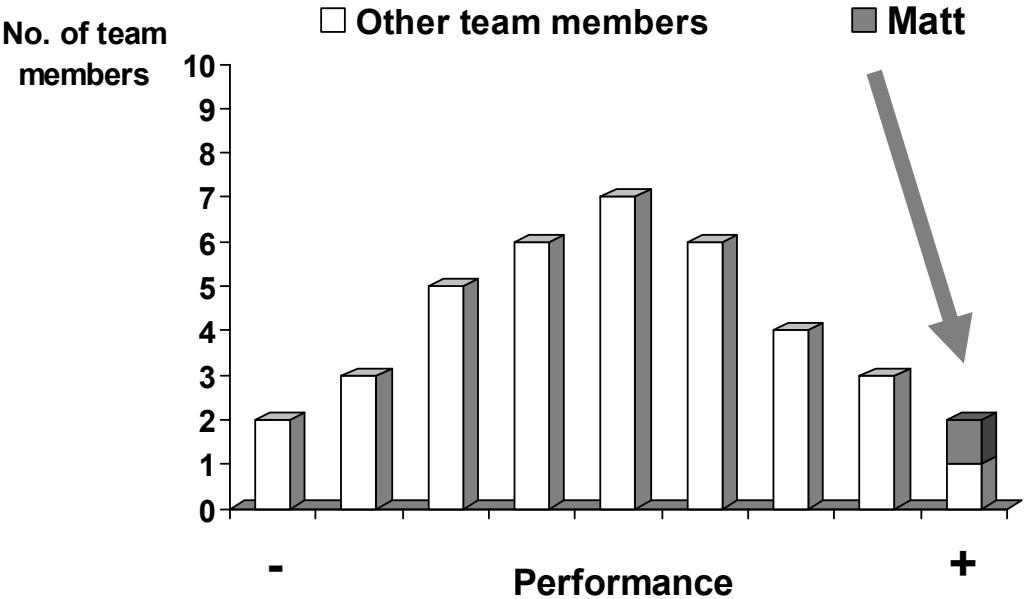
Measures

Manipulation checks

In terms of performance compared to other members of your team, Matt is

□ typical

□ non-typical

In terms of attitudes compared to other team members, Matt is

□ typical

□ non-typical

Leadership endorsement (four items; α = .96)

I endorse [this leader] as team leader.

I back up [this leader] as our team leader.

I am supportive of [this leader's] leadership.

I support [this leader] as team leader.

Trust in the leader (three items; α = .89)

I trust [this leader] as our team leader.

[This leader] is a credible team leader.

I respect Matt as our team leader.

Study 2 Materials

Imagine that together with several other group members you form the work team *Thalia*. You and other team members have a very clear understanding of what it means to be a member of *Thalia*. You also know that *Thalia* is different from other teams for instance, in terms of norms, customs, or behaviours. Your team shares an excellent common team spirit and it is quite successful. You are very satisfied working with your team members.

At present, the position of the team leader is about to be filled by a member of your team. This is an issue that you are following with great interest. Indeed, Matt is about to become the leader of your team. When you think about Matt as a team member, you have a very clear sense of how he relates to your team. The way you see him is described on the next page.

Manipulations of independent variables

Manipulation of leader's attitude prototypicality (prototypical vs. non-prototypical)

[Leader with prototypical attitudes]

When you think of Matt's attitudes in relation to other team members, you see him as being very *similar* to other team members. With regards to attitudes he is undoubtedly a *very typical member* of your team. That is, he is *like most other team members*.
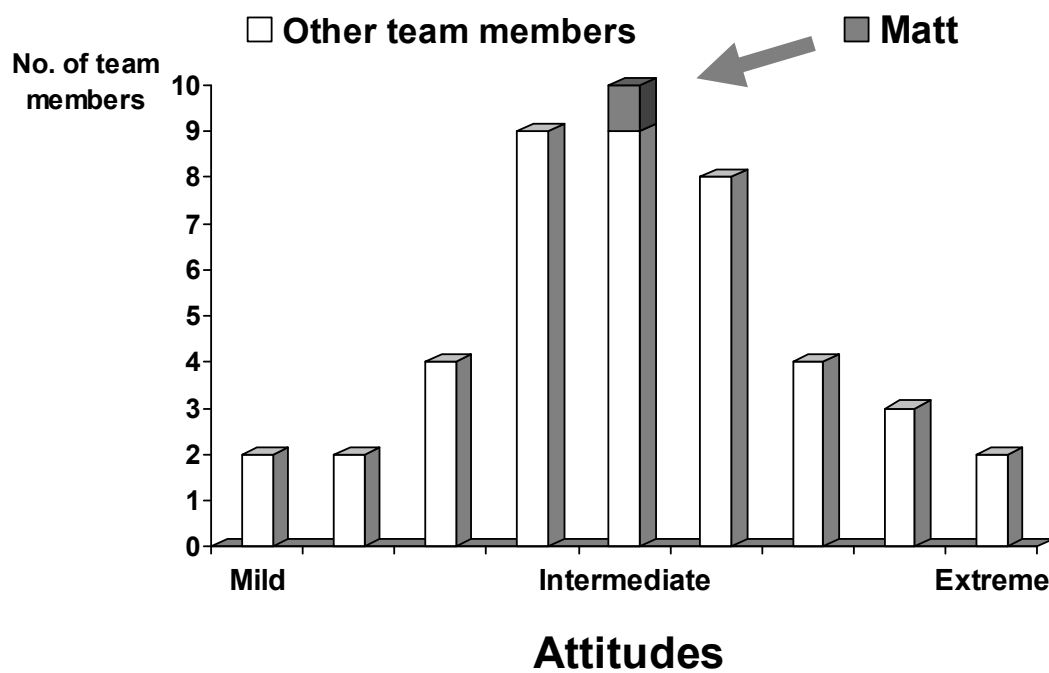
[Leader with non-prototypical attitudes]

