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Michael A. Hogg, Daan van Knippenberg

Institutions: University of Queensland, Erasmus University Rotterdam

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SOCIAL IDENTITY AND LEADERSHIP PROCESSES IN GROUPS

Michael A. Hogg
Daan van Knippenberg

Gandhi, Mandela, Roosevelt—all great leaders, but without followers would they have been able to lead? Leadership is a relational term—it identifies a relationship in which some people are able to influence others to embrace, as their own, new values, attitudes, and goals, and to exert effort on behalf of and in pursuit of those values, attitudes, and goals. The relationship is almost always configured by and played out within the parameters of a group—a small group like a team, a medium sized group like an organization, or a large group like a nation. Arguably, good leadership inspires others to adopt values, attitudes, and goals, and to behave in ways that serve the group as a collective, and that define membership of the group (e.g., Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978). Thus, effective leaders are able to transform individual action into group action. Leadership is a core feature of social groups—it is very difficult to think about groups without thinking about who leads or manages them, and about how well they are led and managed. This characterization of leadership, which is not uncommon (e.g., Cartwright & Zander, 1968; Chemers, 2001; Conger & Kanungo, 1998), places a premium on the role of group membership and group life in the analysis of leadership.

Leadership is quite clearly a social psychological phenomenon that is inextricably grounded in social relations, group life, and the psychology of group membership. Not surprisingly, the study of leadership has long been a central concern of social scientists—the literature is enormous, stretching back to Plato and beyond—and in particular of social psychologists. What is surprising, then, is that in the past 25 years there has been relatively little leadership research conducted within social psychology. Only in the past few

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years has this changed—there has been a strong resurgence, framed to a significant extent by a broad social identity perspective in social psychology.

Our goal in this chapter is to review and integrate key components of this revival. More specifically, we describe how a focus on group membership, framed by the social identity perspective, can explain important aspects of leadership. We provide a brief critical and historical overview of current leadership research, and an overview of key components of the social identity perspective. We then provide a detailed account of the social identity theory of leadership and a detailed review of empirical support. The final part of the chapter explores implications and extensions of the analysis in the context of the study of leadership.

I. A Brief Historical Overview of Leadership Research

A. LEADERSHIP RESEARCH MOVES FROM SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO THE ORGANIZATIONAL SCIENCES

Leadership is about social relations, usually within a group, and about changing people's behaviors and attitudes to conform to the leader's vision for the group. Not surprisingly, the study of leadership has been an important research topic for social psychology. This was particularly the case during the boom years of small group dynamics (e.g., Cartwright & Zander, 1968; Shaw, 1981). It has also been a part of some of social psychology's classic research programs (e.g., Bales, 1950; Hollander, 1958; Lippitt & White, 1943; Sherif, 1966; Stogdill, 1974). Moving from a focus on traits that distinguish effective from ineffective leaders (for a review, see Stogdill, 1974), via a focus on broad categories of leader behavior as universal predictors of leadership effectiveness (e.g., Stogdill & Coons, 1957), this tradition of leadership research culminated in Fiedler's (1964, 1971) contingency theory—the leadership effectiveness of a particular behavioral style is contingent on the favorability of the situation to that behavioral style.

During the 1970s and 1980s there was a new excitement in social psychology with attribution processes, and then social cognition (e.g., Devine, Hamilton, & Ostrom, 1994; Fiske & Taylor, 1991), and with large-scale intergroup relations and the social context of human behavior (e.g., Tajfel, 1984). These developments were associated with a decline in interest in small interactive groups (Steiner, 1974, 1986), which impacted the study of leadership. The study of small group processes and of leadership shifted to neighboring disciplines, most notably organizational psychology (Levine & Moreland, 1990, 1995; McGrath, 1997; Sanna & Parks, 1997; Tindale & Anderson, 1998). Thus, the body of research on contingency theories of leadership took place largely outside social psychology, in the organizational sciences (e.g., House, 1971; Kerr & Jermier, 1978; Vroom & Yetton, 1973). Here leadership research found a natural home (e.g., Bass, 1990a; Yukl, 2001).

1. Leader Categorization Theory

Within social psychology, the emerging interest in attribution processes and social cognition had its impact on the study of leadership. There was a shift from contingency theories of effective leader behavior to a focus on factors leading people to attribute events to leadership (e.g., Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985) or to view an individual as an effective leader (e.g., Lord & Maher, 1991). In what is probably the most extensive of these research programs, Lord and his colleagues developed leader categorization theory (e.g., Lord, Foti, & DeVader, 1984; Lord & Maher, 1991; Nye & Forsyth, 1991; Palich & Hom, 1992; Rush & Russell, 1988; also see Nye & Simonetta, 1996). Based on implicit leadership theory (Hollander & Julian, 1969) and on contemporary social cognition principles, leader categorization theory states that people have general and task-specific leader schemas that are activated when a person is categorized as a leader. The schema then generates assumptions about the leader's attributes and behaviors, and if there is a good fit of the person to the schema then the person is considered an effective leader.

This perspective treats leader categories as nominal categories, that is, cognitive groupings of instances that share attributes, but do not have any psychological existence as a real human group. Leadership is viewed as a product of individual information processing, not as a structural property of real groups, nor as an intrinsic or emergent property of psychological group membership. What may be missing from this analysis is an analysis of leadership as a relationship between people within a human group. After all, leadership identifies a particular relationship among people, and so a group made up only of leaders is implausible—who would lead and who would follow?

2. Charismatic and Transformational Leadership

Although the study of social-cognitive processes provided some linkage with developments in social psychology, the mainstream of leadership research remained focused on leadership effectiveness. When leadership research's central focus became charismatic and transformational leadership, this refocusing took place outside of social psychology. Starting in the late 1970s (Burns, 1978; House, 1977), and gathering momentum in the mid-1980s (Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987), charismatic and

transformational leadership soon became leadership research's central focus. Charismatic/transformational leaders motivate followers to work for collective goals that transcend self-interest and transform organizations (Bass, 1990b; Bass & Avolio, 1993; Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993; see Mowday & Sutton, 1993, for critical comment). This focus on charisma is particularly evident in "new leadership" research (e.g., Bass, 1985, 1990b, 1998; Bryman, 1992; Burns, 1978; Conger & Kanungo, 1987, 1988), which proposes that effective leaders should be proactive, change-oriented, innovative, motivating, and inspiring, and have a vision or mission with which they infuse the group. They should also be interested in others, and be able to create commitment to the group, and extract extra effort from and empower members of the group.

3. Leader–Member Exchange (LMX) Theory

Another significant organizational perspective on leadership is represented by leader–member exchange (LMX) theory (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Schriesheim, Castro, & Cogliser, 1999; Sparrowe & Liden, 1997). LMX theory focuses on dyadic exchange relationships between the leader and specific subordinates. The quality of these relationships can vary widely. Low-quality LMX relationships are ones where subordinates are disfavored 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. In contrast, high-quality LMX relationships are ones where subordinates are favored by the leader and thus receive many valued resources. Leader–subordinate exchanges go beyond the formal employment contract, with managers showing influence and support, and giving the subordinate greater autonomy and responsibility. LMX theory predicts that effective leaders should develop high LMX relationships with their subordinates, which should enhance subordinates' well-being and work performance.

B. LEADERSHIP RESEARCH REVISITED

Over the past 20 years, social psychology has, through social cognition, become more sophisticated in its methods and theories (Devine, Hamilton, & Ostrom, 1994), and, through the social identity perspective, begun once again to focus on group processes, intergroup phenomena, and the collective self (Abrams & Hogg, 1998; Moreland, Hogg, & Hains, 1994; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001). There has been a reinvigorated focus on leadership (e.g., Chemers, 2001; Lord, Brown, & Harvey, 2001; Messick & Kramer, in press; van Knippenberg & Hogg, in press), an integration of social cognition and social identity approaches within social psychology (Abrams & Hogg, 1999), and a closer relationship between social identity research and organizational psychology (e.g., Haslam, 2001; Haslam, van Knippenberg, Platow, & Ellemers, in press; Hogg & Terry, 2000, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2001).

The recent social psychological focus on leadership has raised some concerns about contemporary organizational psychology leadership research. Although most research now acknowledges that leadership is a relational property within groups (i.e., leaders exist because of followers, and followers exist because of leaders; e.g., Hollander, 1995), the idea that effective leadership may be grounded in ordinary social-cognitive processes associated with psychologically belonging to a group has not really been elaborated.

Instead, the most recent organizational psychology emphases are upon (1) individual cognitive processes that categorize individuals as leaders—the social orientation between individuals is not considered, and thus group processes are not incorporated, (2) dyadic relationships between leaders and individual followers—leadership is a matter of the development of favorable or unfavorable interpersonal leader–member exchange relationship, or (3) whether individuals have the charismatic properties necessary to meet the transformational objectives of leadership—leadership is a matter of situationally attractive individual characteristics rather than group processes. All three of these perspectives have attracted criticism for neglecting the effects of larger social systems (e.g., groups) within which the individual is embedded (e.g., Hall & Lord, 1995; Hogg & Martin, 2003; Lord, Brown & Harvey, 2001; Pawar & Eastman, 1997; also see Chemers, 2001; Haslam & Platow, 2001a). Lord, Brown, & Harvey (2001) explain that leadership cannot be properly understood in terms of a leader's actions alone or in terms of abstract perceptual categories of types of leader. They advocate a paradigm shift in how we understand leadership. Haslam and Platow (2001a) express the same concern, and warn against any explanation of leadership that rests too heavily, or at all, on invariant properties of individuals and their personalities.

These concerns about leadership research are consistent with wider metatheoretical stances concerning the explanation of group processes in general. The warning that a focus on personality, asocial cognition, dyadic relationships, and decontextualized groups does not provide an adequate explanation of group processes and the collective self is one that forms the metatheoretical context for the social identity perspective (see Taylor & Brown 1979; also see Hogg, 2001b; Hogg & Williams, 2000; Turner, 1999). The aim of this chapter is to offer a social identity analysis of leadership, as a group membership-based perspective on leadership. This perspective has attracted growing attention in recent years, and has produced a number of

conceptual and empirical publications. We first briefly overview the social identity perspective and the social identity analysis of social influence. Then we provide a detailed description of the social identity analysis of leadership and an examination of relevant empirical tests.

II. Social Identity and Social Influence

A. THE SOCIAL IDENTITY PERSPECTIVE

The social identity perspective (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; also see Brewer, 1991; Brewer & Gardner, 1996) has become increasingly central to social psychology, and has recently been summarized in detail elsewhere (e.g., Abrams & Hogg, 2001; Hogg, 2001c, 2003). We provide only a brief overview of key features here.

From the social identity perspective, a group exists psychologically when people share a self-conception in terms of the defining features of a self-inclusive social category. More specifically, this representation of the group is a prototype—a fuzzy set of features that captures ingroup similarities and intergroup differences regarding beliefs, attitudes, behaviors, and feelings. Prototypes are configured according to the principle of metacontrast, to maximize the ratio of intergroup differences to intragroup differences, or, in other words, to maximize the entitativity of the group (e.g., Hamilton & Sherman, 1996; Hamilton, Sherman, & Castelli, 2002; Hamilton, Sherman, & Lickel, 1998; Yzerbyt, Castano, Leyens, & Paladrino, 2000; Yzerbyt, Corneille, & Estrada, 2001).

