

A SOCIAL IDENTITY MODEL OF LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS IN ORGANIZATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Research into leadership effectiveness has largely overlooked the implications of the fact that leadership processes are enacted in the context of a shared group membership, where leaders, as group members, ask followers, as group members, to exert themselves on behalf of the collective. In contrast, the social identity model of organizational leadership, proposed here, emphasizes the characteristics of the leader as a group member, and the leader's ability to speak to followers as group members. In salient groups with which group members identify, leadership effectiveness rests on the extent to which the leader is prototypical of the group (i.e. representative of the group's identity) and engages in group-oriented behavior (i.e. behavior perceived to benefit the group). Explicating the added value of our model and going beyond contemporary approaches to leadership effectiveness, we discuss how our model extends, and may be integrated with, three major contemporary approaches to leadership effectiveness (charismatic leadership theories, Leader-Member Exchange theory, and leadership categorization theories). In addition, we outline how our model provides a viable framework to integrate future developments in research on leadership such as a growing attention to leader fairness and the role of emotions in leadership effectiveness.

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What makes leadership in organizations effective? This is a fundamental theoretical and practical question that continues to tax organizational leadership researchers. To be effective, leaders must be able to motivate and direct followers towards group or organizational goals, mission, or vision, and be able to maintain stability and group harmony even when acting as agents of change (e.g. Chemers, 2001; Yukl, 2001). What, then, makes leaders effective in achieving this? For an answer, leadership researchers have looked to leader traits, behavioral style, situational contingencies, social exchange processes, and charismatic and transformational leadership. Commentators believe, however, that the quest has only been moderately successful (Bass, 1990; Yukl, 1999; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1994).

We propose that an important reason for this lack of success is that researchers have tended to overlook or underemphasize the important fact that leaders not only lead groups of people, *but are also themselves members of these groups*. Organizational leaders are members of the organization, and of various groups and teams within the organization, and they therefore share one or more group memberships with the people they lead. Leadership processes are enacted in the context of a shared group membership, where leaders, as group members, ask followers, as group members, to exert themselves on behalf of the collective. Characteristics of the leader *as a group member*, and the leader's ability to speak to followers *as group members*, therefore play a key role in leadership effectiveness. In this study, we substantiate this claim by outlining a theoretical framework that places psychological group membership center-stage in the explanation of leadership in organizations.

Building on the social identity analyses of leadership by Hogg (2001a, b) and Hogg and van Knippenberg (2003), we propose a framework to analyze leadership effectiveness in organizations, the *Social Identity Model of Organizational Leadership* (SIMOL). In this article, we describe SIMOL, and assess its performance relative to other theories of leadership, and its potential to integrate with three major contemporary perspectives on leadership effectiveness in organizations: (1) Theories of charismatic and transformational leadership (Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir, House & Arthur, 1993); (2) Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory, which provides a social exchange analysis that emphasizes the quality, and development of interpersonal leader-follower relationships (Graen & Scandura, 1987; Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Schriesheim, Castro & Cogliser, 1999); and (3) leadership categorization theories that focus on follower perceptions of leadership (cf. Meindl, Ehrlich & Dukerich, 1985) and highlight the role of the perceived match between leader characteristics and schemas of effective

leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lord & Maher, 1991; Ridgeway, 2001). The integration of SIMOL with these three approaches provides the building blocks for a broader conceptual framework that integrates different perspectives into a wide-ranging unified theory of leadership effectiveness. First, however, we briefly introduce the social identity approach, which provides the theoretical foundations of SIMOL.

The Social Identity Approach

The social identity approach is a theoretical framework that integrates a number of compatible social-cognitive, motivational, social-interactive, and societal level theories in order to explicate the relationship between self-conception and group and intergroup phenomena (Abrams & Hogg, 2001; Haslam, 2001; Hogg, 2001c, d, 2003). These theories include the original social identity theory (e.g. Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the newer self-categorization theory (J. C. Turner, 1985; J. C. Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) and other related theories of social identity processes (e.g. Brewer, 1991; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001). At the core of the social identity approach is the assumption that group membership contributes to self-definition. People define themselves not only in terms of idiosyncratic individualizing attributes and interpersonal relationships (“I”), but also in terms of collective attributes of a group to which they belong (“we”). The former delineates one’s personal identity and personal self, whereas the latter delineates one’s social identity and collective self (Hogg & Williams, 2000; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001; but cf. Brewer, 2001; Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

The value of the social identity concept is that it offers insights into how group memberships shape attitudes, feelings, and behavior. Self-conception in terms of group membership involves a psychological “merging” of self and group, or more precisely all aspects of self are governed by the *ingroup prototype*. From a social identity perspective people cognitively represent groups as prototypes (Rosch, 1978), fuzzy sets of attributes (perceptions, attitudes, feelings, behaviors) that in a particular context capture the essence of the ingroup and clearly differentiate the ingroup from relevant outgroups. The ingroup prototype is an abstract cognitive representation of “us” that draws on immediate situational information that maximizes intergroup differences and ingroup similarity, but also draws on ingroup and intergroup memory and on past group history. The ingroup prototype describes and prescribes group membership appropriate attributes in a specific context. As such the prototype is closer to a representation of the ideal than typical group member (i.e. the prototypical group member is not the average group member).

Through the process of self-categorization, group prototypical characteristics are internalized as characteristics of the self, and whatever concerns the group is experienced as concerning the self. The more fully someone defines self in terms of a specific group membership, the more that his or her perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behavior conform to the group prototype. In this way, social identification (i.e. self-conception in terms of the group membership) produces a host of group-based attitudes and behaviors, including two phenomena that are central to our social identity model of leadership: susceptibility to group influence, and a group-oriented motivation to further the group's interests.

Influence and Persuasion in Groups

Groups are a critical source of social influence. To make sense of novel or ambiguous situations or events, or where no "objective" reference point exists (as for instance for norms and values), people typically have to rely on others for information about (social) reality (Festinger, 1954). But whom should one be influenced by, and what information should be accepted as valid?

The social identity approach to social influence (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; J. C. Turner, 1991; J. C. Turner et al., 1987) proposes that people turn to anyone who provides information about ingroup-defining norms – the ingroup prototype. Typically, ingroup members are the primary source of information, but outgroup members can also provide information to help one define the ingroup and thus know how to behave. Information about the ingroup prototype plays a very important function in reducing self-conceptual uncertainty by prescribing one's attitudes, feelings, and behaviors in a particular context, and grounding these prescriptions in group consensus (e.g. Hogg, 2000). As a result, group members are open to, and willing to elaborate communications that are perceived to reflect group prototypical attitudes and opinions.

In support of this proposition, research on persuasive communication has shown that messages from membership groups (i.e. ingroups) are more effective at changing attitudes than are messages from non-membership groups (i.e. outgroups), provided they are perceived as group prototypical (D. van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992). More specifically, this research suggests that ingroup messages are more persuasive for three reasons. First, they are more likely to receive attention and to be processed fully (Mackie, Worth & Asuncion, 1990). Second, ambiguous aspects of prototypical ingroup messages (e.g. unclear argumentation) are more likely to receive the benefit of the doubt and to be responded to favorably than similar aspects in outgroup or non-prototypical ingroup messages (D. van Knippenberg, 1999). Third, when the motivation to systematically process the message is low, for instance because the source's position is known beforehand,

prototypical ingroup advocacies are more likely to be accepted without elaborate processing than non-prototypical messages (D. van Knippenberg, Lossie & Wilke, 1994).

The notion that it is the prototype that influences people in groups may also explain differences between group members in how influential they are. As a function of the match between personal characteristics and group prototypical characteristics, some group members are more prototypical than others, just like some traits, attitudes, or behavioral dispositions are more prototypical of the group than others. Being a prototypical group member means being “one of us,” embodying the group’s identity, and representing what group members have in common and what differentiates the group from other groups. In the same way, then, that ingroup sources are usually more persuasive than outgroup sources, prototypical ingroup members are more persuasive than less prototypical ingroup members (D. van Knippenberg, 2000b; D. van Knippenberg et al., 1994; also see B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, in press).

Group prototypes, and therefore the relative prototypicality of members, are not fixed. They are context-dependent. Prototypes are configured to maximize the ratio of intergroup differences to intragroup differences in a particular comparative context. In this way they accentuate what “we” share and what makes “us” different from “them,” in order to maximize the extent to which the group is a clear and distinct entity (e.g. Hamilton & Sherman, 1996). As the comparative context changes, for example by making comparisons with a different outgroup, the prototype changes and thus the relative prototypicality of specific ingroup members changes. The effect on members is straightforward. Assuming they do not dis-identify with the group or form subgroups and factions, their behavior changes to conform to the new prototype, and those people who are most prototypically influential in the group may change.

As a straightforward example of this context-dependency of prototypes and their influence, take the experiment conducted by Hogg, Turner and Davidson (1990). Hogg et al. led participants to anticipate a group discussion involving risky decisions. Participants received bogus feedback about the positions on a number of risky decision problems of the members of their group as well as about the position of an other group enlisted for the same task. Contingent on experimental condition, the other group favored either a more cautious or a more risky decision than participants’ own group (position of own group was constant over conditions). As predicted, participants’ perception of the prototypical ingroup position, and own decision preferences were contingent on the position of the other group, such that perceived group prototype and individual preferences were more risky when the other group was relatively cautious than when the other group was more risky than the own group.

Group-Oriented Motivation

Self-definition in terms of group membership elicits group-oriented motivation to exert oneself on behalf of the group (e.g. Dutton, Dukerich & Harquail, 1994; Haslam, 2001; Lord & Brown, 2001; Shamir, 1990; Tyler & Blader, 2000; D. van Knippenberg, 2000a). Through the merging of self and group, group interest is experienced as self-interest (i.e. collective self-interest), and events affecting the group are experienced as affecting the self. The more strongly one identifies with the group the more personally motivated one feels to respond in a group-oriented manner to challenges and threats faced by the group, in order to protect the group or promote the group's best interest. The extent to which this motivation translates into action is influenced by a range of factors that hinge on the degree of perceived normative support for the behavioral intention and/or the action (e.g. Terry & Hogg, 1996), and self-efficacy and collective efficacy in translating motivation into effective action (D. van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 2003; cf. Bandura, 1986).

Social Identification and Social Identity Salience

The social identity approach describes how group memberships are self-definitional, and how group membership-based self-definition produces group-based influence and group-oriented motivation. This is however not to say that all group memberships are equally self-definitional or that group membership in all circumstances elicits attitudes and behavior consistent with the self-definition implied by the group membership. The extent to which a group membership is a salient part of the self-concept may vary between individuals, groups, and situations. Social identity phenomena such as group-based influence and group-oriented motivation will only come into play to the extent that individuals identify with the group and social identity is salient.

Social identification is contingent on a number of factors. Identification reflects psychological oneness (e.g. Ashforth & Mael, 1989), and accordingly the perceived context-dependent similarity between individual and group affects identification, such that higher similarity elicits higher identification (e.g. Haslam, 2001; J. C. Turner et al., 1987; but see van Knippenberg & Haslam, 2003). Through the psychological merging of self and group the prestige and status of the group reflects on the self-image. People strive for a positive self-image, and accordingly, they strive for membership of, and are more likely to identify with high status groups (e.g. Ellemers, 1993; also see van Prooijen & van Knippenberg, 2000). People also aim to strike a balance between their need for belongingness and their desire for distinctiveness (i.e. not being part of the "gray masses"). Membership in relatively small and distinct groups is more likely to achieve the desired balance between these opposing desires, and is therefore more likely to elicit identification (Brewer, 1991). Group identification may reduce self-conceptual and other

uncertainty through the internalization of, and conformity to group normative characteristics (i.e. the prototype). Accordingly, in situations of uncertainty individuals are more likely to seek group affiliations and identify with groups (Hogg, 2000).