When you think of Matt's attitudes in relation to other team members, you see him as being very *different* from other team members. With regards to attitudes he is undoubtedly *not a typical member* of your team. That is, he is *different from most other team members*.
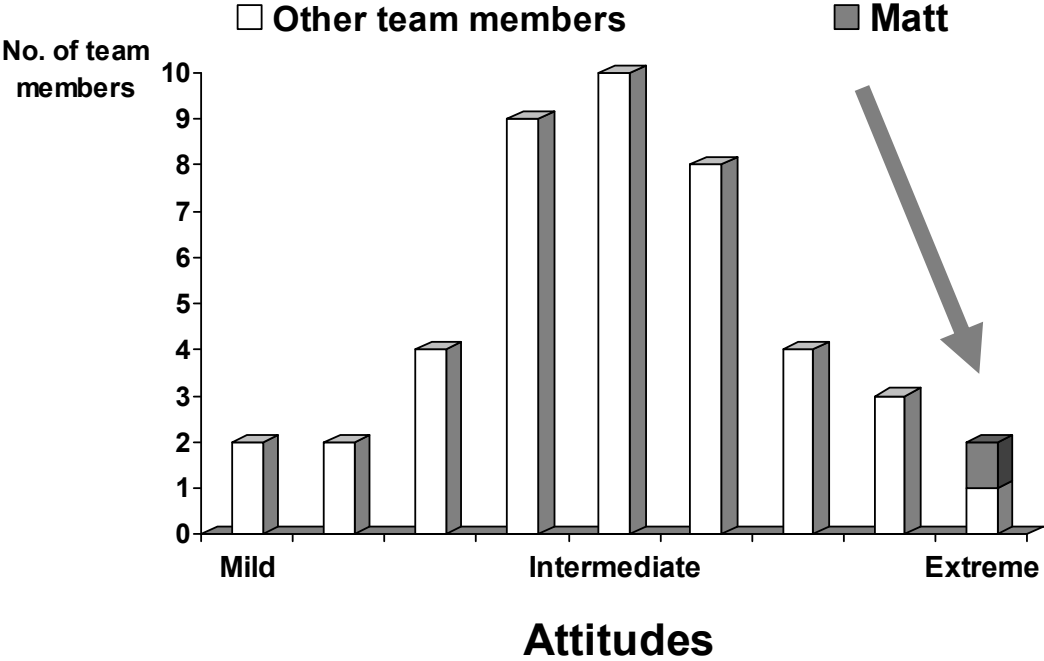
Manipulation of performance (average vs. high)

[Average-performing leader]

In terms of Matt's current performance in his job he performs *like the average team member*. In this regard, he is noticeably a *very typical team member*. That is, he is performing *like most other members* of your team.
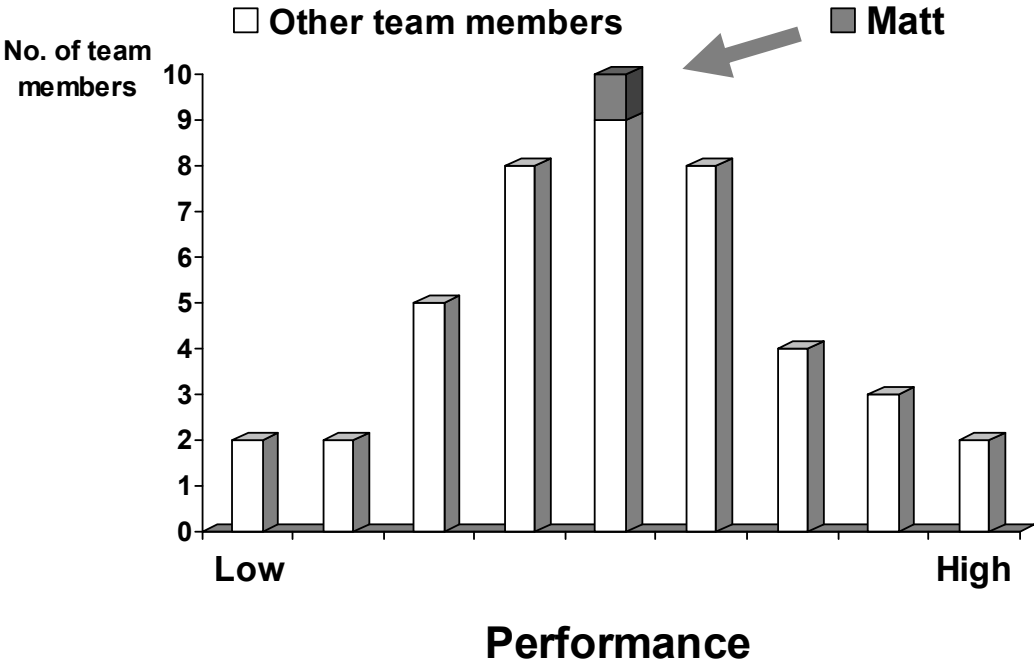
[High-performing leader]