1. Social Categorization and Depersonalization

A key insight of the social identity perspective is that the basis of perception, attitudes, feelings, behavior, and self-conception is contextually fluid. Self-conception can vary from being based on idiosyncratic personal attributes and the unique properties of a specific interpersonal relationship, to being based on a shared representation of "us" defined in terms of an ingroup prototype. In the latter case, the situation represents a group situation and perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behavior acquire the familiar characteristics of inter- and intragroup behaviors—conformity, normative behavior, solidarity, stereotyping, ethnocentrism, intergroup discrimination, ingroup favoritism, and so forth. Put another way, the more that an aggregate of people is a salient basis for self-conception as a group

member, then the more strongly is self-definition, perception, cognition, affect, and behavior based upon prototypicality. When group membership is the salient basis of self-conception, people, including self, are represented and treated in terms of the relevant ingroup- or outgroup-defining prototype. Self-categorization depersonalizes self in terms of the ingroup prototype (producing self-stereotyping, conformity, normative behavior, social attraction, social identification, and so forth), and it depersonalizes perception of others so that they are seen as reflections of the relevant prototype.

2. Motivation

Because groups define self, the social value or status of a group becomes the social value or status of self. Intergroup relations may become, therefore, a struggle for evaluatively positive distinctiveness for one's own group relative to other groups (Brewer, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This, in turn, is underpinned by a self-enhancement motive and a striving for positive self-esteem (e.g., Abrams & Hogg, 1988). The strategies that groups and their members adopt to manage positive distinctiveness and self-enhancement is influenced by people's beliefs about the nature of relations between groups—beliefs about the legitimacy and stability of status relations, about the permeability of intergroup boundaries, and about the possibility of an alternative social order. Social identity is also motivated by a basic human need to reduce self-conceptual uncertainty (e.g., Hogg, 2000)—people need to reduce uncertainty about their world, their place within it, and how they interact with and relate to other people. This motive causes people to identify more strongly, and with higher entitativity groups, as conditions of uncertainty become more extreme (Hogg, in press b).

B. PROTOTYPICALITY AND SOCIAL INFLUENCE

The social identity perspective was originally developed as an analysis of intergroup relations (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and intergroup relations remains the main focus for social identity research (e.g., Brewer & Brown, 1998). The approach is, however, perfectly suited to an analysis of processes within groups—a direction that has increasingly been taken in recent years. Of particular relevance to our proposed social identity analysis of leadership as an influence relationship within groups is the social identity analysis of social influence.

The social identity analysis of social influence (e.g., Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Hogg & Turner, 1987; Turner, 1991; Turner & Oakes, 1989) centers around the concept of prototypicality. Within any salient group there is a prototypicality

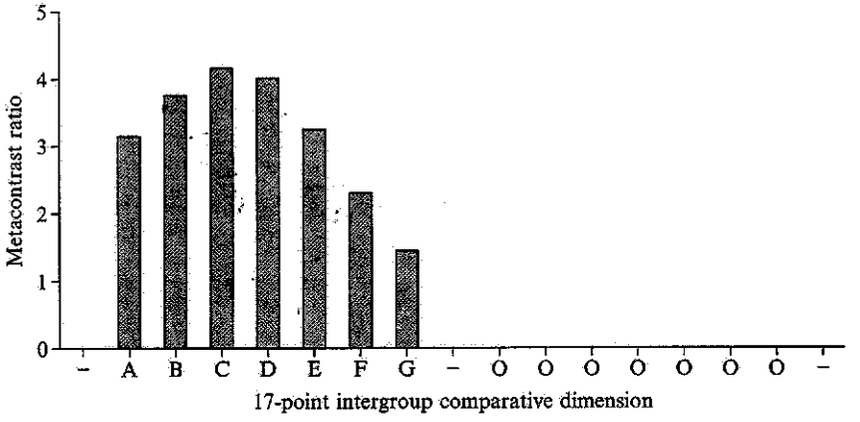

Fig. 1. Metacontrast ratios for each of seven members (A through G) of an ingroup, in an intergroup context (17-point comparative dimension) where outgroup positions are indicated "O" and unoccupied positions "–." Comparative frame with the outgroup on the right.

gradient, with some members being more prototypical than others (see Hogg, 2001d). The prototypicality of a specific position in the group, and thus the person who occupies that position, can be expressed by a metacontrast ratio—the mean difference between the specific position and each outgroup position, divided by the mean difference between the specific position and each other ingroup position. Figure 1 shows the ingroup metacontrast distribution, on a single 17-point prototypical dimension, for a hypothetical intergroup context where individual ingroup positions are indicated by "A" through "G," outgroup positions by "O," and unoccupied positions by "–."There is a marked asymmetry within the group, with more prototypical members (higher metacontrast ratios) located toward the left. Person C is the most prototypical member but is not the average ingroup member, and marginal member A is far more prototypical than marginal member G.

Where the social context is in flux, the prototype will likewise be in flux. As the prototype changes so will the person who appears to be most prototypical. Figure 2 illustrates this—it is the same ingroup distribution of people/positions as in Fig. 1, but now the salient comparison outgroup (O) is located to the left, not the right of the ingroup. Person C is no longer the most prototypical member; it is E. In addition, G who was originally the least prototypical ingroup member is now significantly more prototypical. Of course, under conditions of enduring contextual stability the same individual may occupy the most prototypical position over a long period.

Where group membership is situationally or enduringly salient, people self-categorize in terms of the ingroup prototype and become

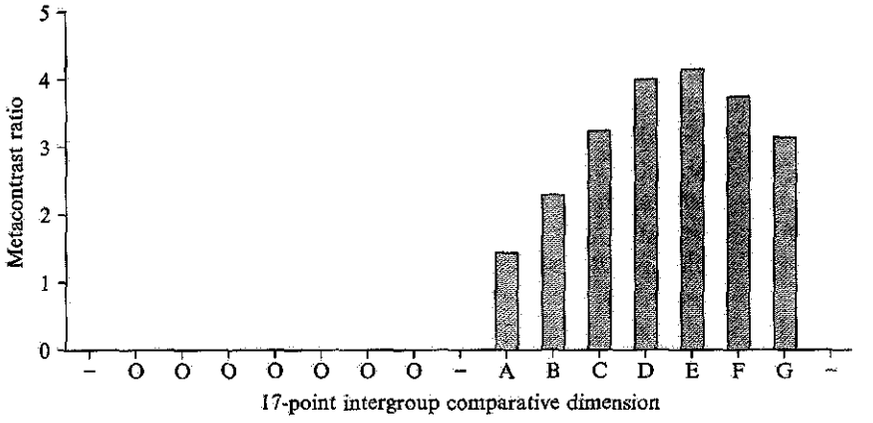

Fig. 2. Metacontrast ratios for each of seven members (A through G) of an ingroup, in an intergroup context (17-point comparative dimension) where outgroup positions are indicated "O" and unoccupied positions "–." Comparative frame with the outgroup on the left.

depersonalized—they conform to the ingroup prototype and exhibit group-normative behavior. This alignment of individual attitudes and behavior with the group prototype may result in attitude and behavior changes typical of group influence processes like conformity and group polarization (e.g., Hogg, Turner & Davidson, 1990; Mackie, 1986; for reviews see, Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Turner, 1991; Turner & Oakes, 1989). The group prototype is a cognitive representation that may not be exemplified by any specific group member. Thus, the social identity analysis of social influence focused on conformity to this cognitive representation (e.g., Hogg & Turner, 1987; Mackie, 1986) rather than on the influence of any specific group member.

However, group members differ in the extent to which they are group prototypical, and it is very likely that relative prototypicality may affect group member influence such that more prototypical members are more influential. Indeed, because depersonalization is based on prototypicality, group members are very sensitive to prototypicality. Prototypicality is the basis of perception and evaluation of self and other members, and thus people notice and respond to subtle differences in how prototypical fellow members are—they are very aware not only of the prototype, but also of who is most prototypical (e.g., Haslam, Oakes, McGarty, Turner, & Onorato, 1995; Hogg, 1993).

Research within a persuasive communication paradigm has confirmed that people are more likely to attend to communications from prototypical group members than from nonprototypical members, and are more likely to align their attitudes with the attitudes of prototypical members (van

Knippenberg, 2000a; van Knippenberg, Lossie, & Wilke, 1994; cf. van Knippenberg & Wilke, 1992). In view of this evidence that prototypical group members are more influential *if* and *when* they attempt to influence others, the question from the perspective of an analysis of group-based leadership is whether prototypical group members are also more likely to emerge as leaders (i.e., actively pursue this influential role, and be endorsed when they assume a leader position), and whether, once they are established as leaders, they are more likely to be endorsed and be effective (e.g., be influential, able to motivate and satisfy followers)?

III. Social Identity and Leadership

The effect of social identity processes on leadership is closely tied to the concept of prototypicality, and the core propositions of the social identity analysis of leadership directly follow from the social identity analysis of social influence. As group membership becomes salient, and group members identify more strongly with the group, leadership perceptions, evaluations, and effectiveness become increasingly based on how group prototypical the leader is perceived to be (e.g., Hogg, 2001a, in press a). Two prototypicality based processes are likely to contribute to this effect: depersonalized social attraction and attribution and information processing.

A. DEPERSONALIZED SOCIAL ATTRACTION

Social categorization affects not only perceptions, but also feelings, about other people. Social identification transforms the basis of liking for others from idiosyncratic preference and personal relationship history (personal attraction) to prototypicality (social attraction)—ingroup members are liked more than outgroup members and more prototypical ingroup members are liked more than less prototypical ingroup members. Where there is a relatively consensual ingroup prototype, social categorization renders more prototypical members socially popular—there is consensual and unilateral liking for more prototypical members. This depersonalized social attraction hypothesis (Hogg, 1992, 1993) is well supported by a series of laboratory and field studies (e.g., Hogg, Cooper-Shaw, & Holzworth, 1993; Hogg & Hains, 1996; Hogg & Hardie, 1991; Hogg, Hardie, & Reynolds, 1995).

From the perspective of leadership, the person occupying the most prototypical position may thus acquire, in new groups, or possess, in established groups, the ability to actively influence. He or she is socially attractive and thus able to secure compliance with his or her suggestions and recommendations. If you like someone you are more likely to agree with them, and to comply with their requests and suggestions, and less likely to disagree with them (e.g., Berscheid & Reis, 1998). In this way, the most prototypical person can actively exercise leadership by having his or her ideas accepted more readily and more widely than ideas suggested by others.

Social attraction is prototype-based—it has a unilateral and consensual quality to it that puts tacit pressure on fellow group members to comply with the leader's suggestions, in order to be acknowledged as fitting into the group. Because depersonalized liking is unilateral and consensual, it also publicly confirms that prototypical members are more popular, more highly valued, and so forth than less prototypical members of the group. It thus imbues prototypical members with prestige and status, which are important influences on emergent leadership and on the effectiveness of established leaders. The consensual liking and status associated with prototypicality positions prototypical members for a leadership role. This may arise actively through stronger feelings of entitlement and self-efficacy as a leader, and passively through prototype-based expectations of their fellow group members (van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, & van Dijk, 2000; cf. Berger, Wagner, & Zelditch, 1985; Ridgeway, 2001). Once leadership is established, these social attraction and status processes work to bolster the leader's position and render prototypical leaders more effective in comparison to less prototypical leaders.