Social identification and the salience of the social identity (i.e. the extent to which it is cognitively activated – e.g. Haslam, 2001) mutually affect each other (i.e. people are more likely to identify with salient groups, and high identification is more likely to render group membership salient). Other factors affect social identity salience too, however. As specified by self-categorization theory (e.g. Oakes, Haslam & Turner, 1994; J. C. Turner et al., 1987), a self-inclusive social category, and associated social identity, becomes the psychologically salient basis of self-conception in a specific situation if four conditions are met: (a) The social category is accessible in memory because one identifies strongly with it and one employs it frequently, due to its importance, value, and centrality to self-conception; (b) The social category is perceptually accessible in the immediate social context – situational cues call the category forth; (c) The categorization into ingroup and outgroup fits similarities and differences among people in the immediate context (called structural fit); (d) Stereotypical properties of the categorization account for why people behave as they do (called normative fit). Categorization in terms of gender, for instance, is more likely to become salient for somebody who believes that there are important differences between men and women than for somebody who holds such beliefs about gender differences to a lesser extent.

Social Identity in Organizational Contexts

The social identity approach was originally developed as a social psychological theory of intergroup relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and it has mainly been applied outside organizations. Over the last decade, however, an increasing number of studies have applied social identity analyses to group and organizational processes (for overviews, see Haslam, 2001; Haslam, van Knippenberg, Platow & Ellemers, 2003; Hogg & Terry, 2000, 2001). These studies have addressed a wide range of issues. Some of these concern more individual-level aspects of organizational behavior, such as organizational identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Elsbach, 1999; Pratt, 1998), turnover (Abrams, Ando & Hinkle, 1998; Mael & Ashforth, 1995), work motivation and performance (James & Greenberg, 1989; D. van Knippenberg, 2000a; Worchel, Rothgerber, Day & Hart, 1998), and organizational justice (Tyler, 1999; Tyler & Blader, 2000). Others focus more on group level aspects of organizational behavior, such as group cohesiveness (Hogg, 1993; Hogg, Cooper-Shaw & Holzworth, 1993), organizational diversity (Ely, 1994; Tsui, Egan & O'Reilly, 1992; D. van Knippenberg & Haslam, 2003),

and group decision making (J. C. Turner, Wetherell & Hogg, 1989; M. E. Turner, Pratkanis & Samuels, 2003). And there are also analyses relating to the intergroup aspects of organizational behavior, such as intergroup relations within the organization (Hennessy & West, 1999; Kramer, 1991; D. van Knippenberg, 2003), and mergers and acquisitions (Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001; D. van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, Monden & de Lima, 2002).

The shift in social identity research from an almost exclusive emphasis on intergroup relations to a growing emphasis on group processes has also led to the development of social identity analyses of leadership. The social identity analysis of social influence has been central to the development of self-categorization theory (e.g. Turner et al., 1987), and the analysis of leadership naturally flowed from this analysis of social influence. Whereas the focus of these analyses originally was not on leadership in organizations, the social identity analysis of leadership now has developed to a state where it can provide a social identity model of leadership in organizations. Central to this social identity model of leadership we outline in the following are the notions of group prototypicality, social identity-based influence, and group-oriented motivation we introduced in the previous.

A SOCIAL IDENTITY ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS

As noted above, theories of leadership effectiveness in organizations tend to underemphasize the fact that leaders are also members of the groups they lead, and that therefore characteristics of the leader as a group member may influence leadership effectiveness. The social identity approach provides a very different perspective from which to understand leadership processes – one that suggests that group membership becomes a strong influence on attitudes and behavior as individuals identify more with the group and group membership becomes more salient. Because leadership effectiveness is critically contingent on the ability to influence followers and on followers' motivation to cooperate with the leader (Chemers, 2001; Yukl, 2001), the social identity analysis suggests that group membership characteristics of the leader are an important determinant of leadership effectiveness. This is the starting point for our Social Identity Model of Organizational Leadership (SIMOL) outlined and developed here.

Based on the social identity analyses of leadership by Hogg (2001a, b) and Hogg and van Knippenberg (2003), SIMOL proposes that as group members identify more strongly with their group and group membership becomes more salient, leadership perceptions, evaluations, and effectiveness become increasingly based on: (a) how group prototypical the leader is perceived to be; and (b) the extent to

which the leader is perceived to act with the group's best interest in mind (i.e. is group-oriented).

Leader Prototypicality and Leadership Effectiveness

SIMOL proposes at least four processes that increase the likelihood of more prototypical group members emerging as leaders and being more effective as leaders: influence, consensual social attraction, attribution, and trust.

First, from above, we know that highly prototypical group members are more informative than less prototypical members about the nature of the group prototype, and therefore they serve an important self-conceptual uncertainty reduction function for group members. This is particularly important for leadership, because one of the functions leaders fulfill is that of sense-maker (Cohen & March, 1974) – people turn to leaders to make sense of ambiguous situations. Being representative of the group's identity positions leaders particularly well for this role. This gives prototypical members a form of group-based referent power (cf. French & Raven, 1959), or referent informational influence (J. C. Turner et al., 1987), that renders them more influential than less prototypical members (D. van Knippenberg, 2000b). It imbues prototypical members with status that positions them for a leadership role, both because member expectations favor leadership by a prototypical member and because prototypicality-based status may feed into feelings of entitlement and self-efficacy as a leader (D. van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg & van Dijk, 2000; cf. Ridgeway, 2001; Ridgeway, Johnson & Diekema, 1994).

Members of high salience groups also tend to like prototypical members more than less prototypical members. Social identification transforms the basis of liking for others from idiosyncratic preference and the quality of the interpersonal relationship (personal attraction) to group membership (depersonalized social attraction – liking for the other *as group member*; Hogg, 1992, 1993). Ingroup members are liked more than outgroup members, and, because they are more representative of the shared ingroup identity, prototypical ingroup members are liked more than less prototypical ingroup members. In salient groups social attraction is consensual – members unilaterally like the same highly prototypical member, who appears to be popular and thus have increased status and standing in the group. Because people are more likely to agree with people they like, and to comply with requests and suggestions from people they like (e.g. Berscheid & Reis, 1998), social attraction is an additional basis for prototypical members to be more influential than less prototypical members, and for this influence to be over the group as a whole.

Because prototypicality is a critical feature of group membership, highly prototypical members stand out against the background of less prototypical members, creating circumstances in which people internally attribute the prototypical members' behavior to invariant properties of the person rather than to situational or contextual factors (Gilbert & Malone, 1995; Ross, 1977). Some of the attributes that are internally attributed are those mentioned above; for example, being the focus of attention for the group, being influential, having status, and being consensually liked. These attributes tend to be attributed to intrinsic leadership abilities (e.g. Erber & Fiske, 1984; also see Meindl et al., 1985).

Last, trust in the leader plays an important role. When people identify with a group or organization, and group or organizational membership is salient, they take the group's or organization's interests to heart and care about its well-being. This not only increases motivation to exert oneself on behalf of the collective, but also places a premium on being able to trust others to have the group's best interest at heart. Being able to trust fellow members in this way is especially important in the case of being able to trust one's leaders. After all, leaders typically have more power over the group and group resources than other group members, and have the important job of representing the group and making decisions on behalf of the group. As a result, leaders who are trusted to have the group's best interest at heart will be liked more and endorsed more strongly than others who are perceived to be less group-oriented. People trust ingroup members more than outgroup members (Brewer, 1979; Kramer, 1999). In similar vein, people may place greater trust in prototypical leaders to represent the group well and to have the group's best interest at heart than in less prototypical leaders (Giessner, Sleebos & van Knippenberg, 2003), thus further contributing to prototypical leaders' greater effectiveness (cf. Dirks & Ferrin, 2002).

SIMOL proposes that the importance of leader prototypicality is contingent on group identification and social identity salience. When personal rather than social identity is salient, self and others, including leaders, are viewed through an individuating and interpersonal lens rather than through the lens of (shared) group membership. Accordingly, relationships are governed by personal rather than social attraction (Hogg, 1992, 1993), and prototypicality will have little influence on leadership effectiveness in comparison with the influence of personal characteristics of the leader and interpersonal leader-follower relationships. The more individuals identify with the group and the more social identity is salient, however, the more influential leader prototypicality is in determining leadership effectiveness, and the less important, relative to leader prototypicality, individuating characteristics of the leader and interpersonal leader-follower relationships are in determining leadership effectiveness.

The proposition that leader prototypicality is a determinant of emergent leadership and leadership effectiveness is supported by studies using different paradigms, different operationalizations of prototypicality, and different measures of leadership effectiveness. Moreover, support is found both in experimental studies that established causality (Giessner et al., 2003; Hains, Hogg & Duck, 1997; Hogg, Hains & Mason, 1998; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; Platow, van Knippenberg, Haslam, Spears & van Knippenberg, 2002; B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2003; D. van Knippenberg et al., 2000) and in studies in field settings (Outward Bound groups, Fielding & Hogg, 1997; leaders of higher-level management teams, B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, *in press*; leaders from a variety of different organizations, B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2003) that established that the hypothesized relationships may also be observed in more naturalistic settings.

In experimental research, leader prototypicality has been manipulated by bogus feedback about the leader's characteristics vis-à-vis the characteristics of the group (and sometimes an outgroup). This feedback took either the form of information about the distribution of ingroup (and outgroup) positions on a group-defining dimension (e.g. attitudes, traits), and about the position of the leader within this distribution, or the form of information about the leader's characteristics as either matching or not matching the perceived characteristics of the group. As an example of the former, Platow and van Knippenberg (2001) assigned participants in their experiment a (simulated) leader, and gave participants bogus feedback about the score of the leader on a personality test that allegedly assessed aspects of personality that were highly representative of the student population from which participants and the leader originated. This feedback was presented graphically within a distribution of ingroup and outgroup (a neighboring student population) scores, and placed the leader either in a highly prototypical position (in the center of the ingroup distribution) or in a non-prototypical position (near one of the tails of the distribution). As an example of the latter, Platow et al. (2002) based their manipulation on a pilot study of traits that were perceived to be prototypical and non-prototypical of the student group from which participants and the (simulated) leader originated, describing the leader either in terms of group prototypical or non-prototypical traits. In the field, leader prototypicality has been assessed in questionnaires requesting group member responses to such items as "This leader is a good example of the kind of people that are member of my team" and "This leader represents what is characteristic about the team" (B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2003), and by asking respondents to describe the group prototype and then rate their similarity to this prototype (i.e. where the leader is among the respondents; Fielding & Hogg, 1997).

The majority of these studies have operationalized leader effectiveness in terms of follower perceptions. Perceptions of effective leadership may of course provide an important basis for leadership endorsement and openness to the leader's influence, but should not be equated with evidence that the leader performed well in terms of more objective standards of leadership effectiveness such as follower performance (Lord & Maher, 1991). However, there is also evidence for the effects of prototypicality on follower intentions (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001), emergent leadership behavior (D. van Knippenberg et al., 2000), and follower performance (B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2003) that corroborates the findings from studies focusing on leadership perceptions only.

Several of the studies of leader prototypicality also provide support for the proposition that follower identification and social identity salience moderates the effects of leader prototypicality (Fielding & Hogg, 1997; Hains et al., 1997; Hogg et al., 1998; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, *in press*; also see Giessner et al., 2003). These demonstrations of the moderating role of identification/salience are not only important because they confirm one of the core propositions of the social identity analysis of leadership, but also because they show that the effect of leader prototypicality is tied to social identity rather than to for instance interpersonal similarity (cf. Hogg, 1993).