In terms of Matt's current performance in his job he performs *well above the average of other team members*. In this regard, he is noticeably *a very non-typical team member*. That is, he is *one of the few very best* performing members of your team.
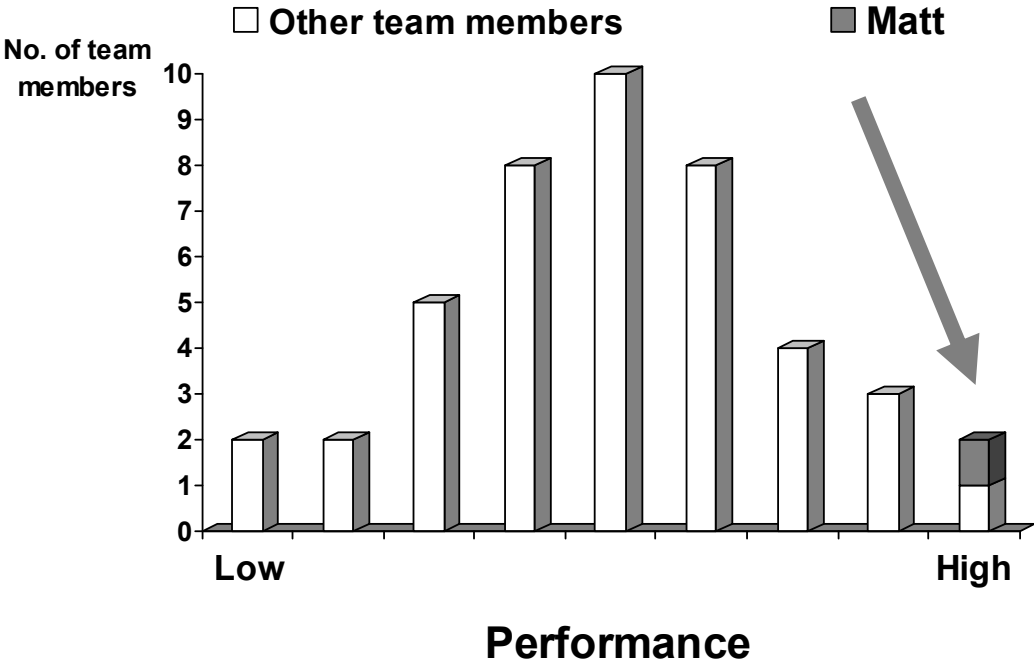
Measures

Manipulation checks

In terms of attitudes, how typical is [this leader] compared to other team members?

In terms of performance, how typical is [this leader] compared to other team members?

Leader's team advancement (four items; α = .90)

The way [this leader] relates to the team allows him to advance the team.

The way [this leader] relates to the team is ideal for leadership of the team.

The way [this leader] relates to the team enables him to promote this team effectively.

The way [this leader] relates to the team is appropriate for leadership of the team.

Leadership endorsement (four items; α = .92)

I endorse [this leader] as team leader.

I back up [this leader] as our team leader.

I am supportive of [this leader's] leadership.

I support [this leader] as team leader.

Trust in the leader (three items; α = .82)

I trust [this leader] as our team leader.

[This leader] is a credible team leader.

I respect Matt as our team leader.

Study 3 Materials

In this survey we would like you to reflect on a work unit/team and its leader and to indicate your feelings about them. This may be your current work unit/team and leader or those with whom you have worked in the past. Please refer to the same work unit/team and the corresponding leader throughout the entire survey (in what follows these are referred to as "team" and "leader", respectively).

Please recall a team leader who is very [vs. not very] representative of what it means to be a member of the team, and who at the same time is extremely [vs. moderately] skilful. Specifically, this leader should resemble the leader described below:

Manipulations of independent variables

Manipulations of leader's attitude prototypicality (group prototypical vs. non-prototypical)

[Leader with prototypical attitudes]

This leader represents the characteristics of your team. When you think about the leader's attitudes and opinions in relation to other team members, you clearly see him (or her) as being very similar to other team members. With regard to his (or her) attitudes and opinions he (or she) is undoubtedly a very typical member of your team. In this sense, he (or she) embodies what it means to be a member of the team.

[Leader with non-prototypical attitudes]

This leader does not represent the characteristics of your team. When you think about the leader's attitudes and opinions in relation to other team members, you clearly see him (or her) as being very different from other team members. With regard to his (or her) attitudes and opinions he (or she) is undoubtedly a very non-typical member of your team. In this sense, he (or she) does not embody what it means to be a member of the team.

Manipulations of leader's performance (average vs. high)

[Average-performing leader]

At the same time, with regard to his (or her) performance, skills, and abilities, he (or she) is noticeably an average team member. In terms of his (or her) performance in the job, he (or she) performs like the average member of the team. His (or her) capability and performance are similar to that of most other members of the team. Please take a moment to reflect on, and think about, this leader.