Social attraction may also be strengthened by the behavior of highly prototypical members. More prototypical members tend to identify more strongly, and thus display more pronounced group behaviors; they are more normative, show greater ingroup loyalty and ethnocentrism, and generally behave in a more group-serving manner. These behaviors further confirm prototypicality and thus enhance social attraction. A leader who acts as "one of us," by showing ingroup favoritism and intragroup fairness, is not only more socially attractive, but is also furnished with legitimacy (Tyler, 1997; Tyler & Lind, 1992; see Platow, Reid, & Andrew, 1998). These group-normative or group-oriented behaviors should, however, not be *equated* with prototypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001). We address the relationship between prototypicality, group-oriented acts, and leadership below.

B. ATTRIBUTION AND INFORMATION PROCESSING

Social attraction works alongside attribution and information processing to translate group prototypicality into active leadership. Attribution processes operate within groups to make sense of others' behavior. As

elsewhere, attributions for others' behavior are prone to the fundamental attribution error (Ross, 1977), correspondence bias (Gilbert & Jones, 1986; also see Gilbert & Malone, 1995; Trope & Liberman, 1993), or essentialism (e.g., Haslam, Rothschild, & Ernst, 1998; Medin & Ortony, 1989; Yzerbyt et al., 2001); a tendency to attribute behavior to underlying dispositions that reflect invariant properties, or essences, of the individual's personality. This effect is more pronounced for individuals who are perceptually distinctive (e.g., figural against a background) or cognitively salient (e.g., Taylor & Fiske, 1978). There is evidence that this tendency to make dispositional attributions is especially strong for attributions about leaders (Meindl et al., 1985). Fiske (1993; Fiske & Dépret, 1996) shows how followers pay close attention to leaders, and seek dispositional information about leaders because detailed individualized knowledge helps redress the perceived power imbalance between leader and followers. Conger and Kanungo (1987, 1988) describe how followers attributionally construct a charismatic leadership personality for organizational leaders who have a vision that involves substantial change to the group.

The social identity analysis of leadership suggests that prototypicality enhances attributions of leadership. When group membership is salient, people are sensitive to prototypicality and attend to differences in prototypicality of fellow members. Highly prototypical members are most informative about what is prototypical of group membership (see Turner, 1991), and so in a group context they attract most attention. They are subjectively important and are distinctive or figural against the background of other less informative members. Research in social cognition shows that people who are subjectively important and distinctive are seen to be disproportionately influential and have their behavior dispositionally attributed (e.g., Erber & Fiske, 1984; Taylor & Fiske, 1975). We have also seen how highly prototypical members may be expected to assume a leadership role due to their relative prototypicality, and may actively exercise influence and gain compliance as a consequence of consensual social attraction. Together, the leadership nature of this behavior and the relative prominence of prototypical members are likely to encourage an internal attribution to intrinsic leadership ability, or charisma.

In groups, then, the behavior of highly prototypical members is likely to be attributed, particularly in stable groups over time, to the person's personality rather than the prototypicality of the position occupied. The consequence is a tendency to construct a charismatic leadership personality for that person, which, to some extent, separates that person from the rest of the group and reinforces the perception of status-based structural differentiation within the group into leader(s) and followers. This may make the leader stand out more starkly against the background of less

prototypical followers, as well as draw attention to a potential power imbalance, thus further fueling the attribution effect.

It should be noted that this analysis views charisma as a product of social-cognitive processes operating under conditions of self-categorization, and not as an invariant personality attribute that determines leadership effectiveness (see below). In this respect our analysis is consistent with Haslam and Platow's (2001a) critical appraisal of the role of charisma in contemporary transformational leadership theories.

C. PROTOTYPICALITY AND SOCIAL IDENTITY SALIENCE/ SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION

The social identity analysis of leadership assigns a central role to leader prototypicality. However it is important to keep this in perspective. Prototypicality is not the only basis of leadership. People also rely on general and more task-specific schemas of leadership behaviors (what Lord and his colleagues call leader categories or leader schemas—e.g., Lord et al., 1984). In addition, as outlined in LMX theory (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995), the quality of the interpersonal relationship between leader and follower may be an important determinant of leadership effectiveness. The influence of these more personalized leader attributes and more interpersonal processes is not incompatible with the social identity analysis of leadership. The social identity analysis of leadership does, however, suggest that the relative importance of group-based prototypicality as compared with these more personalized or interpersonal processes is contingent on social identity salience and group identification.

Prototypicality becomes an increasingly powerful determinant of effective social influence and of effective leadership as people more strongly define themselves (self-categorize) in terms of group membership (social identity), rather than in terms of individuality, idiosyncracy, or interpersonal relationships (personal identity). The principles governing contextual salience are described by self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987; also see van Knippenberg, 2000b). People are more likely to self-categorize (strongly) in terms of a specific group membership in a particular context if that categorization (1) is chronically accessible (e.g., it is an important aspect of one's social identity), (2) is contextually accessible (e.g., there are immediate cues that draw attention to it), (3) accounts for relevant similarities and differences among people (i.e., comparative fit), and (4) makes sense of how people are behaving (i.e., normative fit).

When personal rather than social identity is salient, prototypicality will not be a salient attribute and, accordingly, leadership effectiveness should be

less contingent on prototypicality. Relationships will be governed by personal rather than social attraction (Hogg, 1992, 1993), and leadership effectiveness should be more contingent on interpersonal leader-follower relationships. Although the importance of leader schemas as outlined in leadership categorization theory (Lord et al., 1984) is not necessarily affected by self-categorization, leadership schemas should become less influential *relative* to group prototypicality as a determinant of leadership perceptions as group membership becomes psychologically more salient.

To summarize, the core proposition of the social identity analysis of leadership is that (1) more prototypical group members are more likely to emerge as leaders, and more likely to be endorsed and effective as leaders, and (2) that this relationship between prototypicality and leadership is stronger the more salient the relevant group membership is and the more followers identify with the group. In addition, (3) more personalized or interpersonal aspects of leadership become less important relative to leader prototypicality as determinants of leadership effectiveness. In the following section, we survey empirical evidence for the social identity analysis of leadership.

IV. Empirical Support for the Social Identity Analysis of Leadership

A. LEADER PROTOTYPICALITY, LEADER SCHEMA CONGRUENCE, AND GROUP MEMBERSHIP SALIENCE

Core predictions of the social identity analysis of leadership were tested in a series of studies by Hogg and associates. Hains, Hogg, and Duck (1997) conducted a laboratory study of leadership perceptions and evaluations in ad hoc and relatively minimal groups. The methodology was closely based on standard procedures and methods used in social identity research. Three independent variables (group salience, group prototypicality, and leader schema congruence) were manipulated in a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ design.

Under conditions of high or low group salience, student participants ($N = 184$) anticipated joining a small discussion group ostensibly formed on the basis of attitude congruence among members. Salience was manipulated by always referring in instructions and explanations to groups or to loose aggregates of individuals, and by having participants consider commonalities within the group or differences among members, and by referring to themselves in group terms or only in individual terms.

Participants were informed that a group leader had been randomly appointed from among the members. Information was given that revealed the leader to be group prototypical or nonprototypical (group

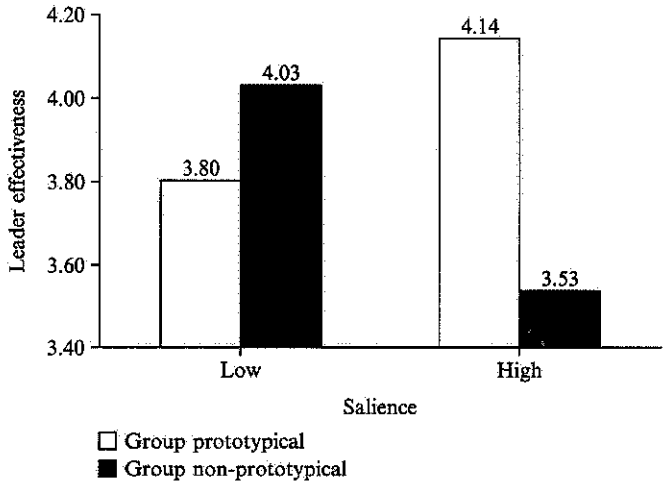

Fig. 3. Hains, Hogg, and Duck (1997): Leader effectiveness (1–9 scale, 10 items, $\alpha = .88$) as a function of group salience and group prototypicality of the leader ($p < .001$).

prototypicality) in terms of the attitude dimension, and to have a behavioral style (on the basis of a pretest) that was congruent or incongruent with a very general schema of effective leadership (leader schema congruence).

Dependent measures were taken ostensibly in anticipation of the upcoming discussion. In addition to checks on each of the three manipulations, group identification (11-item scale, $\alpha = .87$, for example "how much do you feel you identify with your group") and anticipated leader effectiveness (10-item scale, $\alpha = .88$, for example "how effective do you feel your leader will be") were also measured.

As predicted, when group membership was salient people identified more strongly with the group, and endorsed the prototypical leader as likely to be much more effective than the nonprototypical leader; low salience participants did not differentiate between prototypical and nonprototypical leaders (Fig. 3). Although leader schema-congruent leaders were perceived overall to be more effective than schema-incongruent leaders, Hains et al. (1997) found that this effect disappeared for high salience participants on one leadership effectiveness item measuring the extent to which the leader was anticipated to exhibit leadership behavior (Fig. 4). Although social attraction for the leader was not explicitly tested, the 10-item leadership effectiveness scale contained an item measuring liking for the leader. Thus, as predicted from the social identity analysis of leadership, perceived leadership effectiveness was associated with group membership-based liking for the leader.

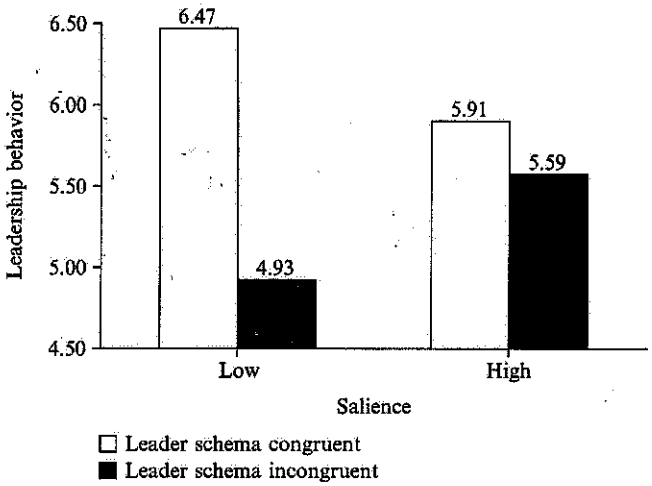

Fig. 4. Hains, Hogg, and Duck (1997): Leader behavior (1–9 scale, one item) as a function of group salience and leader schema congruence of the leader ($p < .01$).