This latter set of studies also provide support for the proposition that more individualized, personal characteristics of the leader are less important predictors of leadership effectiveness relative to leader prototypicality as identification and social identity salience increases. For example, Hains et al. (1997) conducted a laboratory study of perceptions of leadership effectiveness in relatively minimal groups (*ad hoc*, short-lived, groups with very few defining features) as a function of three manipulated variables: leader prototypicality, group membership salience, and personalized leader characteristics. To operationalize personal characteristics of the leader that would influence perceptions of leadership effectiveness under conditions of low identity salience, Hains et al. focused participants on the extent to which the leader had characteristics that matched general schemas of effective leaders (taken from Lord, Foti & DeVader, 1984). The match between leader characteristics and leadership schemas has been shown to be predictive of perceptions of leadership effectiveness (e.g. Lord & Maher, 1991; also see the discussion of leadership categorization theories below).

Under conditions of high or low group salience, participants anticipated joining a discussion group ostensibly formed on the basis of attitude similarity among members. Salience was manipulated by referring in instructions to groups or to loose aggregates of individuals, by having participants consider commonalities within the group or differences among members, and by referring to themselves in group terms or in individual terms. Participants were told that a leader had been

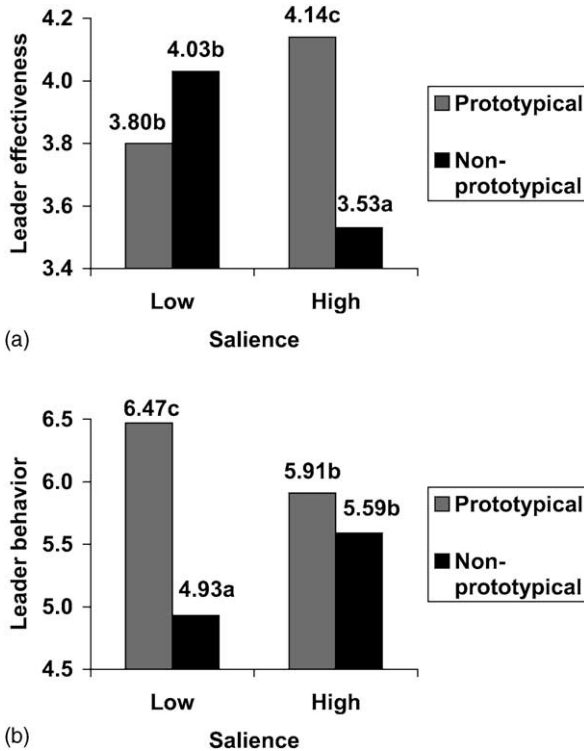


Fig. 1. (a) Leader Effectiveness as a Function of Group Salience, and Group Prototypicality of the Leader. (b) Leadership Behavior as a Function of Group Salience, and Leader Schema Congruence of the Leader, Hains et al. (1997). Means with the Same Subscript do not Differ Significantly.

randomly appointed from among the group members. Bogus feedback described the leader as group prototypical or non-prototypical in terms of the attitude dimension (i.e. a group-defining dimension), and as having a behavioral style that was congruent or incongruent with general schemas of effective leadership. Dependent measures were taken ostensibly in anticipation of the forthcoming discussion.

Results showed that when group membership was salient and people identified more strongly with the group, they perceived the prototypical leader as likely to be more effective than the non-prototypical leader. In contrast, low salience participants did not differentiate between prototypical and non-prototypical leaders (Fig. 1a). Leaders whose characteristics matched the general leader schema were perceived to be more effective overall than leaders whose characteristics did not

match the schema. However, this effect disappeared for high salience participants on a leadership effectiveness measure reflecting the extent to which the leader was anticipated to exhibit leadership behavior (Fig. 1b).

Circumstantial evidence for the role of leader prototypicality comes from research on various proxies for prototypicality: Endorsement of ingroup vs. outgroup leaders, and of elected vs. appointed leaders. Leaders may be appointed from within or from outside the group or organization. Because leaders whose origins lie within the group tend to be more prototypical than those whose origins are in an outgroup, it follows that when social identity is salient and members identify with their group, leaders with ingroup origins are more strongly endorsed than leaders with outgroup origins. Studies by Duck and Fielding (1999) and Van Vugt and De Cremer (1999) have confirmed this. Similarly, leaders who are elected by the group would be expected to be perceived to be more prototypical than leaders who are appointed by entities outside the group (for example, management). In psychologically salient groups, ingroup elected leaders should therefore be more strongly endorsed and be more effective. This has been confirmed by Van Vugt and De Cremer (1999) and De Cremer and Van Vugt (2002).

Leader Group-Oriented Behavior and Leadership Effectiveness

Social identification with a group produces group-oriented motivation, and endorsement of leaders who are trusted to share this motivation. Leader prototypicality may be an important source of such trust in the leader, but it is not the only source. Irrespective of their prototypicality, leaders may display their group-oriented motivation through group-oriented attitudes and behavior. As Haslam and Platow (2001a) phrase it, social identity-based leadership endorsement may not only derive from being “one of us” (i.e. being prototypical), but also from “doing it for us” (i.e. displaying group-oriented behavior). Leaders who demonstrate that they have the group’s best interest at heart by displaying group-oriented attitudes (e.g. commitment to the group) and group-oriented behaviors (e.g. going the extra mile for the group, making personal sacrifices or taking personal risks on behalf of the group), should therefore be more effective than leaders who do not behave in this way.

As described above, concern with group goals and group interests increases as a positive function of strength of identification with a group. Thus, the more members identify with a group, the more leader group-oriented behavior affects leadership effectiveness, and the less important, relative to group-oriented behavior, individuating characteristics of the leader and interpersonal leader-follower relationships are in determining leadership effectiveness.

A number of studies focusing on different displays of group-oriented attitudes and behavior provide support for this idea. These studies show that leadership effectiveness is contingent on the extent to which the leader has a committed attitude towards the group (De Cremer & Van Vugt, 2002); is ingroup-favoring in distributive decisions (Haslam & Platow, 2001b; Platow, Hoar, Reid, Harley & Morrison, 1997; Platow, Mills & Morrison, 2000; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) and procedural decisions (i.e. whether or not to give individuals voice in a decision – Platow, Reid & Andrew, 1998); and sacrifices personal interests on behalf of the group (Choi & Mai-Dalton, 1999; De Cremer, 2002; De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2002; B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2003; Yorges, Weiss & Strickland, 1999). Although some of these studies have relied on leadership perceptions and/or behavioral intentions alone, a number have yielded evidence for the actual behavioral effects of leader group-oriented behavior. De Cremer and Van Vugt (2002) for instance show that leaders that are high (vs. low) in commitment to the group elicit more cooperative behavior from group members, and B. van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2003) show that leaders sacrificing personal interests engender higher follower performance.

There is also evidence from these studies that these effects on leadership effectiveness are contingent on follower identification with the group (e.g. De Cremer & Van Vugt, 2002; Platow et al., 1997; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001), and that personal leader characteristics become less influential on leadership endorsement as followers identify more strongly with the group. De Cremer and Van Vugt (2002) measured high and low identifying group members' cooperative behavior in response to a leader who was either highly committed to the group or who ostensibly scored high on leadership skills (cf. Hains et al.'s, 1997, group prototypicality vs. leader schema consistency manipulations, described above). When member identification was high, the committed leader elicited more cooperative behavior, whereas the leader high in leader skills elicited more cooperation when identification was low (also see Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001).

Leader Prototypicality and Leader Group-Oriented Behavior

Prototypical group members are more likely to identify with the group, and therefore take the group's interest to heart. As a result, leader prototypicality and leader group-oriented behavior may often go together in practice. However, the two do not go together by necessity. Prototypicality is not restricted to behavior that furthers the collective's interest, and, conversely, group-oriented behavior need not be group prototypical. An obvious question therefore is how leader prototypicality and leader group-oriented behavior in combination influence leadership effectiveness.

The key issue here probably is trust in the leader's group-orientedness. SIMOL proposes that both leader prototypicality and leader group-oriented behavior engender trust in the leader – and that this affects leadership effectiveness. Non-prototypical leaders may not be trusted to have the group's best interest at heart without concrete demonstrations to that end. They will be expected to actually behave in group-oriented ways to 'prove' their credentials and engender trust. In contrast, prototypical leaders will have more leeway in their behavior because their prototypicality is taken as read and they are intrinsically trusted to "do it for us." This analysis builds on classic research that shows that legitimate and respected leaders are allowed a great deal of normative leeway in groups (e.g. [Sherif & Sherif, 1964](#)), and that leaders who have climbed through the ranks and are highly normative are allowed to behave idiosyncratically and non-normatively (e.g. [Hollander, 1958](#)). From the SIMOL perspective the clear prediction is that the expression of group-oriented behavior will impact leadership effectiveness more strongly for low than high prototypical leaders.

A number of studies support this prediction. In a laboratory experiment, [Platow and van Knippenberg \(2001\)](#) showed that individuals who identified with the group endorsed a non-prototypical leader only when the leader was ingroup-favoring in an allocation decision. Prototypical leaders were endorsed irrespective of their allocative behavior, even when it was outgroup-favoring. Leadership endorsement among low identifiers was not affected by leader prototypicality, and was highest for a leader who made even-handed allocations. Similar findings were obtained for the interaction between leader prototypicality and leader self-sacrifice ([B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2003](#)), the interaction between leader prototypicality and leader's appeal to collective interest versus follower self-interest ([Platow et al., 2002](#)), and leader prototypicality and the leader's use of "hard" (coercive) versus "soft" (non-coercive) influence tactics ([B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, in press](#)).

[Giessner et al. \(2003\)](#) report an experiment taking this analysis one step further. They focused on the desired outcome of leader group-oriented behavior, namely that the leader benefits the group. Giessner et al. presented German Green Party voters and German voters that did not associate themselves with the Green Party with a scenario describing a hypothetical local Green Party leader. This leader was described as either prototypical or non-prototypical based on the Green Party program. The prototypical leader represented characteristics that were central to the program, the non-prototypical leader represented characteristics that were more peripheral to the program. Crossed with this prototypicality manipulation, the leader was described as either successful or unsuccessful in achieving important Green Party ends in negotiations with local industry. In addition to these experimental manipulations, Giessner et al. distinguished between participants

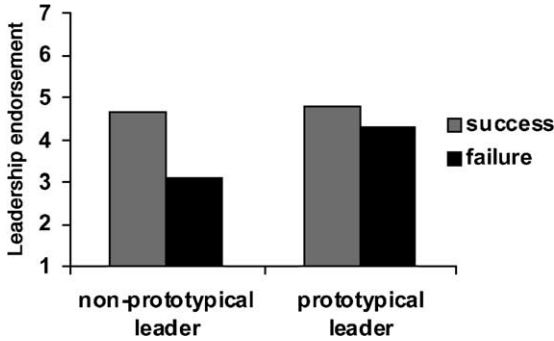


Fig. 2. Leadership Endorsement Among Green Party Voters as a Function of Leader Prototypicality and Leader Success, Giessner et al. (2003).

that identified with the Green Party and participants that did not identify with the Green Party. As predicted, Green Party identifiers endorsed the prototypical leader irrespective of his success or failure in achieving important group goals, whereas the non-prototypical leader was only endorsed when he was successful (see Fig. 2). Giessner et al. also assessed trust in the leader, and found that the effect of prototypicality was mediated by trust, suggesting that endorsement of the prototypical leader was less contingent on his success on behalf of the group, because he was trusted more a priori. For participants that did not identify with the Green Party, leadership endorsement was low irrespective of leader prototypicality or success.