[High-performing leader]

At the same time, with regard to his (or her) performance, skills, and abilities, he (or she) is noticeably an outstanding team member. In terms of his (or her) performance in the job, he (or she) performs well above the average of other team members. His (or her) capability and performance are better than that of most other members of the team. Please take a moment to reflect on, and think about, this leader.

Measures

Manipulation check leader prototypicality (two items; r = .84)

This team leader is representative of other team members.

This leader has attitudes and opinions that are typical of other team members.

Manipulation check leader performance (two items; r = .80)

This leader has the ability to do tasks very well.

This team leader has outstanding skills.

Leader's team advancement (three items; α = .93)

The way in which this leader relates to the team advances the team.

This leader promotes the interests of the team.

The way this leader relates to the team is ideal for leadership of the team.

Leader charisma (four items; α = .94)

This person is a charismatic leader.

This leader has a vision that spurs people on.

This leader increases others' optimism for the future.

This leader gives people a sense of overall purpose.

Study 4 Materials

In this survey you are asked to reflect on your own work team/unit and your team/unit leader and to indicate your feelings about them. If you do not have a work team/unit or a leader at the moment, please reflect on the work team/unit and the corresponding leader associated with your most recent work experience. Please refer to the same work team/unit and the corresponding leader throughout the entire survey (in what follows these are referred to as "team" and "team leader", respectively).

Measures

Leader prototypicality (three items; α = .87)

This team leader has attitudes that are typical of others in my team.

This team leader has similar attitudes to the members of my team.

This team leader resembles other team members with regard to his/her attitudes.

Leader performance (three items; α = .94)

In his/her tasks, this team leader performs well.

This team leader displays an elevated level of performance in his/her tasks.

This team leader performs his/her tasks at a high standard.

Leader's social identity advancement (three items; α = .92)

This team leader advances the interests of my team.

This team leader promotes the ambitions of my team.

This team leader makes appropriate improvements for my team.

Leader effectiveness (two items; r = .86)

This team leader is a good leader.

This team leader is an effective leader.

Study 5 Materials

The Performance Review (PR) consists of two sections: (a) basic demographic data for the member of staff and the review of his or her academic performance, and (b) further observations by the reviewer.

Please take about 5-10 minutes to read carefully the first section of this review and answer the questions that follow. When you have completed the first section, please read the reviewer's further observations and answer the corresponding questions.

PERFORMANCE REVIEW
Probation form 103

UNIVERSITY OF
EXETER

Performance Review (PR)
For more information and advice on this scheme, please visit the Learning and Development Web site of the University at
http://www.exeter.ac.uk/learninganddevelopment/performancereview

It is in two parts:
Part A: Performance Review - to review a person's academic performance.

Part B: Further Observations – to indicate any other observations.

FOR THE REVIEWER—Please complete and return the following pro forma to the College's central office.

Name:
James Osborne (name has been changed)

Job title:
Professor

School:
School of Psychology

Period covered by review (i.e. previous 12 months):
From: January 2010   To: January 2011

Date started this post:
October 2006

Date of previous review:
January 2010

Current reviewer's name
Ian McLaren (Academic Lead and Head of School)

Manipulations of independent variable

Manipulation of performance (average vs. high)

[Average-performing leader]

PART A: PERFORMANCE REVIEW

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

You can draft this before the meeting and revise it afterwards.
You may wish to refer to the following documents: School Plans & Role Profile:
http://www.admin.ex.ac.uk/personnel/academic_paths/academic_paths_introduction.html

Main objectives (Based on last year's form)	Achievements (Self assessment) (What happened? Successes, personal achievements, plus notes on any difficulties and changes.)	Reviewer's comments
1. Publications	I published 1 academic article in an international journal since the last review. I also published 1 book chapter in this period.	Acceptable.
2. Teaching	I have taught 1 undergraduate module and 1 MBc course.	Adequate.
3. PhD Supervision	One of my PhD students unfortunately failed her PhD. At present, I supervise 1 PhD student as first supervisor and 1 PhD student as second supervisor.	Acceptable.
4. Grant income	Unfortunately, a large grant application (£300,000) was unsuccessful. However, I won a small grant worth £10,000.	Acceptable.

Reviewer's ratings of specific criteria

	1 not at all	2	3	4* (average across school members)	5	6	7 completely
Research activity: The school member has conducted research to a very high standard.			3				
External consultancy: The school member has performed significant roles in external consultancy.			3				
Research impact: The impact of the school member's research was very significant.				4			
Teaching evaluations: The teaching observations by peers and students of this school member have been excellent.			3				

*average across all members of the school

[High-performing leader]

PART A: PERFORMANCE REVIEW

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

You can draft this before the meeting and revise it afterwards.
You may wish to refer to the following documents: School Plans & Role Profile:
http://www.admin.ex.ac.uk/personnel/academic_paths/academic_paths_introductions.html

Main objectives (Based on last year's form)	Achievements (Self assessment) (What happened? Successes, personal achievements, plus notes on any difficulties and changes.)	Reviewer's comments
1. Publications	I published 6 academic articles in international journals since the last review. I also published 3 book chapters in this period.	Excellent.
2. Teaching	I have taught 2 undergraduate modules and 1 MBc course.	Very good.
3. PhD Supervision	One of my PhD students successfully completed her PhD. At present, I supervise 2 PhD students as first supervisor and 1 PhD student as second supervisor.	Excellent.
4. Grant Income	I won a large grant worth £300,000. Unfortunately, a small grant application (£10,000) was unsuccessful.	Excellent.