To complement this controlled laboratory experiment, Fielding and Hogg (1997) conducted a naturalistic field study of leadership in small interactive "Outward Bound" groups where real leaders emerged to lead groups in wilderness and outdoor experiences. There were 13 mixed-sex, approximately 11-person groups of people mainly in their 20s from around Australia ($N = 143$). The groups stayed together for 3 weeks. The laboratory experiment was replicated as closely as possible, but in a measurement-based regression format. Leadership schemas, group membership variables, and leadership effectiveness perceptions were measured a week to 10 days apart. In this study it was also possible to measure social attraction. As predicted, (1) group identification, perceived leadership effectiveness, and social attraction for the leader increased over time as the group became a more cohesive entity, and (2) perceived leadership effectiveness was a positive function of social attraction for and group prototypicality of the leader, and this was amplified among high identifying participants. Perceived schema congruence of the leader was a predictor of perceived leadership effectiveness, but was uninfluenced by identification.

Hogg, Hains, and Mason (1998) returned to the laboratory to conduct two minimal group studies based closely on the methodology of Hains et al. (1997). The main aim of these somewhat complex studies was to treat prototypicality and leadership as relativistic properties of a comparative frame of reference in which individuals are perceived and evaluated in

relation to other individuals who are ingroup or outgroup members. This aim recognizes that perceptions or evaluations of whether someone is prototypical or a leader are actually perceptions of how prototypical or how much of a leader someone is relative to other people.

The first study had student participants ($N = 82$) nominate a leader for a four- or five-person high salience discussion group they were ostensibly going to join. They were provided with a carefully constructed transcript of an earlier meeting of the group, which provided leadership schema congruence and group prototypicality information for each of the other members. They rated the group, their nominated leader, and all other group members, and their identification with the group. The second study was a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ experiment ($N = 164$) in which group salience, leadership schema congruence of the leader, and group prototypicality of the leader were orthogonally manipulated. The key feature of this second experiment was that the prototypicality of the leader was indirectly manipulated by constructing an intergroup comparative context that, on the basis of metacontrast, influenced the location of the prototype in precisely calculable ways.

Across these two studies Hogg et al. (1998) found that leadership schema congruence became a less influential, and group prototypicality a more influential, determinant of leadership endorsement in more cohesive groups with which people identified more strongly. Also, as expected, identification accentuated perceived prototypical similarities between ingroup members and thus between leader and nonleaders, and this weakened the prototype-leadership relationship when leadership and prototypicality were measured relativistically (leaders relative to nonleaders). Hogg et al. (1998) argued, however, that this effect was due to the ad hoc and emergent nature of the group, and that over time the perceptual gulf between leader and followers, described by the theory, would gradually develop.

This pattern of results was replicated by Platow and van Knippenberg (2001). In addition to the experimental tests of their hypotheses that are discussed in more detail later, Platow and van Knippenberg conducted a measurement-based test of the core predictions of the social identity theory of leadership. Multiitem scales were used to measure identification, leader prototypicality, and leader schema congruence. Leader endorsement was measured as participants' willingness to vote for the leader to remain as leader. A regression analysis replicated the findings of Hains et al. (1997). Leader prototypicality was more strongly related to leadership endorsement as members identified more strongly with the group, whereas the relationship between leader schema congruence and leader endorsement became weaker as members identified more strongly with the group.

1. Summary

The studies described above yield consistent evidence for the basic predictions of the social identity analysis of leadership. When social identity is salient and followers identify with their group, prototypical leaders are more strongly endorsed and more effective than nonprototypical leaders. Moreover, when social identity is salient, and leader prototypicality is relatively important, more personalized leader characteristics that affect the match between leader attributes and leader stereotypes (i.e., leader schema congruence; Lord et al., 1984) affect perceptions of leadership effectiveness to a lesser degree. These findings are consistent across research setting (i.e., field vs. laboratory) and research paradigm (i.e., the Hains et al. paradigm vs. the Platow and van Knippenberg paradigm), and hold for both emergent leadership (Fielding & Hogg, 1997) and endorsement of appointed leaders.

Additional evidence for the importance of prototypicality as a determinant of emergent leadership comes from a study by van Knippenberg et al. (2000). van Knippenberg and associates manipulated whether the group was faced by an ambiguous decision-making task, and thus the group was in need of leadership (Hemphill, 1961), or by a clear-cut decision task where the decision was self-evident. In all conditions there was a salient comparative outgroup, so it can be assumed that social identity was relatively highly salient. van Knippenberg et al. (2000) predicted and found that when the decision task was ambiguous prototypical members were more likely to take the lead and nonprototypical members were less likely to take the lead than when the task was unambiguous.

B. INDIRECT EVIDENCE: PROXIES FOR PROTOTYPICALITY

1. Ingroup versus Outgroup Leaders

The studies above involve direct measures or manipulations of the prototypicality of the leader. In this section we discuss studies that operationalize prototypicality indirectly. For example, leaders who are ingroup members are, by definition, more ingroup prototypical than are leaders who are outgroup members. From our social identity perspective, we would predict that as group membership becomes more salient, ingroup leaders will become increasingly effective relative to outgroup leaders. So, for example, where groups, organizations, or even nations merge, leadership processes in the merged entity will be significantly affected by perceptions of whether the superordinate leader is a member of one's former ingroup or outgroup—is the CEO a member of premerger organization A or premerger organization B; is the national president from East or West Germany?

Support for the social identity analysis of the group salience-mediated impact of the leader's group membership on leadership effectiveness can be found in studies by Duck and Fielding (1999) and Van Vugt and De Cremer (1999).

Duck and Fielding (1999) conducted an experiment grounded in recent social identity analyses of organizational mergers and acquisitions (e.g., Terry, Carey, & Callan, 2001; van Knippenberg & van Leeuwen, 2001). Mergers are notoriously unsuccessful (Cartwright & Cooper, 1992) because of problems associated with forging a single identity from two erstwhile separate groups (e.g., Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Associated with this is a leadership problem hinging on whether the new group leader is a member of one's former ingroup or one's former outgroup. Duck and Fielding (1999) conducted two laboratory experiments that, in a relatively minimal way, simulated equal status subgroups nested within a larger organization (total of 328 participants). They measured group identification and evaluations of leaders who were randomly appointed from participants' own or the other subgroup. Ingroup, thus prototypical, leaders were more strongly supported than outgroup, thus non prototypical, leaders, and this effect was more pronounced to the extent that participants identified strongly with their own subgroup.

Van Vugt and De Cremer (1999) conducted an experimental study of leadership preferences in social dilemmas. Social dilemmas are typically difficult to resolve, and often require structural solutions, such as appointing a leader to manage the scarce resources for all parties who have access to or are competing over the resources (Messick & Brewer, 1983; Foddy, Smithson, Schneider, & Hogg, 1999). To study the relationship between group identification and leader preferences in social dilemmas, Van Vugt and De Cremer (1999; Experiment 1, $N = 96$) manipulated group identification by making an intergroup comparison salient or not. They then assessed preferences for different types of leaders, including an ingroup versus an outgroup leader. Consistent with the social identity analysis of leadership, they found that participants generally preferred ingroup (i.e., prototypical) over outgroup (i.e., nonprototypical) leaders, and that this differential preference was more pronounced among high than low identifiers.

2. Appointed versus Elected Leaders

Another proxy for prototypicality may hinge on the process by which leaders are selected. Some leaders are appointed by external authorities (e.g., business leaders), whereas others are elected by the group (e.g., political leaders, leaders of social movements). It is plausible to assume that the fact

of being elected by the group imbues the leader with a degree of group representativeness (i.e., prototypicality) that externally appointed leaders lack. From the social identity analysis of leadership, we would expect elected leaders to be more strongly endorsed than externally appointed leaders, especially by group members who strongly identify with the group. Support for this hypothesis can be found in Van Vugt and De Cremer's (1999) first experiment. In addition to preferences for ingroup versus outgroup leaders, Van Vugt and De Cremer assessed preferences for leaders elected by the group versus externally appointed leaders. They found that elected leaders were generally preferred over appointed leaders, especially by participants in the high, as opposed to low, identification condition (see also Haslam, McGarty, Brown, Eggins, Morrison, & Reynolds, 1998). Extending these results from effects on leader preference to effects on cooperation with established leaders, De Cremer and Van Vugt (2002) showed in another social dilemma experiment that the preference for elected vs. appointed leaders generalizes to greater cooperation with elected leaders.

3. Summary

These studies consistently show that factors that can be considered proxies for prototypicality enhance leadership endorsement and effectiveness when followers identify with the group. This confirms the core prediction from the social identity analysis of leadership that protypicality becomes increasingly influential in leadership effectiveness as people identify more strongly with the group. These studies also show how the social identity analysis of leadership and its emphasis on leader prototypically may be used to understand leadership effectiveness in intergroup contexts (e.g., mergers) and in the context of different leader selection methods.

C. LEADERS' GROUP-ORIENTED ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR

The social identity analysis of leadership is not limited to the direct effects of prototypicality. From the proposition that group members are more likely to endorse leaders who represent the group's identity (i.e., prototypical leaders), follows the implication that members should be more likely to endorse leaders who exert themselves on behalf of the group or are in other ways group oriented in their 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 being seen to be "doing it for us." Relevant group-oriented leadership attitudes and behaviors include (1) the leader's commitment to

and sacrifices for the group, (2) how much the leader favors the ingroup over relevant outgroups, and (3) how procedurally fair and relationship oriented the leader is.

Leader commitment to the group reflects the leader's willingness to exert effort on behalf of the group, and thus should be associated with enhanced leadership effectiveness, especially when social identity is salient. Commitment can be revealed through the leader's behavior or his or her expressed attitudes. A particularly powerful indicator of leader commitment to the group is leader self-sacrifice for the group. Indeed, theories of charismatic leadership identify self-sacrifice for the collective as a constituent of leader charisma (Yorges, Weiss, & Strickland, 1999). When leaders incur personal costs (e.g., time, effort, money) to achieve group goals, this conveys the leader's commitment to the group, and more generally that the leader places the group's interest before personal interests. It shows that the leader is "doing it for us." On the basis of the social identity analysis of leadership we expect that self-sacrificing leader behavior would improve leader effectiveness.

Ingroup favoritism is a distinctly group-oriented behavior. Thus, when a leader behaves in ways that favor the ingroup over relevant outgroups, he or she is acting in a highly ingroup prototypical manner. Ingroup favoritism not only benefits the group materially, when a valued resource such as money is being allocated, but also benefits the group symbolically because it creates evaluatively positive distinctiveness for the ingroup—it imbues the ingroup and its members with a relatively more favorable social identity (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986). A leader who favors the ingroup over relevant outgroups may not only be seen as "doing it for us," but also as exemplifying "what makes us better than them" (Haslam & Platow, 2001a). Therefore, on the basis of the social identity analysis of leadership, we expect leaders who favor the ingroup in intergroup contexts to be more strongly endorsed.

Procedural fairness is another important feature of group life. People in groups like to be treated fairly by authorities, in particular as regards fair procedures. Procedural fairness conveys to members respect, and recognition of membership in the group (Koper, van Knippenberg, Bouhuijs, Vermunt, & Wilke, 1993; Tyler & Lind, 1992). Procedurally fair treatment fulfills an important social identity function in groups (Tyler, 1999), and procedurally fair behavior should therefore be associated with greater leader effectiveness, especially when people identify with the group (cf. Smith, Tyler, Huo, Ortiz, & Lind, 1998; Tyler & Degoey, 1995). Similarly, other relationship-oriented behaviors should have a positive effect on leader effectiveness, again especially when people identify with the group.