The interaction between leader prototypicality and leader group-oriented behavior points to a key issue in understanding the social identity analysis of leadership: The notion that group prototypicality is a basis for leadership effectiveness does by no means imply that prototypical leaders can only behave like “the average group member.” Unusual and unconventional behavior is seen as a basis for leadership effectiveness (Conger & Kanungo, 1987), and if prototypical leaders could only engage in such behavior at costs to their prototypicality-based effectiveness, that would put serious limits on their effectiveness. The contrary is true, however. Prototypicality provides leaders with more leeway in their behavior and thus positions them to effectively engage in behavior that may lead the group or organization in new directions (also see the discussion of charismatic leadership below). Being representative of the group’s identity as a basis of leadership effectiveness is not at odds with engaging in special, unusual, or distinctive behavior; indeed, it sets the stage for effectively engaging in such behavior.

*The Dynamic Relationship Between Leaders and Social Identity
Processes in Leadership Effectiveness*

Our analysis so far has focused on the effects on leadership of leader prototypicality, leader group-oriented behavior, and identification/social identity salience. These variables are not merely a “given.” Leaders may consciously display and manipulate their own prototypicality, deliberately decide to engage in group-oriented acts to enhance their leadership effectiveness, and affect follower identification and social identity salience.

Analyses of political leadership by Reicher and Hopkins (2001, *in press*; also see Reid & Ng, *in press*) suggest that political leaders often engage in strategic displays of their prototypicality. Political leaders like Ghandi, Sukharno, and Thatcher all projected an image of themselves as the embodiment of national identity (i.e. as highly prototypical of the group). By thus portraying themselves, and their advocated course of action, as prototypical of the group, leaders convey that an attack on them or their policy is an attack on the group and what it stands for. Gandhi, for example, adopted a sober lifestyle closer to the lives of many of the people he represented, thus communicating a close match to the contextually salient prototype of the Indian nation in contrast to the imperial power, Great Britain.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that organizational leaders too engage in prototypicality management strategies. B. van Knippenberg (2003) for instance described how regional managers in a service organization “dressed down” – changed from their regular business dress to a jeans-and-sweater outfit – when visiting the organization’s cleaning teams. The explicit aim was to “be more like the team members” in order to bridge the gap between management and work floor. The one regional manager who did not dress down when visiting these teams was generally perceived to be less strongly endorsed than other managers. Similarly, Choi and Mai-Dalton (1998) describe the example of a strongly endorsed military general eating with his men rather than using the separate officers’ facilities. Although Choi and Mai-Dalton interpret this as an example of leader self-sacrifice (i.e. leader group-oriented behavior), we would argue that the more important message here is the general’s communication of prototypicality – “I am one of you.”

In their attempts to use the group prototype to mobilize followers for their cause leaders need not accept the group prototype as fixed. The context-dependence of prototypes ensures that what is prototypical of the group may change over time, for instance because the intergroup comparative context has changed (e.g. Elsbach & Kramer, 1996) or because an organization’s core business has changed (e.g. M. E. Turner et al., 2003). As a consequence of such changes, the basis for a leader’s effectiveness may change. However, leaders may use these processes to their advantage. For instance, Reicher and Hopkins (*in press*) discuss how in the context of elections in Scotland, political leaders from across the entire political

spectrum tried to appeal to the electorate by voicing their deep sense of Scottishness (i.e. their prototypicality of the national category). However, these leaders differed in what they portrayed Scottish identity to be. For the Left, Scottishness was characterized by egalitarianism and communalism, whereas for the Right, it was exemplified by entrepreneurship. Both Left and Right legitimated their claims with reference to Scottish history (cf. Shamir et al., 1993), thus strategically using aspects of national identity and national history to project a particular image of national identity that would portray them, and their advocated course of action, as prototypically Scottish.

Aside from engaging in such prototype-management strategies, leaders may also strategically engage in group-oriented behavior to build their basis of leadership effectiveness. Analyses of charismatic leadership in organizations suggest for example that highly effective leaders often engage in dramatic public displays of group-oriented behavior to build support among followers. For instance, as CEO of Chrysler Lee Iaccoca publicly decided to set his annual salary at US\$ 1 to prove his commitment to Chrysler's plight, and to elicit similar commitment from Chrysler's employees (e.g. Conger & Kanungo, 1998).

Similarly, leaders whose position is insecure often seek an outgroup "enemy" to enhance their basis of support (Rabbie & Bekkers, 1978). An enemy provides the leader with an opportunity to be seen to stand up for the group and to represent the group against outside forces, and thus strengthen his or her position. In addition, it may help make group identity and group prototypical attributes salient (Hogg & Reid, 2001). This analysis can also be extended to include ingroup "enemies" or deviants (e.g. Hogg, Fielding & Darley, in press; Hogg & Hornsey, in press; Marques, Abrams, Páez & Hogg, 2001). Leaders can identify specific ingroup members or subgroups to derogate and marginalize as threats to the group's integrity and survival or merely as threats to the nature of what the group stands for, its prototype. Leaders throughout history have used this technique very effectively – for example Stalin's targeting of "dissident intellectuals," and Thatcher's derogation of "communist sympathizers."

Reicher and Hopkins' (in press) analysis suggests that by being *entrepreneurs of identity*, managing what is seen as prototypical of the group, leaders may enhance identification with the collective and render the collective's identity salient, thus mobilizing followers and giving direction to collective action. Similarly, De Cremer and van Knippenberg (2002) have proposed that group-oriented behavior like leader self-sacrifice on behalf of the group may enhance identification and render the collective salient, which in turn increases follower contributions to the collective (also see Lord, Brown & Freiberg, 1999; Shamir et al., 1993). In other words, identification/salience is not only a *moderator* of leadership effectiveness (i.e. leader prototypicality and group-oriented behavior being more influential under conditions of high identification/salience), but also a *mediator* of leadership

effectiveness (i.e. leaders ability to mobilize followers for the collective deriving from their influence on identification/salience). This suggests a dynamic model in which leaders may create, through their (displays of) prototypicality and group-oriented actions, the conditions conducive to the effectiveness of their leadership (i.e. high identification and social identity salience).

Leader effectiveness may have a basis in group prototypicality, but group prototypicality may also shape the leader's thoughts and actions. To the extent that leaders identify with their group and social identity is salient, group prototypicality will be an important influence on their attitudes and behavior, and they will be motivated to further the group's best interest. The more that leaders engage in group-oriented behavior, the more powerful the basis of their leadership effectiveness. However, in a provocative analysis of Lyndon Johnson's presidential leadership, Kramer (in press) suggests that in extreme cases the influence of leader self-definition may turn the leader into a "captive" of the prototype, to the detriment of leadership effectiveness.

Kramer (in press) argues that Johnson's self-definition was tied particularly strongly to the United States presidency, and that this self-definition came to decisively shape his decisions in the Vietnam War. Johnson was initially judged to be a very capable politician and statesman and a highly competent and accomplished president. However, his aspirations to be a truly great president in conjunction with his prototypical representation of the presidency, lead him to make increasingly questionable decisions. As Kramer argues, "running away" from the challenge presented by Vietnam was anathema to Johnson's prototypical representation of a great American president. Thus he made a series of decisions that he may have known were wrong.

There is an interesting parallel between Kramer's analysis and M. E. Turner et al. (2003) analysis of decisions made by Intel's leadership to move from the manufacturing of computer memory to microprocessors. Kramer argues that Johnson made the wrong decisions because he was a captive of his prototypical representation of the United States presidency, whereas Turner et al. argue that Intel's leadership made the right decisions because they were able to avoid this "identity trap." If Intel's leadership had been guided more by Intel's identity as "The Memory Company," and had been less able to break free of this identity, the company would probably have fared far worse than it did.

Summary

To summarize the analysis so far, the core propositions of the Social Identity Model of Organizational Leadership (SIMOL) are that in salient social groups with which people identify more prototypical leaders and leaders that engage

in group-oriented behavior are more likely to be endorsed and to be effective as leaders. In contrast, more personalized or interpersonal aspects of leadership become less important relative to leader prototypicality and leader group-oriented behavior. Moreover, leader prototypicality and leader group-oriented behavior interact, such that the effects of leader group-orientedness are more pronounced when leaders are non-prototypical. Leaders may use these processes, and actively manage the group prototype and strategically engage in group-oriented behavior to build and maintain their basis of effectiveness. Leaders may also affect follower identification and social identity salience, which both feed directly into leadership effectiveness (the mediator role of identification/salience) and work to construe the conditions for social identity-based leadership endorsement (the moderator role of identification/salience).

SIMOL AND OTHER THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS IN ORGANIZATIONS

The basic propositions of SIMOL are well-supported by experimental and survey research. Even so, to be a significant perspective on leadership effectiveness in organizations, SIMOL must have added value – it needs to go beyond existing theories of leadership effectiveness in research in organizational behavior. This added value lies in: (a) a focus on group membership characteristics of the leader; and (b) a focus on group identification and identity salience as moderators of leadership effectiveness processes.

We explore this added value by discussing SIMOL in relationship to what arguably are the three main contemporary perspectives on leadership effectiveness in organizational behavior (Chemers, 2001; D. van Knippenberg & Hogg, *in press*; Yukl, 2001): (1) Leadership categorization theories (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lord & Maher, 1991), which share with SIMOL a theoretical basis in social-cognitive theories of social categorization processes; (2) Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory (Graen & Scandura, 1987; Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Schriesheim et al., 1999), which adopts an interpersonal orientation that is at first sight in opposition to SIMOL's group membership perspective; and (3) Theories of charismatic and transformational leadership (Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir et al., 1993), arguably the main contemporary perspective in leadership research and the one most attuned to social identity dynamics.

SIMOL and Leadership Categorization Theories

Since the 1980s, a line of leadership research has developed that focuses on factors leading people to perceive others as effective leaders (Lord, 1977; Lord et al., 1984).

This line of inquiry highlights the role of leadership perceptions, perceptions of the extent to which a target individual has both the qualities of a leader and the potential to exhibit effective leadership in a particular situation (Lord & Hall, *in press*). It is assumed that leadership perceptions play a key role in leader selection decisions (i.e. organizations assign individuals who are expected to be effective as leaders to leadership positions) and in a leader's power base (i.e. the perception that one is a capable leader provides one with a basis of power to influence others), and thus ultimately in the extent to which people can exercise leadership and influence others (Lord & Hall, *in press*; Lord & Maher, 1991).

The most extensive research program focusing on leadership perceptions is Lord and colleagues' leadership categorization theory (e.g. Lord, Brown, Harvey & Hall, 2001; Lord et al., 1984; Lord & Maher, 1991). The theory rests on the notion that perceivers have implicit leadership theories that shape perceptions of (potential) leaders. In making leadership judgments, leadership schemas or stereotypes (called prototypes by Lord and colleagues) based on these implicit leadership theories are activated, and characteristics of the target/leader are matched against these schemas of effective leadership.

Earlier conceptions of leadership categorization theory (e.g. Lord et al., 1984) viewed leader stereotypes as relatively general and fixed in nature. The contemporary version (e.g. Lord et al., 2001; Lord & Hall, *in press*) views leadership representations as being relatively flexible and contextually constrained and constructed. The basic prediction, however, of leadership categorization theory remains the same. The better the match between target characteristics and the perceiver's leadership schema, the more favorable leadership perceptions are. For example, a perceiver whose leadership schema favors "intelligent," "organized," and "dedicated" as core leadership attributes (Lord et al., 1984), is more likely to endorse a leader the more the leader is perceived to be intelligent, organized, and dedicated.