Reviewer's ratings of specific criteria

	1 not at all	2	3	4* (average across school members)	5	6	7 completely
Research activity: The school member has conducted research to a very high standard.							7
External consultancy: The school member has performed significant roles in external consultancy.							7
Research impact: The impact of the school member's research was very significant.						6	
Teaching evaluations: The teaching observations by peers and students for this school member have been excellent.							7

*average across all members of the school

[Identical description of the leader's approach to research]

In what follows you will see the second part of the review. Please read the reviewer's further observations and answer the questions that follow.

PART B: FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

You can draft this before the meeting and revise it afterwards.
You may wish to refer to the following documents: School Plans & Role Profile:
http://www.admin.ex.ac.uk/personnel/academic_paths/academic_paths_introduction.html

Other observations by reviewer

(What happened? research focus, developments, activities)

In his style of doing research, James is best described as a "Fox" (rather than a "Hedgehog"; after research styles identified by I. Berlin, 1953). He is a pragmatic researcher and in his work he pursues many divergent ends (rather than a single grand one). In his research he draws on a variety of ideas and adopts multiple perspectives. In conclusion, by doing this, James adopts an **integrated approach** to research.

Name (and please sign below): James Osborne	Reviewer's name (and please sign below): Ian McLaren
Date: 2011-01-25	Date: 2011-01-25

Measures

Manipulation check leader performance

[This leader's] academic performance is excellent.

Leader prototypicality (four items; α = .94)

[This leader] embodies what the School of Psychology stands for.

[This leader] is representative of members of the School of Psychology.

[This leader] exemplifies what it means to be a member of the School of Psychology.

[This leader] epitomizes what it means to be a member of the School of Psychology.

Leader's social identity advancement (four items; α = .91)

[This leader] promotes the interests of the School of Psychology.

[This leader] helps the School to meet its goals.

[This leader] works hard for the School of Psychology.

[This leader] raises the School's aspirations.

Leader effectiveness (three items; α = .96)

[This leader] is an effective Professor in the School of Psychology.

[This leader] is a good Professor in the School of Psychology.

[This leader] is a successful Professor in the School of Psychology.

Leader's influence on descriptive norms (four items; α = .90)

Doing research in an integrated way is characteristic of members of the School of Psychology.

School members typically take an integrated approach to research.

Members of the School of Psychology typically conduct research in an integrated way.

Integrated approaches to research are widespread in the School of Psychology.

Leader's influence on ideal norms (three items; α = .94)

Members of the School of Psychology should pursue an integrated approach to research.

It is a good idea for members of the School of Psychology to do research in an integrated way.

Adopting an integrated approach to research makes good sense to members of the School of Psychology.

Perceived leader's influence (three items; α = .80)

[This leader] influences how others do things.

[This leader] shapes perceptions of the School's norms and ideals.

[This leader] impacts on developing ideas of what it means to be a member of the School of Psychology.

Leader's role modelling (two items; r = .71)

[This leader] is a role model for others to follow.

[This leader] provides an example for others.

Study 6 Materials

The first part of the School Integration and Performance Review (SIPR) consists of 3 pages: (1) basic demographic data of the member of staff, (2) the integration into the school of the member of staff, and (3) his or her performance. When you have read this SIPR, please answer the questions that follow.

Please take about 5-10 minutes to read carefully the first section of this review and answer the questions that follow. When you have completed the first section, please read the second part of the review which contains the reviewer's further observations and answer the corresponding questions.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND PERFORMANCE REVIEW

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

Probation form 103

School Integration and Performance Review (SIPR)
For more information and advice on this scheme, please visit the Learning and Development Web site of the University at

http://www.exeter.ac.uk/learninganddevelopment/integrationandperformance

It is in two parts:

Part A: School Integration - to review a person's professional integration into the school's strategy.

Part B: Performance Review - to review a person's academic performance.

Part C: Further Observations – to indicate any other observations.

FOR THE REVIEWER—Please complete and return the following pro forma to the College's central office.

Name:

Mike Roberts (name has been changed)

Job title:

Professor

School:

School of Psychology

Period covered by review (i.e. previous 12 months):

From: To:

January 10   January 11

Date started this post:

September 2007

Date of previous review:

January 10

Current reviewer's name

Ian McLaren (Academic Lead and Head of School)

Manipulations of independent variable

Manipulation of leader prototypicality (low vs. high)

[Low-prototypical leader]

PART A: SCHOOL INTEGRATION

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

You can draft this before the meeting and revise it afterwards.
You may wish to refer to the following documents: School Plans & Role Profile:
http://www.admin.ex.ac.uk/personnel/academic_paths/academic_paths_introductions.html

Central matter of concern (Based on last year's form and school's strategy)	Reviewer's comments on each matter *Reviewer assessment only (self-assessment for performance review only)* (What happened? Developments, activities, plus notes on any difficulties and changes.)
1. Conferences and small group meetings:	During the last year Mike has participated in a few conferences and small group meetings. These were not well attended by other members of the school.
2. Workshops and invited lectures	Mike has run a couple of workshops and given several talks. With these he has supported universities that are our key competitors (of the school and also of the university).
3. Committee/panel activities.	Mike sits on the panel of several research councils. These councils are not primary targets of the School's research activities.
4. Membership and activity in professional bodies	Mike is an active member of several professional bodies which are not typical of the professional bodies to which other school members belong.