1. Studies of Leader Commitment and Leader Procedural Fairness

Evidence for the effects of leader commitment comes from a study by De Cremer and Van Vugt (2002). In a social dilemma study ($N = 94$), De Cremer and Van Vugt manipulated group identification and a randomly appointed leader's ostensible commitment to the group. The latter was manipulated via controlled feedback about the leader's earlier responses on a group commitment questionnaire. The main dependent measure was member cooperation. De Cremer and Van Vugt found that members cooperated more with a leader who was highly committed to the group than one who was less committed, and that this was particularly so for members who identified strongly with the group. In addition, De Cremer and Van Vugt manipulated whether the leader was procedurally fair or not (operationalized as giving or withholding voice from group members). Arguing that procedural fairness fulfills a social identity function (cf. Tyler, 1999), De Cremer and Van Vugt predicted that fair leaders would be more effective, especially when group members identified with the group. This was exactly what they found.

In a second experiment ($N = 72$), De Cremer and Van Vugt (2002) measured high and low identifying group members' reactions toward highly committed leaders or toward leaders who scored high on leadership skills. Commitment and leadership skills were manipulated via controlled feedback of leaders' responses on a prior commitment questionnaire (as in De Cremer and Van Vugt, 2002, Experiment 1), and on a prior leadership skills questionnaire. There is a clear correspondence between this manipulation, of the leader being committed to the group versus being skilled as a leader, and the group prototypicality and leader schema congruence manipulations in the experiment of Hains et al. (1997; Hogg et al., 1998). On the basis of the social identity analysis of leadership, we would expect that committed leaders would be more strongly supported (i.e., would elicit greater cooperation) by high identifiers, and skilled leaders would be more strongly supported by low identifiers. De Cremer and Van Vugt found support for this prediction.

The social identity analysis of leadership also predicts, as described above, that procedurally fair leaders should attract more support than procedurally unfair leaders (because procedural fairness conveys a relationship orientation to members), and that this is particularly the case where members identify strongly with the group. Van Vugt and De Cremer (1999, Experiment 2) found support for this prediction from a social dilemmas experiment ($N = 93$). They manipulated how strongly members identified with the group (manipulated as in Experiment 1), and whether the leader adopted punishment-oriented or relationship-oriented behavior toward them (manipulated via a controlled communication from the leader about how he or she planned to treat followers). They found that relationship-oriented leaders were better at eliciting group member cooperation when group members identified strongly with the group than when members identified less strongly. Identification did not influence the impact of punishment-oriented behavior on cooperation.

As noted earlier, leader commitment to the group may also express itself in the extent to which the leader makes personal sacrifices for the benefit of the group. De Cremer and van Knippenberg (in press, Experiments 1 and 3, $N = 62$ and 99) studied the effects of leader self-sacrifice and procedural fairness on leadership effectiveness in the context of a social dilemma. They manipulated whether the leader exhibited self-sacrifice for the benefit of the group or displayed self-benefiting behavior (the leader informed members that he or she would invest extra time in the group at personal cost, or would personally benefit from the group), and whether or not the leader allowed members voice in decisions about the allocation of resources (i.e., procedurally fair versus unfair behavior). Self-sacrificial behavior (De Cremer, 2002) and procedural fairness (Tyler & Lind, 1992) communicate that the leader is group oriented, and thus both instill a sense of identification and group belongingness among followers. Where either self-sacrificial behavior *or* procedural fairness is high, a threshold is reached and followers' sense of belonging is ensured. Information provided by the other variable does not add anything new. Identification and group belongingness were predicted to mediate the effects of the leader's behavior on group member cooperation.

Results indicated that self-sacrificing leaders and procedurally fair leaders elicited stronger identification and more cooperation. Moreover, the effects of leaders' self-sacrificing on identification and cooperation were more pronounced when the leader was procedurally unfair, and leader fairness had a stronger impact when the leader displayed self-benefiting behavior. As predicted, identification mediated the interactive effect of self-sacrifice and procedural fairness on cooperative behavior.

Because identification was treated as a dependent variable rather than a moderator variable, these findings do not speak to the moderating role of social identity salience proposed in the social identity analysis of leadership. However, the fact that group-oriented behavior (i.e., self-sacrificing, procedural fairness) was more effective than behavior that was not group oriented (i.e., self-benefiting, procedural unfairness), and that these effects were mediated by the social identity variable of identification/group belongingness, is clearly in line with the social identity analysis. Moreover, these results suggest that prototypical leaders may chose to behave in ways aimed at strengthening members' feelings of identification and

belongingness, in order to render prototypicality a stronger basis for effective leadership.

2. Studies of Ingroup Favoritism

The hypothesis that leaders may gain support through ingroup favoritism has been addressed in a program of studies by Platow and colleagues. Platow, Hoar, Reid, Harley, and Morrison (1997) argued that group members would show greater support for leaders who allocated resources fairly than unfairly among ingroup members, whereas in intergroup contexts they would prefer leaders who favored the ingroup over the outgroup than leaders who treated ingroup and outgroup members equally. Results of a series of three experiments in which leaders allocated resources fairly or unfairly in intragroup or intergroup contexts supported these predictions. In an intragroup context, fair leaders were more strongly endorsed (operationalized as participants' willingness to vote for the leader to be leader again), whereas in intergroup contexts ingroup favoring leaders were endorsed equally or more strongly than fair leaders.

In Experiments 2 and 3, which incorporated a high identification and a low identification intergroup condition (the former tapped into groups that participants belonged to, whereas the latter used groups that participants could only imagine belonging to), this pattern of results emerged only in the high identification condition, not the low identification condition. Experiment 3 also showed that this pattern of results generalized to leader social influence—in this case, the extent to which followers agreed with a statement made by the leader about the utility of a particular practice within the group (see also Platow, Mills, & Morrison, 2000).

Platow, Reid, and Andrew (1998) replicated the leadership endorsement findings for *distributively* fair and biased leaders, but also showed that these effects generalize to *procedurally* fair and unfair behavior. Leaders who are procedurally unfair within their group are less strongly endorsed than those who are procedurally fair, but the effect is reversed in intergroup contexts. Leaders who procedurally favor their own group over an outgroup (i.e., give voice to ingroup but not to outgroup members) are endorsed as strongly as those who are procedurally fair between groups.

Haslam and Platow (2001b) used a different manipulation of ingroup favoritism, in which committees were composed to favor the ingroup point of view, the outgroup's point of view, or in an unbiased manner. The results showed that in addition to receiving as much support as fair leaders and more support than outgroup-favoring leaders, ingroup-favoring leaders elicit higher productivity from group members than either fair or outgroup-favoring leaders.

3. Summary

The studies discussed in this section support the proposition that when group members identify with a group and group membership is salient, leaders will be more strongly supported when they are group oriented in their attitudes (i.e., group commitment) and their actions (i.e., self-sacrificing, procedurally and distributively fair within the group, relationship oriented, ingroup favoring). Given the diversity of these studies, both in terms of operationalizations of leader attitudes and behavior, and measures of leader effectiveness, and in terms of the research paradigms used, there seems to be robust support for the proposition from the social identity analysis of leadership that under conditions of high social identity salience group-oriented leaders will be more effective and better supported. In view of the strong emphasis on prototypicality in the social identity analysis of leadership, an obvious question is how these findings for group-oriented attitudes and behavior relate to findings from studies of prototypicality and of proxies for prototypicality.

D. PROTOTYPICALITY AND GROUP-ORIENTED BEHAVIOR

Although prototypicality and group-oriented behavior generally go together, they should not be equated. People who are highly prototypical may sometimes fail to act in the group's best interest, and people who act in the group's best interest may not always be highly prototypical. Likewise, leaders may engage in acts that are group oriented, yet not be very representative of the group, or, vice versa, they may be very prototypical yet act in ways that are clearly not in the group's best interest. Generally speaking a person's perceived prototypicality is unlikely to be changed dramatically by the commission of a small number of behaviors that are inconsistent with their level of prototypicality. However, widespread and frequent inconsistency would be expected to change perceived prototypicality. A key question is whether, and how, leader prototypicality and the group-orientation of the leader's behavior jointly determine follower responses and leadership effectiveness. This was addressed in a study by Platow and van Knippenberg (2001).

Echoing and developing on Hollander's (1958) notion of idiosyncracy credit, Platow and van Knippenberg (2001) argued that prototypical leaders have solid membership credentials, and therefore have considerable leeway in their behavior, with little detrimental impact on their perceived prototypicality or on their endorsement as leaders. Less prototypical leaders have insecure membership credentials and so the group would be less

tolerant of non-group-oriented behavior—less prototypical leaders would be endorsed only when they overtly engaged in group-oriented behavior. Prototypical leaders would be endorsed anyway because they clearly are "one of us," but nonprototypical leaders need to be seen to be "doing it for us" to be endorsed. Platow and van Knippenberg hypothesized that this pattern would arise only when followers identified strongly with the group.

1. Studies of the Leader's Allocative Behavior

Platow and van Knippenberg (2001) conducted an experiment ($N = 216$) modeled on the experiments of Platow et al. (1997) discussed in the previous section. They manipulated the leader's prototypicality (three levels) and the leader's intergroup allocative behavior (three levels), and added a measurement-based group member identification factor (median-split), to produce a 3 × 3 × 2 design.

To manipulate leader prototypicality, participants were given feedback from a prior personality test that ostensibly indicated how much the leader had in common with the ingroup (the participants' university) and with the outgroup (another university). The feedback was graphically displayed, as two partially overlapping personality distributions, in such a way that the leader occupied the middle of the ingroup personality distribution (prototypical leader), the overlapping area of the ingroup and outgroup distribution (marginal leader), or the tail of the ingroup distribution that was remote from the outgroup (extreme leader). The leader then made an intergroup allocation, which was either ingroup favoring, fair, or outgroup favoring. The main dependent variable, leadership endorsement, was operationalized as willingness to vote for the leader to be group leader again.

Results showed that, as predicted, the three-way interaction between leader prototypicality, leader allocation behavior, and group member identification was significant. Among low identifiers, fair leaders received more support than ingroup-favoring or outgroup-favoring leaders, and prototypicality was unrelated to leadership endorsement. Among high identifiers prototypicality and leader behavior interacted. This interaction is displayed in Fig. 5. Prototypical leaders were endorsed irrespective of their allocation behavior. Marginal leaders, in contrast, received relatively high levels of endorsement (i.e., comparable to those of the prototypical leader) only if they were ingroup serving, and not if they made fair or outgroup-favoring allocations. Endorsement of the extreme leader was relatively low irrespective of the leader's allocation behavior.