Similar predictions may be found in Eagly's Role Congruity Theory (Eagly, *in press*; Eagly & Karau, 2002) and in theories of status such as expectation states theory and status characteristics theory (Berger, Wagner & Zelditch, 1985; Ridgeway, 2001, *in press*). Although these theories do not focus as extensively as Leadership Categorization Theory on the social-cognitive processes underlying leadership perceptions, they too may be called leadership categorization theories. This is because they also suggest that the match between an individual's characteristics and abstracted conceptions of status and leadership affect leadership perceptions. Role Congruity Theory focuses on gender and leadership (Eagly, *in press*; Eagly & Karau, 2002). It argues that because there is greater overlap between general leader schemas and male stereotypes than between leader schemas and female stereotypes, people tend to have more favorable perceptions

of male leaders than of female leaders. Status characteristics theory (e.g. Berger et al., 1985; Ridgeway, 2001, *in press*) attributes influence (and by implication leadership) within groups to possession of specific status characteristics (qualities that match what the group actually does) and diffuse status characteristics (stereotypical properties of high status groups in society).

Leadership categorization theories link leadership perceptions, and leadership effectiveness contingent on these perceptions, to the match between a leader's characteristics and leadership schemas. In contrast, SIMOL links leadership perceptions and effectiveness to the match between a leader's characteristics and the group prototype. Leadership categorization theories and SIMOL thus share an emphasis on the role of social categorization processes in leadership perceptions, but they differ quite fundamentally over the role of psychological group membership. Group membership, not leadership schemas, is critical for SIMOL, but the opposite is the case for leadership categorization theories (e.g. Lord et al., 1984; Offerman, Kennedy & Wirtz, 1994). Although leadership categorization theories and SIMOL thus converge in the proposition that leadership perceptions are contingent on the cognitive activation of a standard to which a (potential) leader's characteristics are compared, they diverge in the proposed contents of this standard (also see Lord & Hall, *in press*).

Studies by Hains et al. (1997) and Fielding and Hogg (1997) described above show how these different perspectives can be reconciled. Recall that Hains et al.'s (1997) experiment contrasted group prototypicality and leadership schema congruence (conceptualized as in Leadership Categorization Theory) as determinants of effective leadership, and argued that group identification and social identity salience determine the relative importance of group prototypes versus leadership schemas in leadership perceptions. In line with their social identity analysis they found that the impact of leadership schemas on leadership evaluations weakened under high salience conditions, and that group prototypicality had a greatly increased impact on leadership evaluations under high salience. Similar findings were obtained in a correlational field study by Fielding and Hogg (1997) and in a correlational analysis conducted as part of a laboratory study by Platow and van Knippenberg (2001). The available evidence thus supports the conclusion that social identification and social identity salience affect the standard of comparison (i.e. leadership schema vs. group prototype) against which a (potential) leader's leadership qualities are judged.

Lord and Hall (*in press*) reach a similar conclusion in their analysis of the construal of leadership stereotypes, arguing that leadership stereotypes that are construed under conditions of high identification/salience may be heavily influenced by group prototypes. In summary, then, the moderating role of identification/identity salience that is core to SIMOL forms the basis of the

integration of leadership categorization theories and SIMOL. Leadership schemas that are not bound to a specific group membership are relatively more important for leadership perceptions under conditions of low identification/social identity salience, whereas group prototypicality is relatively more important under conditions of high identification/salience.

Recently, Hogg, Fielding, Johnston, Masser, Russell and Svensson (2003) conducted an experiment on gender and leadership in small interactive groups, which is directly relevant to role congruity theory, status characteristics theory, and general leadership categorization perspectives. They argued, from a social identity perspective, that whether demographic category attributes enhance leadership effectiveness in a small group is an interactive function of psychological membership salience and the extent of congruence between stereotypic attributes of the demographic category and the local group norm or prototype. Using gender as their demographic category, Hogg and associates created, in a computer mediated communication environment, small non interactive groups with male stereotypic or female stereotypic behavioral norms (i.e. instrumental vs. expressive), and ostensibly appointed a male or female member to lead the group. In this way leader-prototype congruence was manipulated. Congruence was high for male leaders of instrumental groups and female leaders of expressive groups, and low in the other cases (Hall, Workman & Marchiore, 1998). Salience was also manipulated using standard social identity procedures to prime self-conception in group or in individual terms.

The prediction was that salience should improve leadership evaluations of congruent leaders, but worsen evaluations of non-congruent leaders. However, there was a third measured variable to qualify this prediction. Participants were divided into higher and lower scorers on the hostile sexism sub-scale of Glick and Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, to identify those who had more or less traditional sex-role attitudes. Based on Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter's (1995) suggestion that "progressives" are more aware that occupational segregation may be a result of prejudice, and the argument that progressives might exhibit "reverse discrimination" in favor of women in order to combat gender stereotypes (also see Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh & Vaslow, 2000), Hogg and associates felt that more progressive participants would show entirely the opposite effect to that predicted above.

The results of the experiment largely supported these predictions (see Fig. 3). For people who subscribed to traditional gender stereotypes, salience improved evaluation of leaders whose gender was congruent with the local group norm. For people who had more progressive gender attitudes salience improved evaluation of leaders whose gender was *not* congruent with the local group norm, and worsened evaluations of leaders whose gender was congruent with the local group norm.

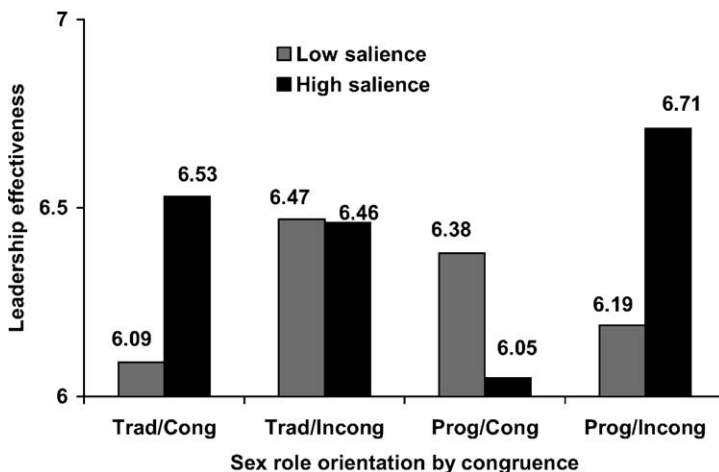


Fig. 3. Perceived Leadership Effectiveness as a Function of Group Saliency, Leader-Prototype Congruence, and Sex-Role Orientation, Hogg, Fielding et al. (2003).

This study shows again the role played by prototypicality in leadership evaluations under high saliency. It also has implications for an understanding of the glass ceiling effect in which women find it difficult to attain top leadership positions in organizations (Eagly, Karau & Makhijani, 1995) and the glass elevator effect in which males do not suffer in the same way (Eagly, *in press*; Williams, 1992). The study suggests that gender per se may not be the only impediment to effective leadership. Incongruence between female-stereotypical attributes and the generally masculine environment of many organizations (Cejka & Eagly, 1999) may hold women back under conditions of high organizational saliency. The study also suggests that the glass elevator may not exist for men in high saliency female stereotypical professions such as nursing and flight attendants (e.g. Young & James, 2001). The analysis can also be extended to other demographic groups, for example those based on ethnicity, race (dis)ability, or age. For these categories too organizational prototypes may typically favor characteristics of majority and higher status groups – indeed, underrepresented groups are more or less by definition less prototypical of the collective (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; van Leeuwen & van Knippenberg, 2003).

SIMOL and Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory

Another major perspective in contemporary leadership research is the social exchange analysis of leader-follower relations. Originating in work by Hollander

(1958; also see Hollander & Offerman, 1990) it is now primarily represented by Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) theory of leadership (Gerstner & Day, 1997; Graen & Scandura, 1987; Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). Testifying to its impact, a recent review of the LMX literature lists 147 studies since the concept was originally introduced in the 1970s (Schriesheim et al., 1999).

LMX theory identifies interpersonal exchange relationships as the key to effective leadership. Effective leadership rests on the development of high quality dyadic exchange relationships between the leader and specific subordinates. High quality LMX relationships are ones where subordinates are favored by the leader and thus receive many valued resources. In return, subordinates are expected to contribute substantially to the relationship. Leader-subordinate exchanges go beyond the formal employment contract, with managers showing influence and support, and giving the subordinate greater autonomy and responsibility. In contrast, low quality LMX relationships are ones where subordinates are less favored by the leader and thus receive fewer valued resources. Leader-subordinate exchanges simply adhere to the terms of the employment contract, with little attempt by the leader to develop or motivate the subordinate. LMX theory predicts that effective leaders should develop high quality LMX relationships with their subordinates, which should enhance subordinates' well-being and work performance.

Research confirms that organizational leaders do differentiate among subordinates and develop different quality dyadic relations with them, and that high quality LMX relations are associated with job satisfaction, well-being, organizational commitment, and organizational citizenship (Schriesheim et al., 1999). LMX theory has, however, some problems; for example the measurement of LMX is problematic (e.g. Keller & Dansereau, 2000), and there is only limited evidence for LMX to predict actual performance (e.g. Vecchio, 1998). There is a more fundamental problem with LMX theory (Hogg & Martin, 2003; Hogg, Martin & Weeden, in press). LMX theory is a perspective that focuses on leader-follower dyadic relations that occur in isolation of group membership dynamics. The extent to which leader and follower identify with the wider group is not considered, nor is the perceived or actual relationship between the specific leader-follower relationship and other such relationships or groupings within the group.

From a social identity leadership perspective Hogg and associates have proposed the novel analysis that although personalized, dyadic, leader-member relations may be effective in many groups, they may be less effective in groups that are highly salient and that people identify strongly with (Hogg & Martin, 2003; Hogg et al., in press). The logic of this analysis is that personalized relations in a high-salience

group may run counter to the collective spirit of such groups because they are seen to identify favorites, separate members who feel joined through common identity. Members may actually prefer to be treated alike by the leader. Depersonalized leader-member relations may appear more in the spirit of enhanced collective self-conception, and may promote enhanced feelings of trust and legitimacy for an apparently group-focused egalitarian leader (e.g. Tyler & Lind, 1992).

Hogg, Martin, Epitropaki, Mankad, Svensson and Weeden (2003) report two questionnaire studies of people in organizations to test the very simple prediction that as group membership becomes more salient, depersonalized leader-member relations are perceived to be an increasingly more effective basis for leadership. Associated with this, depersonalized leadership may be perceived to be less effective than more personalized leadership under conditions of low salience, whereas under high salience depersonalized leadership may be seen to be more effective than personalized leadership.

Study 1 was a survey of 439 employees of a range of companies in the U.K. Using multi-item scales, our key measures were of leader effectiveness, organizational salience in self-conceptualization, and the extent to which the leader's style involved personalized or depersonalized relations with subordinates. Figure 4a illustrates the results in a 2 (salience) \times 2 (leadership style) ANOVA format. As predicted salience increased the perceived effectiveness of depersonalized leadership, and under high salience the perceived advantage of a personalized style was greatly decreased.

Study 2 was a replication of Study 1 that used similar but better developed, better-focused and more extensive measures, and very importantly measured the extent to which respondents identified with their group rather than how salient they reported it to be. Identification is a more direct measure of social identity processes of leadership than is salience. Study 2 was conducted with 128 employees of organizations in Mumbai, India. Figure 4b illustrates the results in a 2 (identification) \times 2 (leadership style) ANOVA format. As predicted, increased identification was associated with increased perceived effectiveness of depersonalized leadership, and under high identification the leadership advantage of a depersonalized over personalized style was much stronger than under low identification.

Together this pair of studies calls into question the LMX view that personalized leader-member relations are always best. On the contrary, and consistent with the social identity analysis of leadership, in salient groups personalized relations do not have an advantage – members may prefer depersonalized leader-member relations. Put differently, with increasing salience and identification depersonalized leader-member relations are more favorably evaluated and leaders who adopt these relations are better received and more effective.