Reviewer's ratings of specific criteria

	not at all 1	2	3	4	5	6	very much 7
Alignment with school strategy—Overall, were the activities of the school member in line with school's strategy as outlined in last review?		2					
External consultancy—Has the school member cultivated typical levels of external consultancy as outlined in the school's strategy?			3				
Representation of school interests—Has the school member represented the school's distinctive interests rather than those of schools in other universities?		2					
Research profile—Has the school member advanced research that is characteristic of the school's research profile?	1						

[High-prototypical leader]

PART A: SCHOOL INTEGRATION

You can draft this before the meeting and revise it afterwards.
You may wish to refer to the following documents: School Plans & Role Profile:
http://www.admin.ex.ac.uk/personnel/academic_paths/academic_paths_introduction.html

Central matter of concern *(Based on last year's form and school's strategy)*	Reviewer's comments on each matter *Reviewer assessment only (self-assessment for performance review only)* *(What happened? Developments, activities, plus notes on any difficulties and changes.)*
1. Conferences and small group meetings:	During the last year Mike has participated in a few conferences and small group meetings. These were well attended by other members of the school.
2. Workshops and invited lectures	Mike has run a couple of workshops and given several talks. With these he has supported universities that are our key partners (of the school and also of the university).
3. Committee/panel activities.	Mike sits on the panel of several research councils. These councils are primary targets of the School's research activities.
4. Membership and activity in professional bodies	Mike is an active member of several professional bodies which are typical of the professional bodies to which other school members belong.

Reviewer's ratings of specific criteria

	not at all 1	2	3	4	5	6	very much 7
Alignment with school strategy—Overall, were the activities of the school member in line with school's strategy as outlined in last review?						6	
External consultancy—Has the school member cultivated typical levels of external consultancy as outlined in the school's strategy?					5		
Representation of school interests—Has the school member represented the school's distinctive interests rather than those of schools in other universities?						6	
Research profile—Has the school member advanced research that is characteristic of the school's research profile?							7

[Identical description of the leader's performance]

PART B:
PERFORMANCE REVIEW

UNIVERSITY OF
EXETER

You can draft this before the meeting and revise it afterwards.
You may wish to refer to the following documents: School Plans & Role Profile:
http://www.admin.ex.ac.uk/personnel/academic_paths/academic_paths_introduction.html

Main objectives agreed last year (Based on last year's form)	Achievements (Self assessment) (What happened? Successes, personal achievements, plus notes on any difficulties and changes.)	Reviewer's comments
1. Publications	I published 3 academic articles in international journals and 2 articles in national journals since the last review. I also published 2 book chapters in this period.	Goal achieved.
2. Teaching	I have taught 1 undergraduate module, 1 undergraduate practical and 1 MSc course.	Achieved.
3. Grant income	I gained a larger grant, worth £120,000, over a contract period of 3 years, and a smaller grant, worth £12,000, over a contract period of 2 years.	Achieved.
4. PhD Supervision	One of my PhD students successfully completed her PhD. At present, I supervise 2 PhD students as first supervisor and 1 PhD student as second supervisor.	Achieved. Ongoing supervision.
5. Research impact	One of my current research projects was reported in the BBC News. A second project received coverage by the Scientific American Mind.	Goal achieved.

Reviewer's general comments

Training— Has the employee fulfilled training requirements?	Yes, he took part in a course on new tools for statistical analysis.
Leadership duties—Has the employee fulfilled all leadership duties?	Yes.
Task and time tracking—Has the employee submitted the tasks and time tracking records?	Yes.

[Identical description of the leader's approach to research]

In what follows you will see the second part of the review. Please read the reviewer's further observations and answer the questions that follow.

PART C: FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

You can draft this before the meeting and revise it afterwards.
You may wish to refer to the following documents: School Plans & Role Profile:
http://www.admin.ex.ac.uk/personnel/academic_paths/academic_paths_introductions.html

Other observations by reviewer

(What happened? research focus, developments, activities)

In his style of doing research, Mike is best described as a "Fox" (rather than a "Hedgehog"; after research styles identified by I. Berlin, 1953). He is a pragmatic researcher and in his work he pursues many divergent ends (rather than a single grand one). In his research he draws on a variety of ideas and adopts multiple perspectives. In conclusion, by doing this, Mike adopts an **integrated approach** to research.

Name (and please sign below): Mike Roberts	Reviewer's name (and please sign below): Ian McLaren
Date: 2011-01-25	Date: 2011-01-25

Measures

Manipulation check leader prototypicality (four items; α = .92)

[This leader] embodies what the School of Psychology stands for.

[This leader] is representative of members of the School of Psychology.

[This leader] exemplifies what it means to be a member of the School of Psychology.

[This leader] epitomizes what it means to be a member of the School of Psychology.

Leader performance (four items; α = .92)

[This leader's] academic performance is excellent.

[This leader] displays an elevated level of performance in the tasks he does.

[This leader] performs the tasks he does at a high standard.

In the tasks he does, [this leader] performs highly.

Leader's social identity advancement (four items; α = .91)

[This leader] promotes the interests of the School of Psychology.