These data are consistent with the core proposition of the social identity analysis of leadership. Relative to less prototypical leaders, prototypical

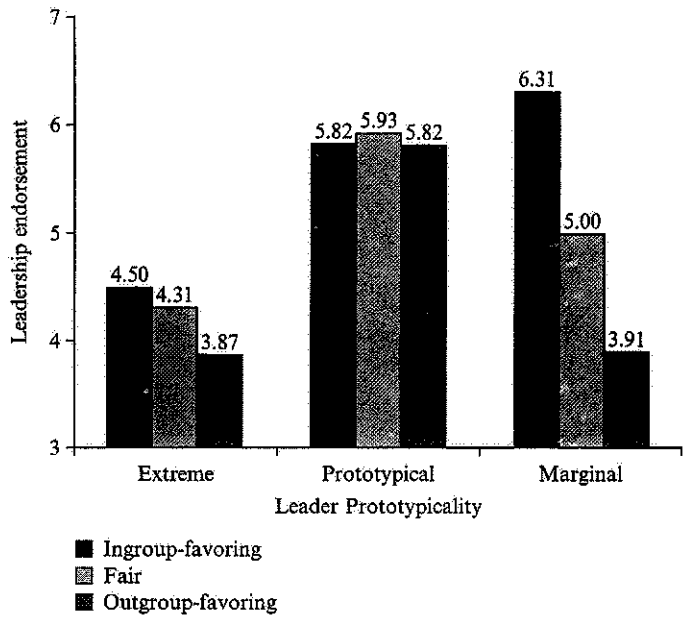

Fig. 5. Platow and van Knippenberg (2001): Leadership endorsement by high identifiers as a function of leader prototypicality and the leader's allocation behavior.

leaders are more strongly endorsed when group members identify with the group. They also show how leader prototypicality and the group orientation of leader behavior interact. Prototypical leaders need not engage in group-oriented behavior to be endorsed, whereas nonprototypical leaders are endorsed only when they engage in group-oriented behavior. Finally, these data suggest that endorsement of nonprototypical leaders may be influenced by the function of the leader's behavior in an intergroup comparative context. Nonprototypical leaders who were on the margin between ingroup and outgroup were endorsed if they showed ingroup favoritism (in this context a behavior that consolidates ingroup credentials), whereas favoritism expressed by nonprototypical leaders who were at the other extreme of the ingroup distribution (in this context a behavior that contributes little to confirming the leaders distinctiveness from the outgroup) did not strengthen endorsement.

2. Studies of Leader Influence Tactics

Two studies by van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2000, 2001; see also van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, in press) extend the finding that

prototypical leaders are permitted more behavioral leeway than nonprototypical leaders, to behaviors other than intergroup allocation. van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg studied leader effectiveness (operationalized as followers' perceptions of the leader) as a function of the leader's use of hard versus soft influence tactics. Hard tactics involve coercion and are compliance based, whereas soft tactics involve persuasion and are conformity based—thus the former are seen as more unfriendly and less socially desirable, and as placing a strain on leader–follower relations [e.g., van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, in press; van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, Blaauw, & Vermunt, 1999; Yukl, 2001—also see Moscovici's (1976) distinction between power and influence].

Based on the social identity analysis of leadership, and the reasoning underlying Platow and van Knippenberg's (2001) predictions, van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2000, 2001) predicted that prototypical leaders would maintain good relationships with their followers (as rated by the followers) irrespective of their use of hard or soft tactics, whereas less prototypical leaders would be more effective when they used soft rather than hard tactics. To examine these predictions, members of 69 different teams in a large organization were asked about their supervisors' influence tactics, the quality of their relationship with their supervisor, and the prototypicality of the team leader.

The data showed that leader–subordinate relations were better when the leader was more prototypical, that where the leader was prototypical leader–follower relations improved with increasing use of soft influence tactics, and that increasing use of soft influence tactics improved leader–follower relations for prototypical leaders much more than for less prototypical leaders. Increasing use of hard influence tactics impoverished leader–subordinate relations where the leader was less prototypical, but improved it where the leader was more prototypical. These findings confirm the prediction that nonprototypical leaders are more effective in maintaining good relationships with their subordinates if they use soft rather than hard tactics, whereas prototypical leaders are able to maintain good relationships with their subordinates regardless of whether they use hard or soft tactics.

In a second study, van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2001) replicated these findings experimentally, and tested the idea that the effects of prototypicality should mainly be obtained when followers identify more strongly with the group. They manipulated leader prototypicality and the leader's use of a hard versus a soft influence tactic, and classified participants as high or low identifiers on the basis of a median-split. The results confirmed that leader–follower relations were perceived to be worse with hard than soft influence tactics, where the leader was nonprototypical, and that this effect was significantly weakened where the leader was prototypical. As predicted, these effects emerged only among high identifying participants.

3. Summary

Taken together, the studies discussed in this section add further support for the role of leader prototypicality and group/relationship-oriented behavior in leader effectiveness. Prototypical leaders are not as tightly constrained as less prototypical leaders regarding the extent to which followers expect them to behave in group-oriented ways.

V. The Social Identity Analysis and Other Contemporary Theories of Leadership

Thus far we have primarily described the social identity analysis of leadership and examined the role of social identity variables such as prototypicality and group-oriented behavior and attitudes. In this section we explore the relationship between the social identity theory of leadership and some other major contemporary psychological theories of leadership. We have already discussed leader categorization theory (e.g., Lord et al., 1984)—the theory that leadership endorsement and effectiveness rest on the match between the leader's attributes, and people's general or more task specific schemas of effective leadership. The social identity studies we discussed showed that as social identity becomes more salient and group members identify more with the group, group prototypicality becomes more important as a determinant of leadership effectiveness, and the influence of leader schema congruence is either unaffected (Fielding & Hogg, 1997; Hains et al., 1997) or diminished (De Cremer & Van Vugt, 2002; Hogg et al., 1998; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001).

However, it should be noted that Lord and his colleagues have recently modified their leadership categorization theory in a way that is consistent with our social identity analysis (Lord & Hall, in press; see also Lord, Brown, & Harvey, 2001; Lord, Brown, Harvey, & Hall, 2001). Lord and his colleagues now view leadership categorization as a highly dynamic and context-dependent process, and propose that under conditions of high social identity salience the leadership schema may be construed in terms of the group prototype.

In this section we assess how the influence of prototypicality on leadership effectiveness relates to what are perhaps the two most closely studied perspectives on effective leadership in contemporary psychological leadership research: charismatic/transformational leadership and leader–member exchange (LMX).

A. PROTOTYPICALITY AND CHARISMATIC/ TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Since the mid-1980s, a major focus in leadership research has been on charismatic and transformational leadership. Although there are differences between theories of transformational and charismatic leadership (see Yukl, 2001), there is enough common ground, we feel, for them to be treated together here. The central idea is that charismatic leadership is more effective than noncharismatic leadership (e.g., transactional leadership; Bass, 1985), because charismatic leadership makes collective identity salient and mobilizes the individual by linking group goals to the individual's self-concept. Charismatic leadership motivates people to move beyond self-interest and toward the group's goals and mission (Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2002; Lord, Brown, & Freiberg, 1999; Shamir et al., 1993).

A limitation (see Haslam & Platow, 2001a; Mowday & Sutton, 1993) of the charismatic leadership perspective is that it has a tendency to conceptualize charismatic leadership in terms of charisma, and to conceptualize charisma as a set of invariant personality traits, such as need for power and self-confidence, possessed by certain people but not others (House, 1977; Shamir et al., 1993). However, theories of charismatic leadership also identify a number of key behaviors that are quite clearly related, from our perspective, to social identity processes, such as articulating an inspiring vision for the collective, emphasizing collective goals, and making self-sacrifices for the collective good (e.g., Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir et al., 1993).

The social identity theory of leadership allows us to propose a more dynamic relationship between charisma and leadership. The background premise is that charisma is not a static property of individuals, but a social-cognitive attributional consequence of the interaction of group salience and leader prototypicality. As was described in our earlier theory section (also see Hogg, 2001a), in salient groups with emergent leaders, members internally attribute the leader's prototype-based leadership behavior (e.g., the ability to influence the group). In this way, members construct a charismatic personality for the leader, which in turn strengthens the leader's leadership effectiveness. However, building on van Knippenberg and colleagues' work on group-oriented behavior, we can also predict that in a group where a leader happens to be less prototypical, the attribution of charisma rests more heavily on commission of group-oriented behavior than it does for more prototypical leaders (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2000, 2001).

Initial support for these ideas comes from Platow, van Knippenberg, Haslam, van Knippenberg, and Spears (2002). Across two experiments, Platow et al. (2002) had prototypical or nonprototypical leaders request help from the rest of the group in such a way as to emphasize how such help to the leader would serve the followers' self-interest or would serve the collective good of the group. The key dependent measure was attributions of charisma to the leader. It was predicted that nonprototypical leaders would have to emphasize the interest of the collective in order to be seen as charismatic. In Experiment 1 there was only a main effect for prototypicality. Prototypical leaders were rated as more charismatic than nonprototypical leaders, but type of message had no effects on attributed charisma.

Experiment 2 used the same design but with two key modifications. There was an explicit outgroup, and the leader was described quite fully and concretely in terms of group prototypical (or nonprototypical) characteristics. In Experiment 2, leader prototypicality and type of message interacted significantly as predicted. Nonprototypical leaders were perceived to be more charismatic when they invoked collective interest rather than followers' personal interest, whereas prototypical leaders were seen as relatively charismatic regardless of the type of message sent.

B. PROTOTYPICALITY AND LEADER-MEMBER EXCHANGE

Another major perspective in contemporary leadership research is the social exchange perspective on leader–follower relations, which is primarily represented by leader–member exchange (LMX) theory of leadership (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; cf. Hollander & Offerman, 1990). Testifying to its impact, a recent review of the LMX literature lists 147 studies since the concept was originally introduced in the early 1970s (Schriesheim et al., 1999). LMX theory attributes effective leadership to the development of high-quality dyadic exchange relationships between the leader and specific subordinates—exchange relationships that treat specific members as unique individuals within the group. From a social identity leadership perspective we would predict that this kind of interpersonal relationship might be effective in low salience groups, but not in high salience groups (cf. the effects of leader schema congruence discussed above). In high salience groups, it would be more effective to treat members in a more depersonalized manner that recognizes them as group members rather than individuals (cf. Tyler, 1999). This analysis has recently been tested by Hogg, Martin, Weeden, and Epitropaki (2001 Study 1; Hogg & Martin, 2003).

Hogg et al. (2001) conducted a naturalistic correlational study within organizations. They administered a questionnaire to 439 respondents

performing a range of jobs in seven UK service and manufacturing companies. There were two dependent variables: a three-item scale measuring perceived leader effectiveness, $\alpha = .80$, and a two-item scale measuring leader satisfaction, $r = .76, p < .001$). There were two predictor variables: a five-item scale measuring the extent to which respondents felt that the company encouraged people to work in teams or not, $\alpha = .85$ (high scores approximate a high salience group and low scores a low salience group), and a two-item scale measuring the extent to which the leader's leadership style treated subordinates as unique individuals or as one of the team, $r = .44, p < .001$.

Stepwise regression revealed that after demographic variables had been removed at Step 1, leader effectiveness and leader satisfaction were each predicted by salience and by leader style (betas all significant at $p < .001$), and by the interaction of salience and leader style (beta = .078 on effectiveness, and .090 on style—both $p < .05$). The interaction generally supports predictions derived from the social identity analysis. To illustrate the effect we have only presented the interaction on leader effectiveness. Figure 6 displays cell means for the 2 × 2 interaction on leader effectiveness, based, for ease of display, on median splits on the predictor variables. It shows that in low salience groups leaders who adopt an interpersonal leadership style are perceived to be significantly more effective than leaders who adopt a depersonalized leadership style, and that this difference disappears in high salience groups. Put differently, the leadership effectiveness of a depersonalized leadership style is significantly increased in high salience groups—the effectiveness of an interpersonal style is not significantly changed.