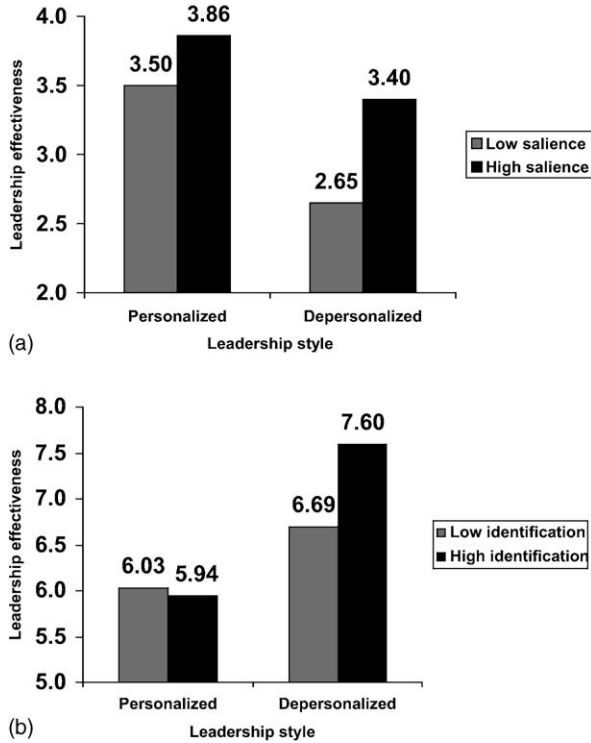


Fig. 4. (a) Perceived Leadership Effectiveness as a Function of Group Salience and Leadership Style, Hogg, Martin et al. (2003, Study 1). (b) Perceived Leadership Effectiveness as a Function of Identification and Leadership Style, Hogg, Martin et al. (2003, Study 2).

SIMOL and Theories of Charismatic and Transformational Leadership

From the late 1970s (Burns, 1978; House, 1977), and gathering momentum in the 1980s (Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987), charismatic and transformational leadership probably has become the main focus of research on leadership effectiveness (e.g. Bass, 1998; Conger & Kanungo, 1998; House & Shamir, 1993; Lowe, Kroeck & Sivasubramaniam, 1996). Although theories of charismatic and transformational leadership vary in the aspects of leadership they highlight (e.g. Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir et al., 1993), there is substantial overlap, with differences reflecting differences in emphasis more than disagreement. Therefore, we treat them together under the general heading of charismatic leadership (House, 1995), and discuss SIMOL in relation to this broadly conceptualized perspective.

Charismatic leadership persuades followers to go beyond self-interest to serve collective goals and interests, and motivates followers to exceptional performance (Bass, 1985; Bass & Avolio, 1993; Boal & Bryson, 1988; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; House, 1977; Shamir et al., 1993; Tichy & Devanna, 1986). For this reason, charismatic leadership is an especially effective form of leadership (e.g. Bass, 1998; Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Lowe et al., 1996). The key question is what makes a leader charismatic? In answer to this question, charismatic leaders are proposed to engage in such behaviors as emphasizing collective identity, communicating a collective vision or mission, referring to collective history, making personal sacrifices and taking personal risks in pursuit of collective goals and interests, displaying self-confidence, expressing confidence in followers, role-modeling desired behavior, and coaching and developing followers to pursue the collective vision (e.g. Bass, 1985; Bass & Avolio, 1993; Conger & Kanungo, 1987, 1998; Shamir et al., 1993).

A question that has received relatively less (empirical) attention (Hunt, 1999; Yukl, 1999) is what psychological processes underlie the effects of charismatic leadership on followers. In what is probably the most elaborate discussion of these processes, Shamir et al. (1993) highlight the role of the self-concept and collective identity. Shamir et al. propose that charismatic leadership is effective because it induces identification with the collective and renders the collective identity salient, and engenders follower self-efficacy and collective efficacy in pursuit of collective goals and interests (cf. Bass, 1998; Conger & Kanungo, 1998). In addition, Bennis and Nanus (1985) and Boal and Bryson (1988) highlight trust in the leader as an important factor. Although process-oriented research is scarce in the field of charismatic leadership, there is empirical support for the proposed roles of collective identification (De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2002), self-efficacy (Shea & Howell, 1999), and trust in the leader (Pillai, Schriesheim & Williams, 1999; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman & Fetter, 1990).

There are a number of commonalities between theories of charismatic leadership and SIMOL, most notably the emphasis on identification and collective identity. In contrast to SIMOL, however, theories of charismatic leadership do not address the role of group membership characteristics of the leader. The obvious question, then, is how leader prototypicality should be seen in relationship to charismatic leadership, and related to this, how leader group-oriented behavior should be seen in relationship to charismatic leadership. We first address these questions related to the components of charismatic leadership. Then we discuss similarities and differences between SIMOL and theories of charismatic leadership in relation to the psychological processes underlying leadership effectiveness.

SIMOL and the Components of Charisma

Based on SIMOL, we propose that in salient groups with which members identify, leader prototypicality affects perceptions of charisma. As discussed above, leader prototypicality results in status and referent informational influence, social attraction to the leader, and trust in the group-orientedness of the leader. All of this adds to attributions of charisma and to the leader's ability to engender the very processes that are assumed to underlie the effectiveness of charismatic leadership. Indeed, the very fact that prototypical leaders are representative of the group's identity renders them more able to elicit identification and render the collective salient.

For example, Reicher and Hopkins's (2001, *in press*) analyses of political leadership suggest that many charismatic leaders in the political arena derived much of their ability to mobilize the masses from their emphasis on their own prototypicality and on the collective identity they claimed to represent. In support of this analysis, experiments by Platow et al. (2002) and B. van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2003) show that leader prototypicality has a positive effect on perceptions of charismatic leadership (also see Platow, Haslam, Foddy & Grace, *in press*). In sum, SIMOL suggests that the leader's characteristics as a group member are an important but largely neglected part of charismatic leadership.

In contrast, the role of group-oriented behavior in charismatic leadership has been recognized. Leader self-sacrifice on behalf of the group, in particular, is proposed to be a component of charismatic leadership (Choi & Mai-Dalton, 1998, 1999; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; De Cremer, 2002; De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2002; B. van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2003; Yorges et al., 1999). Thus, SIMOL and theories of charismatic leadership converge on the proposition that group-oriented behavior is an important determinant of perceptions of charisma and leadership effectiveness.

SIMOL thus suggests that leader prototypicality and leader group-oriented behavior influence perceptions of charisma and perceptions of leadership effectiveness. The same reasoning, then, that leads to the proposition that prototypicality and group-oriented behavior interact in affecting leadership perceptions and effectiveness leads to the prediction that prototypicality and the group-oriented aspects of charismatic leadership interact in affecting perceptions of charisma and leadership effectiveness. Group-oriented behavior is less important to perceptions of charisma and effectiveness the more prototypical the leader is. Support for this proposition is found in studies by Platow et al. (2002) and B. van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2003).

In line with theories of charismatic leadership (Bass, 1985; Shamir et al., 1993), Platow et al. argued that appealing to the collective interest rather than to follower self-interest would be perceived as a sign of leader group-orientedness and render

the collective identity salient, and would therefore contribute to perceptions of charisma. In addition, they argued that this would hold more for non-prototypical than for prototypical leaders, because prototypical leaders' group-orientedness is more taken for granted (cf. [Giessner et al., 2003](#)) and social identity is more likely to be salient when confronted with a leader that is representative of the collective identity. In support of this hypothesis, [Platow et al.](#) found in a laboratory study that leader prototypicality and leader's appeal to the collective interest versus follower's self-interest in communication addressed to followers interacted to affect perceptions of charismatic leadership. Prototypical leaders were considered charismatic regardless of the nature of their appeal, whereas non-prototypical leaders were considered charismatic only when they appealed to the collective interest.

[B. van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg \(2003\)](#) tested the prediction that leader prototypicality and leader self-sacrifice interact in affecting perceptions of charisma and leadership effectiveness. Consistent with theories of charismatic leadership ([Choi & Mai-Dalton, 1998](#); [Conger & Kanungo, 1987](#)), they argued that leader self-sacrifice would feed into perceptions of charisma and leadership effectiveness, and would make followers more willing to exert themselves on behalf of the collective ([De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2002](#)). [Van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg](#) proposed that leader prototypicality moderates these effects, because prototypicality heightens the trust in leader group-orientedness, and therefore renders perceptions of charisma and leadership effectiveness, and the willingness to exert oneself on behalf of the group less contingent on leader self-sacrificial behavior. To test these predictions, they conducted two surveys of employees from a variety of organizations. They found that leader prototypicality and leader self-sacrifice both related positively to perceived leader effectiveness, and more importantly that prototypicality and self-sacrifice interacted in affecting perceptions of leadership effectiveness. As predicted, the relationship between self-sacrifice and leadership effectiveness was stronger for less prototypical leaders. This interaction effect was replicated in a scenario experiment in which leader prototypicality and leader self-sacrifice were manipulated.

Complementing and extending these results, [van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg](#) obtained this leader prototypicality by leader self-sacrifice interaction in a laboratory experiment and showed that it generalized to perceptions of charisma and follower performance. Participants in the experiment were assigned an idea generation task by a (simulated) leader. This leader was presented as either prototypical or non-prototypical via bogus feedback about the position of the leader and the other group members on a dimension that defined the group in the experimental context (brain hemisphere dominance), and as self-sacrificing or non-sacrificing based on whether or not the leader would invest time and energy

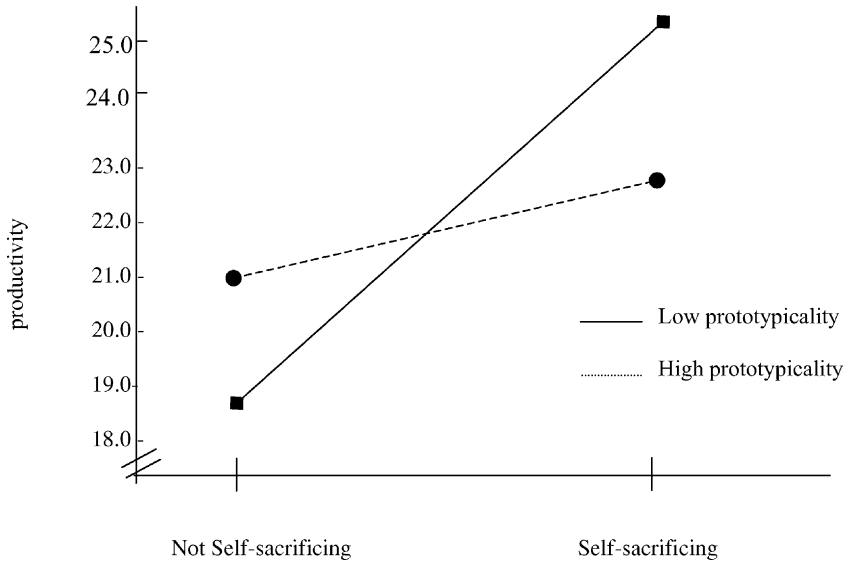


Fig. 5. Follower Productivity as a Function of Leader Prototypicality and Leader Self-Sacrifice, B. van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2003).

in the group task at the expense of other, personal, commitments. Figure 5 shows the results for the performance measure. Leader prototypicality and self-sacrifice interacted to affect productivity on the task (number of ideas generated), such that prototypicality attenuated the positive effect of leader self-sacrifice on follower performance.