[This leader] helps the School to meet its goals.

[This leader] works hard for the School of Psychology.

[This leader] raises the School's aspirations.

Leader effectiveness (three items; α = .97)

[This leader] is an effective Professor in the School of Psychology.

[This leader] is a good Professor in the School of Psychology.

[This leader] is a successful Professor in the School of Psychology.

Leader's influence on descriptive norms (four items; α = .90)

Doing research in an integrated way is characteristic of members of the School of Psychology.

School members typically take an integrated approach to research.

Members of the School of Psychology typically conduct research in an integrated way.

Integrated approaches to research are widespread in the School of Psychology.

Leader's influence on ideal norms (three items; α = .90)

Members of the School of Psychology should pursue an integrated approach to research.

It is a good idea for members of the School of Psychology to do research in an integrated way.

Adopting an integrated approach to research makes good sense to members of the School of Psychology.

Perceived leader's influence (three items; α = .87)

[This leader] influences how others do things.

[This leader] shapes perceptions of the School's norms and ideals.

[This leader] impacts on developing ideas of what it means to be a member of the School of Psychology.

Leader's role modelling (two items; r = .79)

[This leader] is a role model for others to follow.

[This leader] provides an example for others.

Study 7 Materials

Manipulations of independent variables

Manipulation of perspective (internal vs. external)

[Internal perspective]

In the following task you will have a say about what is happening at your university as a student of the University of Exeter. You will see a job advertisement and the summary information about the short-listed candidates for the position. As a member of the university, you have the task of evaluating the candidates and selecting the most appropriate one.

[External perspective]

In the following task you will act as an external advisor to an organisation which is seeking to appoint a person for an open position. You will see a job advertisement and the summary information about the short-listed candidates for the position. As an external advisor, you have the task of evaluating the candidates and selecting the most appropriate one.

Job Advertisement

Job Title: Deputy Vice-Chancellor Education
Start: 01 October 2010

The University of Exeter is a research-led university and one of the best higher education institutions in the UK. The university has good record of student satisfaction, research, and teaching, and it receives funding, grants, and donations which exceeds £200 million per year. The university has recently launched a long-term strategic development and it plans to make internal investments worth more than £450 million by 2020. The University of Exeter is at an exciting stage of its development. Due to retirement of the current incumbent it now seeks to appoint a new Deputy Vice-Chancellor Education for October 2010.

Job Description:
- Responsible for all aspects of teaching and education operations including the head developer of the university's Science Strategy
- Responsible for appointment, appraisal, and development of academic members of staff
- Chairing the Learning and Teaching Planning Groups as well as Student Experience Policy Group
- Responsible for the university's Education Strategy and its taught undergraduate and postgraduate programmes including reviewing teaching strategies, examinations, and syllabi
- Attending student subject chair meetings and facilitating response to student matters raised

Required Skills:
- Prior experience in research, teaching and administrative roles.
- Excellent communication and interpersonal skills with excellent drive and energy.
- Decisive leader capable of translating education policies into practical actions and solutions.

Note: All Applicants need to submit a full current CV and to complete the Work & Study at Exeter survey.

Manipulation of leader candidate (highly prototypical/low-performing vs. low-

prototypical/high-performing candidate)

Below is a description of the three candidates who have been shortlisted for the advertised position.

THE CANDIDATES

John Hawker

Professor John Hawker (born 1959) has experience in several senior academic positions including being Head of School and a Panelist on several key funding bodies. His research and teaching performance include the following:

- More than 50 scientific papers and 3 academic books
- 40 conference presentations
- 1 major teaching award

The results of the Work & Study at Exeter Survey show that John's general attitudes are *very typical* of students at the University of Exeter. That is, his attitudes concerning student welfare, learning resources, degree programmes and staff availability are *very similar* to those of most Exeter students.

Alan Fraser

Professor Alan Fraser (born 1959) has held various significant academic positions including being Director of a Research Centre, Head of School and Chairman of several key funding bodies. His research and teaching performance include the following:

- More than 80 scientific papers and 6 academic books
- 60 conference presentations
- 3 important teaching awards

The results of the Work & Study at Exeter Survey show that Alan's general attitudes are rather *non-typical* of students at the University of Exeter. That is, his attitudes concerning student welfare, learning resources, degree programmes and staff availability are quite *different* from those of most Exeter students.

David Ashton

Associate Professor David Ashton (born 1956) has gained experience as member of a senior management group of a research centre and Deputy Head of School. His research and teaching performance include the following:

- More than 25 scientific papers and 1 popular science book
- 30 conference presentations
- 1 university teaching award

The results of the Work & Study at Exeter Survey show that David's general attitudes are *not typical* of students at the University of Exeter. That is, his attitudes concerning student welfare, learning resources, degree programmes and staff availability are *very different* from those of most Exeter students.

Measures

Leader's group advancement (three items; α = .82 for both the high-performing and the highly prototypical candidate)

[This leader] would promote [the university's] interests.

[This leader] would advance [the university's] ambitions.

[This leader] would make appropriate improvements at [the university].

Trust in the leader (two items; r = .67 for the high-performing and r = .77 for the highly prototypical candidate)

I would trust [this leader] as the Deputy Vice-Chancellor Education.

I would respect [this leader] as the Deputy Vice-Chancellor Education.