These results provide some support for the hypothesis that a depersonalized leadership style becomes more important relative to an interpersonal leadership style as group membership becomes more salient. The study represents a step toward integration of the social identity analysis of leadership and the LMX theory of leadership. The processes described in LMX theory are more important under low rather than high group salience, whereas the processes described in the social identity analysis of leadership have a greater impact on leadership effectiveness under conditions of high social identity salience.

C. SUMMARY

The social identity analysis of leadership provides significant qualifications and modifications of two major (organizational) psychological perspectives on effective leadership. For LMX theory, it complements the focus on interpersonal relationships that may be most effective in low salience groups, with a focus on depersonalized, social identity-based

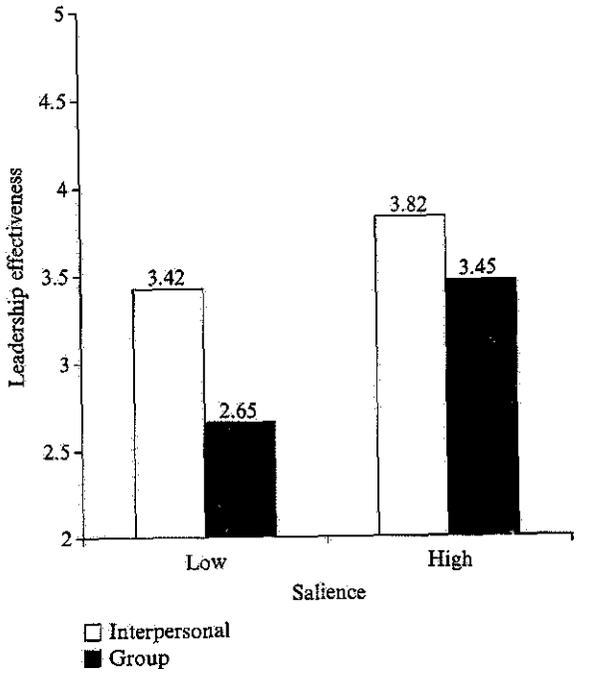

Fig. 6. Hogg, Martin, Weeden, and Epitropaki (2001, Study 1): Perceived leader effectiveness as a function of group salience and leader–subordinate leadership style ($p < .05$).

leadership that may be more appropriate for high salience groups. For theories of charismatic and transformational leadership, it complements the focus on invariant traits as determinants of charisma, with context-dependent social identity-based attributes (i.e., prototypicality) as determinants of charisma. Moreover, it suggests that group-oriented acts that are associated with charismatic leadership may serve as "substitutes" for prototypicality as a basis of charisma. Further studies are needed to explore these ideas more fully.

VI. Implications and Future Directions for Leadership Research

So far, our concern has been with assessing empirical support for the social identity analysis of leadership and with its impact on contemporary psychological theories of leadership effectiveness. In this section, we explore some broader implications of the social identity analysis for theory and

research in leadership effectiveness. This discussion is by no means exhaustive—the range of possible applications and extensions of the social identity analysis is very large. Rather, we focus on three implications that we believe to be among the more obvious and important for leadership research: demographic differences and the "glass ceiling," the dynamics of maintaining effective leadership over time, and "leading change."

A. DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES AND THE GLASS CEILING

Research, primarily in western organizational contexts, has discovered evidence for a "glass ceiling," an invisible barrier, to advancement of social minorities from managerial positions to top leadership positions (e.g., Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995; Rudman & Glick, 1999). The research primarily focuses on women, but the analysis is intended to apply to other societal minorities, such as those based on race, ethnicity, disability, and so forth. The effect may be produced by a number of different social psychological processes. The role of social identity-related processes has only recently been proposed by Hogg and his associates (Hogg, Fielding, Johnston, Masser, Russell, & Svensson, 2001; also see Hogg, 2001a,d,e).

The key idea is that as group membership becomes more salient, leadership endorsement, and effective leadership itself, rests increasingly on a good perceived match between properties of the leader and properties of the group prototype. Properties of the leader and properties of the prototype can include attitudes and behavior, but also demographic properties such as gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and so forth. Thus, if there is a demographic mismatch between leader and group, then this will become an insurmountable obstacle to effective leadership as the group becomes an increasingly strong basis for self-definition. Hogg (e.g., 2000, in press b) suggests that group identification is often very strong when a group is under status or entitativity threat. These are circumstances where real leadership, as opposed to middle-level management, is required. The glass ceiling, for women, may, therefore, be partly a result of the fact that many western organizational prototypes are more masculine than feminine (e.g., Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Glick, Wilk, & Perrault, 1995), and therefore women are less group prototypical than men when organizations really need leadership rather than management.

The idea that demographic minorities may find leadership difficult in salient groups whose prototypes represent the demographic majority has been tested by Hogg, Fielding, Johnston, Masser, Russell, and Svensson (2001). Hogg et al. (2001) conducted two very closely related experiments employing a computerized modification of the paradigm of Hains et al.

(1997). These experiments investigated leadership effectiveness as a function of identity salience and the match between the leader's gender and the gender stereotypicality of the group norm. The two experiments differed only in that Experiment 2 ($N = 260$) employed slightly stronger and cleaner manipulations than Experiment 1 ($N = 147$).

In these experiments, students anticipated joining a group to discuss university resource allocations for undergraduate classes. Group salience was manipulated and participants were informed that their group had an agentic/instrumental (i.e., male stereotypical) or a communal/expressive (i.e., female stereotypical) norm for how the discussion was to be conducted. Participants were also told that a leader had been randomly appointed—they discovered that the leader was either male or female. The three manipulated variables were thus: 2 (group salience) × 2 (group norm) × 2 (sex of leader). There was a fourth variable formed by median split of participants, on the basis of their responses on the Hostile Sexism subscale of Glick and Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, into those with traditional and those with progressive sex role orientations. In addition to manipulation checks, there were three dependent variables: a four-item measure of anticipated group effectiveness ($\alpha = .84$ in both experiments), a 12-item measure of anticipated leader effectiveness ($\alpha = .89$ and .91 in Experiments 1 and 2, respectively), and a six-item measure of the actual quality of the leader's decisions ($\alpha = .92$ in both experiments).

Because the two experiments were so similar and were conducted by the same research team with participants from the same population it was possible to pool the two data sets ($N = 407$) and perform five-way analyses with Experiment (1 vs. 2) as the fifth variable. Across the three dependent variables, the predicted four-way interaction of salience, norm, leader, and sex role orientation was significant [$F(3, 373) = 2.84$, $p < .05$]. This interaction was also significant on the constituent variable of anticipated leader effectiveness. At the individual experiment level, the multivariate four-way effect was significant in Experiment 1, and the univariate four-way effect was significant on decision quality in Experiment 1, and on group performance and anticipated leader effectiveness in Experiment 2.

Figure 7 illustrates what was found. It shows the interaction of salience, norm, and leader gender on anticipated group performance in Experiment 2 among traditional participants only. As predicted, traditional participants (those who believe that men are agentic/instrumental and that women are communal/expressive) under high salience felt instrumental groups would perform better under male than female leadership, and expressive groups would perform better under female than male leadership (although the means are in the correct direction, simple main effects were not significant). Another way to frame this is that relative to low salience groups, group

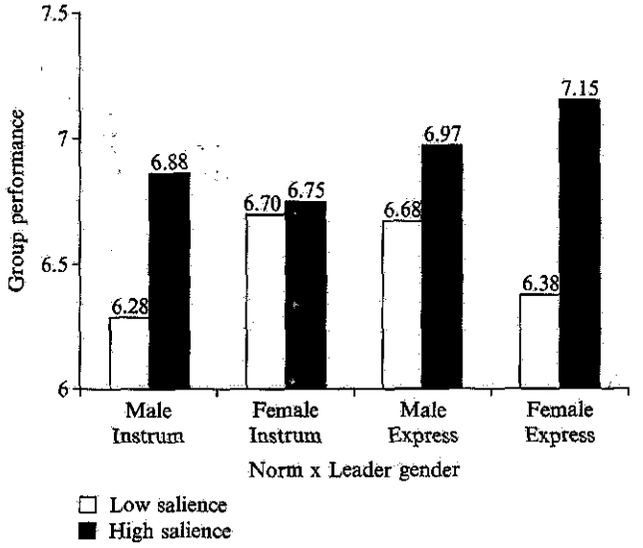

Fig. 7. Hogg, Fielding, Johnston, Masser, Russell, and Svensson (2001; Experiment 2): The effect of salience by norm by leader gender on anticipated group performance, among traditional participants ($p < .05$).

performance was upgraded under male leadership in instrumental groups and upgraded under female leadership in expressive groups.

Overall the interaction of salience, norm, and leader gender on the three leadership perception variables was consistent with the social identity analysis of leadership—as group salience increased, leadership effectiveness became more dependent on the group prototypicality of the leader (in this case the gender match between leader and norm).

Progressive participants behaved in almost exactly the opposite manner to the traditionals. Under high salience they felt instrumental groups would do better under female than male leadership, and expressive groups would do better under male than female leadership. Relative to low salience groups, group performance was upgraded under female leadership in instrumental groups and under male leadership in expressive groups, and downgraded under male leadership in instrumental groups and under female leadership in expressive group. This is as predicted, based on Swim, Aikin, Hall, and Hunter's (1995) finding that "progressives" are more aware that occupational segregation may be a result of prejudice, and Masser and Abrams's (2001) argument that progressives might exhibit "reverse discrimination" in favor of women in order to combat gender stereotypes.

B. MAINTAINING LEADERSHIP: PROTOTYPE MANAGEMENT AND THE PROTOTYPICALITY PARADOX

Thus far we have seen how prototype-based depersonalization fairly automatically imbues the most prototypical member of a group with many attributes of leadership—status, charisma, popular support, and the ability to influence. These attributes also allow the leader to actively maintain his or her leadership position. The longer an individual remains in a leadership position the more they will be socially liked, the more consensual will social attraction be, and the more entrenched will be the fundamental attribution effect. There may, however, be two threats to prototype-based leadership effectiveness that have as yet received little attention. First, the group prototype may change over time, rendering the leader less prototypical. Second, as the influence differential between leader and followers becomes more entrenched in group life, followers may start to perceive the leader as different from rather than as prototypical of the group. Prototypicality may be a basis for effective leadership, but that does not mean it lasts forever.

1. Prototype Management

Changes in the social comparative context may change the salient outgroup or change the salient dimensions of intergroup comparisons—both of which impact prototypicality within the group, and thus (part of) the basis for the leader's position. Therefore, over time and across contexts, the leader may decline in prototypicality whereas other members become more prototypical, opening the door, particularly under high salience conditions, to a redistribution of influence within the group. An established leader is, however, well placed, in terms of material and social psychological resources, to combat this by redefining the prototype in a self-serving manner to marginalize contenders and centralize self. This can be done by accentuating the existing ingroup prototype, by pillorying ingroup deviants, or by demonizing an appropriate outgroup. Work by Reicher, Hopkins, and associates (e.g., Reicher, Drury, Hopkins, & Stott, in press; Reicher & Hopkins, 1996) on the rhetoric used by political leaders shows that generally all three tactics are used, and that the very act of engaging in these powerful rhetorical devices is often viewed as convincing evidence of effective leadership. Indeed, Reicher and Hopkins proposed that leaders are in this sense "entrepreneurs of identity"—as we might put it in the context of the present analysis, "prototypicality managers."