The role of leader prototypicality proposed by SIMOL is an important extension of theories of charisma. SIMOL has another important implication for the components of charisma proposed in theories of charismatic leadership. Theories of charisma propose that charismatic leadership consists of different components, which are all assumed to contribute to perceptions of charisma and leadership effectiveness (Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir et al., 1993). The possibility that the effectiveness of different components is contingent on different circumstances or different processes seems to have been neglected.

Considering the components of charisma proposed in theories of charismatic leadership from the perspective of SIMOL, we note that some components are clearly group-oriented, whereas others are more individualized or interpersonal. On the one hand charismatic leaders are proposed to emphasize collective identity, champion the collective's mission, make self-sacrifices and take great personal

risk in pursuit of the collective vision, and foster collective efficacy (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir et al., 1993; cf. Bass, 1985). On the other hand, charismatic leaders are proposed to show individualized consideration, and coach and develop individual subordinates (Bass, 1985; Bass & Avolio, 1993; Shamir et al., 1993). Accordingly, based on SIMOL we propose that follower identification and social identity salience moderate the effectiveness of the group-oriented versus the interpersonal aspects of charismatic leadership. Group-oriented components of charismatic leadership are more effective under conditions of high identification and social identity salience, whereas interpersonal aspects of charismatic leadership are more effective under conditions of low identification and social identity salience.

A related argument has been proposed by Lord et al. (1999) concerning the effectiveness of transformational versus transactional leadership (i.e. leadership focusing on contingent rewarding and monitoring; Bass, 1985). Lord et al. argue that transactional leadership is more focused on the personal self, whereas transformational leadership is more focused on the collective self, and that, following the same logic as SIMOL, follower self-concept should therefore moderate the effectiveness of these two forms of leadership (also see Platow et al., 2002). This argument aligns well with the current analysis, but in deviation, or extension, of Lord et al.'s (1999) proposition we argue that we should also differentiate between interpersonal aspect and group-oriented aspects of charismatic leadership.

An implication of our argument is that by not recognizing the moderating role of identification/salience, we may underestimate the potential impact of different charismatic leadership behaviors. The context-specific impact of different components of charisma may be greater than the relationships between leader behavior and criteria of leadership effectiveness typically reported in the literature (e.g. Lowe et al., 1996).

SIMOL and Processes Underlying the Effectiveness of Charismatic Leadership

SIMOL and theories of charismatic leadership converge on the processes proposed to underlie leadership effectiveness. Both perspectives allocate a key role to identification/salience, agreeing that leaders may mobilize collective identity to motivate followers (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Conger, Kanungo & Menon, 2000; De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2002; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001, in press; Shamir et al., 1993; Shamir, Zakay, Breinin & Popper, 1998). In addition, trust in the leader (Giessner et al., 2003; Pillai et al., 1999; Podsakoff et al., 1990), and follower self-efficacy and collective efficacy (Shamir et al., 1993; Shea & Howell, 1999; van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 2003) have been allocated a role in motivating followers both in the charismatic and the social identity perspective. The operation of one process does not preclude the operation

of the other, and several processes may operate simultaneously to translate leader behavior into follower action. It should be noted, however, that although there is evidence for these different processes mediating leadership effectiveness, no study to date has to our knowledge demonstrated the operation of more than one process simultaneously – which would seem an important challenge for future research.

Even though SIMOL and theories of charismatic leadership seem to agree on the psychological processes underlying charismatic leaders' influence on followers, from SIMOL follows an important qualification. As argued above, some aspects of charismatic leadership have a clear group-oriented focus, whereas others have a more interpersonal focus. The same may be said for the processes underlying the effectiveness of charismatic leadership. Identification, social identity salience, trust in the leader's group-orientedness, and collective efficacy clearly have a group focus. Follower self-efficacy (and self-esteem/self-worth, which Shamir et al., 1993, also propose mediates the effects of charismatic leadership) and interpersonal trust between leader and follower (Podsakoff et al., 1990) are more related to the personal self-concept than to the collective self. In the same way that identification and social identity salience moderate the impact of the group-oriented and interpersonal aspects of charismatic leader behavior, they may moderate the impact of the group-oriented and interpersonal processes translating leader behavior into follower attitudes and actions.

Uncertainty, Crisis, and the Effectiveness of Charismatic Leadership

Crisis is probably the factor that is most cited as conducive to the emergence and effectiveness of charismatic leadership – indeed, even as a precondition for it to occur (e.g. Boal & Bryson, 1988; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Hunt, Boal & Dodge, 1999; Pillai & Meindl, 1998). Crises, and other ambiguous situations associated with uncertainty (Shamir & Howell, 1999), are proposed to elicit a desire for guidance and leadership that provides potentially charismatic leaders with the opportunity to take charge and realize their charismatic potential. Once the crisis is resolved, followers are supposedly less receptive to charismatic leadership.

This moderating role of crisis is highly consistent with work on uncertainty, social identity, and leadership. A program of research by Hogg and colleagues (for an overview, see Hogg, 2000) has shown that uncertain or stressful situations motivate individuals to turn to their group memberships, because group identifications reduce self-conceptual uncertainty. The uncertainty associated with crises may thus lead individuals to identify more with their group and look to the group for guidance and leadership (cf. the sense-maker role proposed by Cohen & March, 1974). This provides the opportunity for prototypical, charismatic leaders to emerge. This analysis is supported in a study by D. van Knippenberg et al. (2000).

Van Knippenberg et al. argued that task groups would be more in need of leadership when their task was ambiguous rather than clear-cut, and that therefore prototypical group members would be more likely to emerge as leaders under uncertainty. Results of two experiments on emergent leadership behavior of prototypical and non-prototypical group members (manipulated by bogus feedback about participants' own and fellow group members' score on a group defining trait) corroborated this proposition.

SIMOL also suggests a second factor that is likely to contribute to crisis' moderating influence: Crisis raises the need, and thus provides the opportunity, for group-oriented behavior, which positions leaders to build their basis of leadership effectiveness. As a case in point, take the example of Lee Iaccoca's self-sacrifice mentioned earlier. The crisis at Chrysler set the stage for the (presumed) effectiveness of this act of leadership – indeed, it would have made little sense if there would not have been a crisis.

Leading Change: Charismatic Leaders as Agents of Change

Analyses of charismatic leadership emphasize the change-orientedness of charismatic leaders. A change-oriented vision for the group or organization is often seen as a key component of charismatic leadership, and charismatic leaders are considered to be more effective change agents than non-charismatic leaders (e.g. Bass, 1998; Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Howell & Higgins, 1990). The social identity analysis too suggests that prototypical, charismatic leaders are particularly effective as agents of change.

The organizational change literature cites resistance to change as one of the principle obstacles to effective change (e.g. Conner, 1995). An analysis of the social identity implications of organizational change processes (Rousseau, 1998) identifies social identity concerns as a significant source of resistance to change. Social identity analyses of mergers and acquisitions have similarly identified social identity processes as a major obstacle to successful merging (e.g. Blake & Mouton, 1985; Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001; van Leeuwen & van Knippenberg, 2003). Major organizational changes, such as mergers and acquisitions, may have a substantial impact on organizational identity and thus on employees' self-definitions as members of the organization. People may strongly resist such changes. Building on work by Rousseau (1998), van Knippenberg and associates (D. van Knippenberg et al., 2002; D. van Knippenberg & van Leeuwen, 2001; van Leeuwen, van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 2003) propose that resistance to change is contingent on a *sense of continuity of identity* – a sense that defining features of the group's identity are preserved. As long as group members feel that, despite the changes, it is still "their group," they may be quite accepting of changes, even substantial ones.

A key task, then, for leadership of change would seem to address these identity concerns, and to ensure such a sense of continuity. Put differently, to be effective agents of change, leaders also need to be *agents of continuity*. Prototypical, charismatic leaders may be particularly good at combining the role of agent of change and agent of continuity. Because prototypical leaders represent the collective identity, changes promoted by prototypical leaders are more likely to be viewed as identity-consistent than the same changes promoted by less prototypical leaders. Accordingly, prototypical, charismatic leaders should be more able to overcome resistance to change and to mobilize followers in pursuit of a change-oriented vision than less prototypical, charismatic leaders. (Note that this proposition aligns well with Shamir et al.'s (1993) suggestion that individuals are motivated by a desire for a consistent self-image, and that charismatic leadership may address this desire.)

First evidence that leader prototypicality may be conducive to overcoming resistance to change is provided in one of the surveys conducted by B. van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2003). This survey was conducted in the context of organizational change and also assessed the relationship of leader prototypicality and leader self-sacrifice with willingness to change. As predicted, leader prototypicality and leader self-sacrifice both had a positive relationship with willingness to change. (Moreover prototypicality and self-sacrifice interacted, such that the relationship between self-sacrifice and willingness to change was weaker for more prototypical leaders.)

The suggestion that prototypicality positions a leader to be an effective agent of change by also being an agent of continuity also points to the problems faced by “outgroup leaders” trying to engender change. To lead changes in organizations (boards of) organizations sometimes bring in outside management. Similarly, acquiring organizations may replace the management of the acquired organization by people from the acquiring organization. Changes introduced by such outgroup leaders may be particularly vulnerable to the perception that they introduce discontinuity of identity, and as a result may be particularly likely to elicit resistance and lowered identification.

Reicher and Hopkins' (2001, in press) analysis of political leaders as “entrepreneurs of identity” suggests that effective change agents do not just rely on their image of prototypicality and/or group-orientedness to engender change. They may also suggest that the change they envision is highly consistent with the collective identity. Indeed, leaders may in fact suggest that the change they envision is more consistent with the group's identity than the current situation. Steve Jobs' return to Apple seems a good example of the latter. As co-founder of Apple, Jobs had worked on creating an identity for the company that flagged its unconventional and creative nature. After Jobs left, this distinct identity gradually faded. When

Jobs was brought back to reinvigorate Apple after being away from the company for several years, his (highly effective) strategy was to advocate a return to Apple's roots, to return to being the unconventional and creative company it used to be.

Perhaps counter-intuitively, this then would suggest that an important aspect of a charismatic vision of change is a sense of continuity of, or even a return to core aspects of the collective identity, especially when advocating radical change. Indeed, the larger the change envisioned, the more important it would seem to complement the vision of change with a vision of continuity of identity: "we will change, but we will still be us."

Summary

At the core of the Social Identity Approach lies the proposition that social identification and social identity salience underlie the influence of group membership on perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and behavior. Identification/salience plays a key role in SIMOL too. Not surprisingly, then, one of the core building blocks for the integration of SIMOL with leadership categorization theories, LMX theory, and theories of charismatic leadership is the moderating role of identification/salience. Identification/salience affects the importance of leader stereotypes versus group prototypes as determinants of leadership perceptions, affects the impact of group-oriented versus interpersonal leadership as described in LMX theory, and affects the effectiveness of the group-oriented versus interpersonal aspects of charismatic leadership. In addition, SIMOL allows us to refine the analysis of charismatic leadership by introducing: (a) leader prototypicality as a component of charisma; (b) identification/salience as a moderator of not only the effectiveness of different aspects of charismatic leadership but also of different underlying processes; and (c) the ability to ensure a sense of continuity of identity as a key aspect of leadership effectiveness in dealing with resistance to change.

TOWARDS AN INTEGRATIVE THEORY OF LEADERSHIP EFFECTIVENESS

We have seen how SIMOL can extend three influential and at first sight quite different perspectives on leadership effectiveness in organizations (leadership categorization theories, LMX theory, and theories of charismatic leadership). The social identity model of organizational leadership is not only important in integrating and extending these perspectives on leadership effectiveness, it also provides a viable framework to integrate developments in leadership research.

Indeed, one of the important contributions SIMOL makes to the study of organizational leadership is that it provides a vehicle for the integration of different perspectives on leadership effectiveness into a unified theoretical framework.