Manipulation check perspective taken

In making my evaluations, I was taking an external perspective [i.e., the perspective of someone outside University I]

Leader selection

Please select the most appropriate leader for this position by ranking the three candidates from 1 to 3 where 1 is the most appropriate and 3 is the least appropriate candidate.

[Candidate A]

[Candidate B]

[Candidate C]

Followership

Candidate [A/B] is asking for people's input and opinions, in case he will be selected for the advertised position. Would you be willing to participate in his short survey about "Creating a better university by having better coffee on campus"?

       □ No.

       □ Yes.

Study 8 Materials

Manipulation of perspective (internal vs. external)

[Internal perspective]

UNIVERSITÄT
HEIDELBERG

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY

Imagine that you are a Professor of Sociology at Heidelberg University in Germany. Your university offers a whole range of different subjects and it is one of the most successful and prestigious universities in the country. During the last 10 years you have developed a clear understanding of what is means to be a member of the Department of Sociology. You know that the Department of Sociology is different from other departments and you are very proud to be member of it.

At Heidelberg University it is common to have members of various departments on any selection committee for senior members of staff. Indeed, the university finds it particularly important to have *internal*, as opposed to external, committee members (i.e., colleagues from within the same department) on any selection committee. Currently your department is seeking to appoint a new Professor of Sociology. You have been asked to be an internal member of the selection committee in order to represent the views of your department. You will see a job advertisement and the summary information about one of the short-listed candidates. As an *internal* member of the selection committee, you have the task of evaluating the potential candidate.

[External perspective]

UNIVERSITÄT
HEIDELBERG

DEPARTMENT OF
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Imagine that you are a Professor of International Studies at Heidelberg University in Germany. Your university offers a whole range of different subjects and it is one of the most successful and prestigious universities in the country. During the last 10 years you have developed a clear understanding of what is means to be a member of the Department of International Studies. You know that the Department of International Studies is different from other departments and you are very proud to be member of it.

At Heidelberg University it is common to have members of various departments on any selection committee for senior members of staff. Indeed, the university finds it particularly important to have *external*, as opposed to internal, committee members (i.e., outsiders from other departments) on any selection committee. Currently a different department (i.e., the Department of Sociology) is seeking to appoint a new Professor of Sociology. You have been asked to be an external member of the selection committee in order to represent the views of the university. You will see a job advertisement and the summary information about one of the short-listed candidates. As an *external* member of the selection committee, you have the task of evaluating the potential candidate.

Manipulation of leader performance (moderate vs. high)

[Moderately-performing leader]

UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Below is a description of one of the candidates for the advertised position. In order to facilitate the selection process, the chair of the committee has created a summary of the candidates. In particular, you will see a summary of the candidate's performance in relation to other Professors of Sociology in Germany and the candidate's similarity to other members of the department.

DANIEL FENNER

Professor of Sociology (2005 – present)

PERFORMANCE

In summary, Daniel's performance (relative to other Professors of Sociology in Germany) is good—his performance on key criteria includes the following:

	1 poor	2	3	4 good (i.e., average in relation to other Professors)	5	6	7 excellent
Publications: Journal articles and books				4			
Grant income: Value of grant income won					5		
Teaching: at UG, PG, and PGR level				4			

[High-performing leader]

UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Below is a description of one of the candidates for the advertised position. In order to facilitate the selection process, the chair of the committee has created a summary of the candidates. In particular, you will see a summary of the candidate's performance in relation to other Professors of Sociology in Germany and the candidate's similarity to other members of the department.

DANIEL FENNER

Professor of Sociology (2005 – present)

PERFORMANCE

In summary, Daniel's performance (relative to other Professors of Sociology in Germany) is *excellent*— his performance on key criteria includes the following:

	1 poor	2	3	4 good (i.e., average in relation to other Professors)	5	6	7 excellent
Publications: Journal articles and books							7
Grant income: Value of grant income won						6	
Teaching: at UG, PG, and PGR level							7

Manipulation of leader prototypicality (moderate vs. high)

[Moderately prototypical leader]

SIMILARITY TO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENT

In summary, in his general attitudes Daniel is *somewhat similar* to other members of the Department of Sociology. Based on his application and interview statements, on key criteria his degree of similarity to other members of the department includes the following:

	1 not at all similar	2	3	4	5	6	7 very similar
Research area and focus				4			
Teaching philosophy					5		
Management style				4			

[Highly prototypical leader]

SIMILARITY TO OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENT

In summary, in his general attitudes Daniel is *very similar* to other members of the Department of Sociology. Based on his application and interview statements, on key criteria his degree of similarity to other members of the department includes the following:

	1 not at all similar	2	3	4	5	6	7 very similar
Research area and focus							7
Teaching philosophy						6	
Management style							7

Measures

Manipulation check perspective taken

I see myself as an internal member of the selection committee.

I see myself as an external member of the selection committee.

Manipulation check leader performance
[This candidate's] performance is excellent.

Manipulation check leader prototypicality
[This candidate] is very similar to other members of the Department of Sociology.

Leader's group advancement (three items; α = .69)
[This candidate] would promote the interests of the department.
[This candidate] would raise the department's aspirations.

Damage to group image if candidate failed (two items; r = .68)
If [this candidate] failed, it would reflect badly on the department.
If [this candidate] was not successful, people would think badly about the department.