In a similar vein, Rabbie and Bekkers (1978) show that leaders whose position is insecure are more likely to seek conflict with other groups. They may do this in order to be seen by the group to be behaving in a group-oriented manner. More generally, leaders who feel they are not, or are no

longer, prototypical, may strategically engage in a range of group-oriented behaviors in order to strengthen their membership credentials (e.g., Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; Platow et al., 2002).

Leadership maintenance also benefits from consensual prototypicality, because of the latter's effect on social attraction. In groups with less consensual prototypes, there is less consensus of perceptions of and feelings for the leader and thus the leader may have less power and may occupy a less stable position. It is in the leader's interest to maintain a clearly defined and consensual prototype. Simple and more clearly focused prototypes are less open to ambiguity and alternative interpretations and are thus better suited to consensuality. One way in which the leader can do this is to identify ingroup deviates and orchestrate a campaign of derogation and rejection—this is a process that clarifies the prototype that the leader best represents (see Marques, Abrams, Páez, & Hogg, 2001). Another strategy is to focus on a carefully chosen threatening or "wicked" outgroup as the target of vilification, in order to polarize or extremitize the ingroup prototype away from the outgroup. These processes frequently operate in totalist or extremist societies or groups that have all-powerful leaders (e.g., Hogg, 2001e; Hogg & Reid, 2001). However, they regularly occur in much more ordinary group contexts. For example, the committee set up by the United States Senator Joe McCarthy during the height of the Cold War in the 1950s to purge the entertainment industry of communist sympathizers (i.e., political deviants) was formally called the House Committee on Un-American Activities. By pillorying individuals and groups that were un-American, this clarified what *was* American.

There is, thus, some support for the proposition that leaders may actively manage the group prototype to maintain, or bolster, their leadership position. More research is needed to better understand the dynamics of the maintenance of prototype-based leadership, and to develop the temporal dimension in the social identity analysis of leadership.

2. From Influence to Power: The Prototypicality Paradox

Even if the comparative context remains stable and the group prototype is highly consensual—probably especially under these conditions—there is another threat to prototype-based leadership effectiveness that, paradoxically, lies in the processes that underlie prototypicality based leadership effectiveness (see Hogg, 2001e; Hogg & Reid, 2001). Prototypicality imbues leaders with status, charisma, and influence and may thus set leaders apart from the rest of the group. Over time, as this intragroup differentiation becomes more entrenched in group life, there may arise a gradual perceptual separation of the leader from the rest of the group, through structural role differentiation grounded in social attraction and attribution processes. The leader may gradually be perceived as "other" rather than "one of us." In other words, the person who embodied the essence of the group by being most prototypical may become effectively an outgroup member within the group (i.e., become nonprototypical). As a result, the leader will lose part of his or her influence base, and in order to gain compliance may feel the need to resort to the use of power (i.e., coercive forms of influence) instead. Such attempts to force compliance from the group will set the leader further apart from the group, and will work to the further detriment of the leader's influence base (e.g., van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, in press). Once this process of separation between leader and follower has been set in motion, a downward spiral may occur. Prototypicality based leadership, which converts followers, is gradually replaced by the use of position-based power that elicits only compliance. The important point here is that an intragroup relationship is effectively transformed into a highly status-marked intergroup relationship.

However, prototypicality based leadership does not inevitably end in a separation of leader and followers. Paradoxically, it is more likely to occur in groups where the leader is highly prototypical, the group is very cohesive, and members have a consensual prototype. In these groups prototype-based status, charisma, and influence will be highest, and therefore the differentiation between leader and group, and the instantiation of an intergroup relationship, will occur most readily and most completely. This is unlikely to occur so readily in groups with less markedly prototype-based leadership. Leader prototypicality may actually protect against the slide into power tactics based on intergroup schism. The leader's prototypicality encourages followers to see the leader as "one of us" and may thus blind followers to the leader's use of power over them. Prototypicality may legitimate the entire range of leadership tactics, including those based on schism and power. Furthermore, leaders may maintain, or regain, their prototypicality by strategic management of the group's prototype, as discussed above.

These ideas suggest a development of the social identity analysis of leadership to explore the development of leader prototypicality and leader–group relations over time, to better understand the tension between being "one of us" and being set apart from the group.

C. "LEADING CHANGE"

For some theorists, the essence of effective leadership is to bring about, or lead, change (e.g., Yukl, 2001). Indeed, the emphasis on charismatic and transformational leadership represents precisely a focus on how leaders bring about social or organizational changes (e.g., Bass, 1985; Conger &

Kanungo, 1987; Shamir et al., 1993). Charismatic leaders are considered more innovative than noncharismatic leaders, and are therefore better at initiating and implementing change.

The organizational change literature—there is no reason to assume that this should not hold for societal change as well—cites resistance to change as one of the principal obstacles to effective change (e.g., Connor, 1995). A recent social identity analysis of mergers of groups and organizations has identified social identity concerns as a significant source of resistance to change (van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, Monden, & De Lima, 2002; van Knippenberg & van Leeuwen, 2001). Mergers often raise the specter of a loss of identity and the construction or acquisition of a new identity. This can pose a significant threat to self-conceptualization, in which case a leader's attempts to bring about such change will be vigorously resisted.

However, resistance to change is not inevitable. Group members may be quite accepting of change, including identity change, as long as a sense of continuity of identity is ensured, that is, as long as group members may feel that, despite the changes, it is still "their group" (Rousseau, 1998). Because they represent the collective identity, prototypical leaders may be better than nonprototypical leaders at ensuring such a sense of continuity. Changes promoted by prototypical leaders will be viewed as more identity consistent than the same changes promoted by less prototypical leaders. As discussed above, prototypical leaders are better placed than less prototypical leaders to act as "entrepreneurs of identity" or "prototypicality managers"— that is, to not just make changes to the group, organization, or society, but to actually change the group prototype (i.e., the group identity) in a consensually accepted way. Tentative support for this proposition may be derived from the studies described above that show that prototypical leaders have more leeway in their behavior than less prototypical leaders.

VII. Summary and Conclusions

After many years of decline, leadership has once again attracted the attention of social psychologists. This new interest has been spurred by conceptual advances in social cognition and social identity, and by growing synergies between social cognition, social identity, and organizational psychology. Scholars have become concerned that current leadership theories, largely in organizational psychology, are inadequately grounded in an analysis of the generative role of psychological group membership. The social identity analysis of leadership described in this chapter goes some way toward addressing this concern.

The social identity perspective views group and intergroup phenomena (perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviors) as being generated by a process in which people categorize and depersonalize themselves and others in terms of the relevant ingroup or outgroup prototype. Prototypes describe and prescribe all group-defining attributes (perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviors) and thus provide people with social identities. They are formed and modified according to the metacontrast principle to maximize the subjective entitativity of groups. Social identity processes are motivated by a need to reduce uncertainty about self, others, and one's relations with others. They are also motivated by self-enhancement that underpins a struggle to protect or enhance the evaluatively positive distinctiveness of one's own group relative to other groups. Both these motives are played out against a backdrop of beliefs about the nature of intergroup relations, and thus about the sorts of strategies that can realistically be adopted to reduce uncertainty and to protect/enhance the evaluative self-concept.

Applied to leadership, the social identity perspective focuses on the critical role of prototypicality in salient groups. Within low salience groups—loose aggregates of people who do not identify very strongly—leadership effectiveness probably rests on matching the appropriate leadership schema and on developing favorable interpersonal leader–member exchange relations. Things are different in more salient groups—groups that are subjectively important and with which members identify strongly. Attention and information processing are focused on prototypicality and on how prototypical members are. Leadership effectiveness rests firmly on the extent to which the leader appears to match the group prototype and thus to embody the group attributes to which followers aspire and conform. Social attraction processes ensure that prototypical leaders are unilaterally and consensually socially liked—they are popular, in group terms, and thus able to actively influence others and to be innovative within the broad parameters of the group's prototype. Social attraction also instantiates a status and prestige differential between leader(s) and followers. Attribution processes, specifically the fundamental attribution error, correspondence bias, or essentialism, operate to construct a charismatic and leadership persona for the prototypical leader. This happens because followers pay close attention to prototypicality, and thus prototypical leaders are figural against the background of less prototypical members. One consequence is that the leader acquires greater and more secure leadership ability. Another consequence is that the status and prestige differential between leader(s) and followers is entrenched.

In this chapter we described the social identity analysis of leadership in some detail, including a description of the ways that prototypical leaders can protect their tenure through manipulation and control of the group's

prototype. We also occupied considerable space describing key empirical tests of the analysis—these tests necessarily hinge on a demonstration that leadership processes become more prototype based with increasing group salience. There are now many direct and indirect tests from a number of laboratories and research groups around the world that provide support for the social identity analysis described here.

We described the results of about 25 independent samples from 16 different studies in some detail. Overall, these studies show that contingent on social identity salience and group identification, leader prototypicality is positively related to leadership effectiveness, as are proxies of prototypicality such as the group membership of the leader and the leader selection procedure. Similarly, group-oriented attitudes and behaviors, like leader commitment to the group and leader self-sacrifice for the group, are positively related to leader effectiveness in salient groups. This latter relationship, however, primarily occurs for less prototypical leaders—more prototypical leaders tend to be relatively effective irrespective of the group orientation of their behavior. In contrast to leader prototypicality, which grows in importance as group membership becomes more salient, more personalized attributes of the leader and interpersonal aspects of the leader's behavior, such as leader schema congruence and the quality of the interpersonal leader–follower relationship, diminish in importance as group membership becomes more salient. There is, therefore, good support for the core propositions of the social identity analysis of leadership as outlined in this chapter. What remains to be tested more extensively is the role of attribution processes, and to a lesser extent the role of social attraction.

The social identity analysis of leadership may provide important qualifications and extensions of some major contemporary perspectives on leadership. For example, there is some support for the social identity proposition that prototypicality is a basis of charisma, and that leader behaviors that are typically associated with charismatic leadership, such as invoking collective interest, are less important determinants of charisma for prototypical than for less prototypical leaders. There is also some evidence that interpersonal leader–member exchange (LMX) relationships may diminish in importance whereas depersonalized prototype-based relationships increase in importance as a function of increasing group salience. These findings are a significant step toward integration of the social identity analysis of leadership with contemporary organizational psychological theories of charismatic and transformational leadership, and of leader–member exchange processes (LMX theory).

The social identity analysis of leadership has great potential to reconceptualize a range of leadership phenomena and leadership contexts. To illustrate this, we identified three possible directions: the glass ceiling effect, leadership maintenance processes in relationship to threats to the prototypicality of leaders (i.e., changes in group prototypes, and the differentiation between leader and group), and the role of leadership in social and organizational change. There is much work yet to be done, but this work can be grounded in strong empirical support for the core propositions of the social identity analysis of leadership.

In conclusion, the social identity analysis of leadership views leadership as a group process that arises from the social categorization and depersonalization processes associated with social identity. Prototype-based depersonalization and the behavior of followers in salient groups play a critical role. They empower individuals as leaders, imbue them with charisma, create a status differential between leader(s) and followers that has some of the typical characteristics of uneven status intergroup relations, and set up conditions that are conducive to coercion and the exercise of power. These ideas are a rich source of conceptual explorations, and basic and applied empirical research into social identity and leadership. They help regain the study of leadership for social psychology.

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