SIMOL advances self-conception and social identity processes as core moderators and mediators of leadership effectiveness, and suggests that other perspectives on leadership effectiveness may be understood, and integrated with SIMOL in terms of the implied relationships with follower self-concept. This basic notion lies at the core of the integration presented in the previous section, and we propose that it may also lie at the core of the integration of other approaches to leadership into a more unified framework for understanding leadership effectiveness. To illustrate this point, in the following we focus on two developments that are as yet not center-stage in leadership research, but which we expect to become increasingly important in years to come: The study of leader fairness, and the study of leadership and emotions. The ultimate aim of this discussion is not just to outline how SIMOL may be developed to encompass leader fairness and emotions, but more generally to demonstrate the integrative potential and wide applicability of the model.

Leader Fairness

Although there is a rich tradition in organizational justice research (e.g. Greenberg, 1990; Konovsky, 2000), fairness has only received modest attention as an aspect of leadership. And yet, a core function of leaders is to carry the responsibility for decisions about outcomes that are important to followers (e.g. promotions, performance appraisals, allocation of duties, etc.). Not surprisingly, followers may be concerned about how fair the leader is in making these decisions. These concerns may relate to the perceived fairness of the outcomes of leaders' decisions (distributive fairness) as well as the perceived fairness of the procedures used by the leader to arrive at these decisions (procedural fairness; Thibaut & Walker, 1975). Both distributive and procedural fairness affect reactions to decisions, and to the authorities making these decisions (Brockner & Wiesenfeld, 1996; Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Lind, 1992). It thus seems very likely that leaders' distributive and procedural fairness affect responses to leadership, and therefore leadership effectiveness.

Although the relationship with leadership has always been implicitly present in justice research (cf. Tyler, 1997; Tyler & Lind, 1992), leadership research has only relatively recently started to explicate the role of leader fairness (e.g. De Cremer, in press; Tyler, in press). De Cremer and van Knippenberg (2003), for instance, show that group member cooperation in a mixed-motive situation is affected by the procedural fairness of the leader (whether or not the leader gave

group members voice in decisions about personal outcomes), especially when the outcomes group members receive are relatively unfavorable.

Of particular relevance to our social identity analysis, justice research suggest that social identity processes play an important role in the effects of leader fairness on followers. Tyler (1999) argues that procedural justice fulfills a social identity function, because fair procedures convey a favorable social evaluation of followers as group members (Koper, van Knippenberg, Bouhuijs, Vermunt & Wilke, 1993). Accordingly, the respect for group members conveyed by procedural fairness may build member identification and thus feed into cooperative behavior (De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2002; Tyler & Blader, 2000).

Justice research also suggests that social identity processes may moderate responses to procedural and distributive fairness. People who identify strongly with the group care more about the esteem they are held in by the group than people who identify less strongly with the group, and therefore they are more concerned about procedural fairness (Tyler & Degoey, 1995; also see Brockner, Chen, Mannix, Leung & Skarlicki, 2000). People that identify strongly with the group may be expected to value distributive fairness relatively less, because instrumental, outcome-oriented considerations become less important relative to relational considerations as people identify more with the group (Tyler, 1997; cf. Vermunt, van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg & Blaauw, 2001). People also value more highly the esteem in which they are held by ingroup than outgroup leaders. Therefore they respond more strongly to the procedural fairness of ingroup than outgroup leaders (Tyler, Lind, Ohbuchi, Sugawara & Huo, 1997).

In perfect alignment with SIMOL, then, research in social and organizational justice suggests that leader procedural fairness as compared with leader distributive fairness becomes more important as a determinant of leadership effectiveness as group members define the self more in collective terms. Moreover, leader procedural fairness may affect follower identification and thus help mobilize followers for collective endeavors. The role of leader fairness in leadership effectiveness may thus fruitfully be integrated with, and extend, the social identity analysis of leadership effectiveness.

Emotions and Leadership Effectiveness

Until recently, research in organizational behavior paid little attention to the role of affect and emotions (Brief & Weiss, 2002; Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Yet, emotions are a powerful force driving human behavior, and there is good evidence that affective reactions and emotions may influence all social interactions (e.g. Forgas, Bower & Krans, 1984; George, 1991), including those between leaders

and followers (Brief & Weiss, 2002; George, 2000). Some analyses suggest that leadership effectiveness may in part actually derive from leaders' ability to elicit emotional responses from their subordinates (Conger & Kanungo, 1998; House, Spangler & Woycke, 1991). Until recently, however, there have been few empirical studies of the role of emotions in leadership effectiveness. This has started to change (e.g. Humphrey, 2002), but leadership research is still struggling to make sense of the role of emotions. We propose that SIMOL may provide a useful framework to integrate the role of emotions with other approaches to leadership.

Emotions fulfill an important self-regulatory function, and may serve as internal signals for "motive-readiness" to engender action (e.g. Lang, 1995). Accordingly, leadership effectiveness may be influenced by the leader's ability to elicit follower emotions that motivate pro-organizational attitudes and behavior. A first proposition that follows from SIMOL is that it is important from the perspective of eliciting pro-organizational behavior that emotions are group-oriented emotions, that is, emotions that are associated with, and favoring, the group (e.g. happiness for group success, anger at threats to the group). Emotions may engender motive-readiness, but for this motive-readiness to translate into group-oriented behavior it is important that the emotions are group-oriented. From the perspective of an analysis of leadership effectiveness, then, the key question is how leaders elicit group-oriented emotions.

The most direct way probably is through *emotional contagion* (Hatfield, Cacioppo & Rapson, 1994). Leaders may publicly display group-oriented emotions that are subsequently adopted by their subordinates. Corroborating this proposition, analyses of charismatic leadership suggest that charismatic leaders may use their own emotions to arouse similar feelings in their followers (Conger & Kanungo, 1998; House et al., 1991). The social identity analysis would suggest that for a leader's emotions to translate into follower emotions it is important that leader and followers share a group membership with which followers identify. Identification allows individuals to experience others' internal states, such as feelings, as their own (e.g. Mackie, Devos & Smith, 2000; Norton, Monin, Cooper & Hogg, in press), and for followers to experience leader emotions as self-relevant it would seem important that the leader is linked to followers' self-definition. Leaders may also find it easier to affect followers' emotion through their own emotional displays in emotionally ambiguous situations. As argued above, ambiguous or stressful situations may raise the need for leadership, and cause group members to turn to the group, and to group prototypical members for guidance (D. van Knippenberg et al., 2000; see Hogg, 2000). This may include "emotional guidance," modeling the appropriate emotional response to the situation (Pescosolido, 2002).

Leaders' ability to elicit emotions is of course not limited to display of own emotions. Analyses of charismatic leadership for instance suggest that leaders may also elicit follower emotions through dramatic actions like making personal sacrifices or running personal risk (e.g. Conger & Kanungo, 1998). In these instances too SIMOL would suggest that such factors as follower identification and uncertainty are conducive to translating leader behavior into follower emotion.

CONCLUSION

The starting point of our analysis of leadership effectiveness was the observation that leadership research has largely ignored the implications of the fact that leaders do not only lead groups of people, but also are members of these groups, and that leadership processes are therefore enacted in the context of a shared group membership. To address this issue, we propose a theoretical framework to analyze leadership effectiveness in organizations from this leaders-as-group-members perspective, the Social Identity Model of Organizational Leadership (SIMOL). SIMOL not only explicates the effects of leaders' characteristics as a group member on leadership effectiveness, but it may also be fruitfully integrated with other perspectives on leadership effectiveness, and provides important qualifications and extensions of these perspectives.

The main propositions of the model are summarized in Fig. 6. Follower identification and social identity salience moderate the effects on leadership effectiveness of on the one hand leader prototypicality and group-oriented aspects of leadership, and on the other hand more personalized and interpersonal aspects of leadership. Collective identity processes mediate the effects of leader prototypicality and group-oriented aspects of leadership – and set the stage for future responses to leadership – while processes related to the personal self-concept and interpersonal relations mediate the effects of personalized and interpersonal aspects of leadership.

SIMOL also provides the building blocks for a broader conceptual framework that integrates different perspectives into a more unified theory of leadership effectiveness. One of the main challenges for the future of leadership research in organizational behavior, as we see it, is thus to not only develop SIMOL as a theory of leadership effectiveness in organizations, but also to develop the integration of SIMOL and other perspectives on leadership effectiveness, with the ultimate aim to develop a broad-ranging and integrative theoretical framework for understanding leadership effectiveness. Core to this integrative framework as we see it is an understanding of leadership effectiveness in terms of the moderating and mediating role of follower self-conceptions.

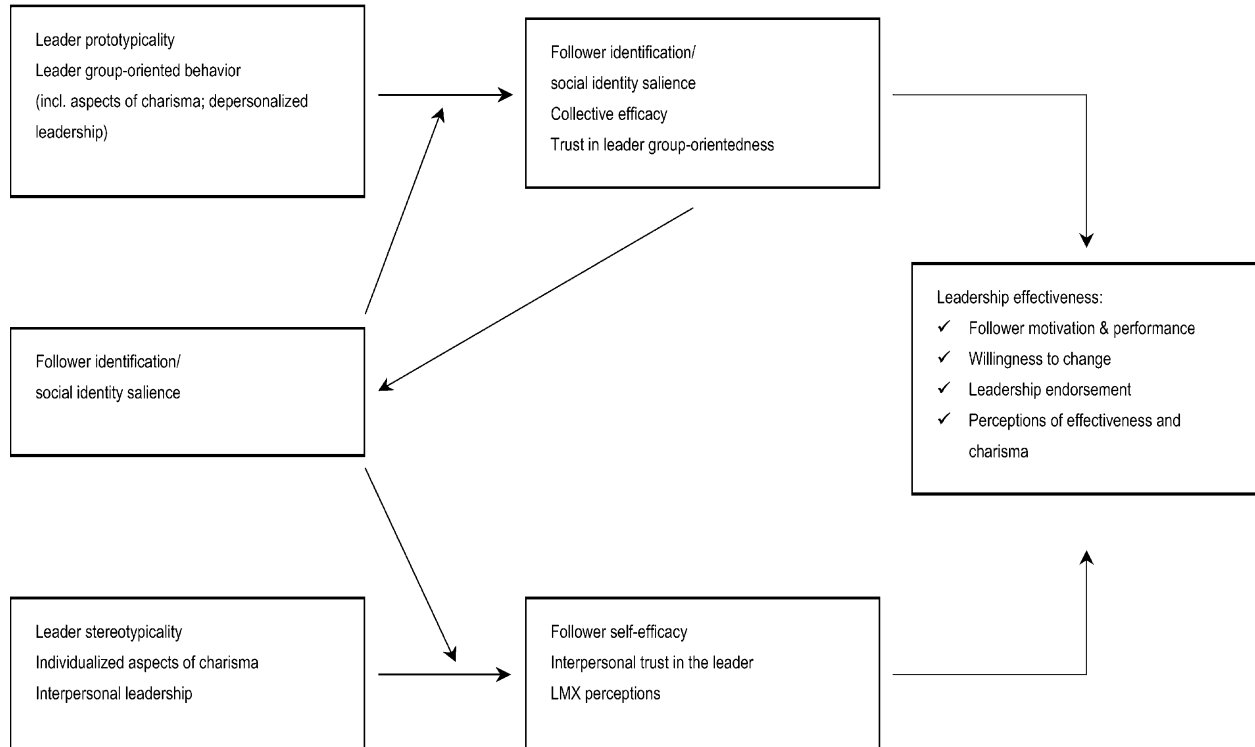


Fig. 6. An Overview of the Core Propositions of the Social Identity Model of Organizational Leadership.

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