

Changing Conceptions of Leadership

Edited by C.F. Graumann and S. Moscovici

Springer-Verlag New York Berlin Heidelberg Tokyo

SSSP

Changing Conceptions of Leadership

Edited by Carl F. Graumann and Serge Moscovici



Springer-Verlag New York Berlin Heidelberg Tokyo Carl F. Graumann Psychologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg D-6900 Heidelberg 1 Federal Republic of Germany Serge Moscovici École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales Laboratoire de Psychologie Sociale F-75016 Paris France

With 17 Illustrations

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Main entry under title: Changing conceptions of leadership. (Springer series in social psychology) Based on contributions from symposia held by the Study Group on Historical Change in Social Psychology. Bibliography: p. Includes index. 1. Leadership-Congresses. 2. Leadership-History-Congresses. I. Graumann, Carl F. (Carl Friedrich), II. Moscovici, Serge. III. Study Group 1923on Historical Change in Social Psychology. IV. Series. HM141.C367 1986 303 3'4 85-27809

© 1986 by Springer-Verlag New York Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be translated or reproduced in any form without written permission from Springer-Verlag, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10010, U.S.A. The use of general descriptive names, trade names, trademarks, etc. in this publication, even if the former are not especially identified, is not to be taken as a sign that such names, as understood by the Trade Marks and Merchandise Marks Act, may accordingly be used freely by anyone.

Typeset by Ampersand Publisher Services, Inc., Rutland, Vermont. Printed and bound by R.R. Donnelley & Sons, Harrisonburg, Virginia. Printed in the United States of America.

987654321

ISBN 0-387-96222-0 Springer-Verlag New York Berlin Heidelberg Tokyo ISBN 3-540-96222-0 Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg New York Tokyo

SSSP

Springer Series in Social Psychology

Editorial Note

This volume is the second in a series of three dealing with changing conceptions in social psychology. The chapters contained in these volumes originated in symposia which were organized by the editors with the help of members and guests of the Study Group "Historical Change in Social Psychology." The work of this group has been made possible by a grant and the hospitality offered by the Werner-Reimers Foundation, Bad Homburg, Federal Republic of Germany, with the assistance of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, France.

Further volumes:

Changing Conceptions of Crowd Mind and Behavior Changing Conceptions of Conspiracy

Acknowledgments

The editors are grateful for the exemplary editorial and production assistance given by the staff of Springer-Verlag, both in New York and Heidelberg. It was again Barbara Keller in the Psychology Department in Heidelberg who most efficiently assisted one of the editors and who, with the help of Sabine Dittrich and Ariane Hornung, finished off the editorial tasks by supplying the index. Their help is deeply appreciated.

Contributors

- Joseph Agassi, Department of Philosophy, York University, Downsview, Ontario M3J IP3, Canada.
- Erika Apfelbaum, Laboratoire de Psychologie Sociale, F-75005 Paris, France.
- Luciano Cavalli, Istituto Di Sociologia, Dell'Università Di Firenze, 50121 Firenze, Italy.
- Mario von Cranach, Psychologisches Institut der Universität Bern, CH-3012 Bern, Switzerland.
- John H. Crook, Department of Psychology, University of Bristol, Bristol BS8 1HH, England.
- Daniel Dayan, 16, rue de la Glacière, Paris 13me, France.
- Fred E. Fiedler, Department of Psychology, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington 98195, U.S.A.
- Carl F. Graumann, Psychologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg, D-6900 Heidelberg 1, Federal Republic of Germany.
- Dieter Groh, Fachbereich Philosophie und Geschichte, Universität Konstanz, 775 Konstanz, Federal Republic of Germany.
- Martha Hadley, 60 East Eighth Street, New York, NY 10003, U.S.A.
- *Elihu Katz*, The Communications Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel.
- Nadav Kennan, 60 East Eighth Street, New York, NY 10003, U.S.A.
- Lenelis Kruse, Psychologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg, D-6900 Heidelberg 1, Federal Republic of Germany.
- M. Rainer Lepsius, Institut für Soziologie der Universität Heidelberg, D-6900 Heidelberg 1, Federal Republic of Germany.

- Serge Moscovici, Laboratoire de Psychologie Sociale, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociale, F-75016 Paris, France.
- Margret Wintermantel, Psychologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg, D-6900 Heidelberg 1, Federal Republic of Germany.

Contents

1.	Changing Conceptions of Leadership: An Introduction Carl F. Graumann	1
2.	The Evolution of Leadership: A Preliminary Skirmish	11
	The Group Context of Leadership Leadership and Social Evolution Leader-Follower Associations From Animals to Humans: Natural and Institutional	13 15 18
	Attention Control Some Conclusions	24 27
3.	The Dilemma of Unwanted Leadership in Social Movements: The German Example Before 1914 Dieter Groh	33
	The Beginning—An "Impossible" Discussion High Tide in Discussions of the Political Mass Strike The Leader-Mass Problem in 1905 High-points in the Discussion: Luxemberg versus Kantsky and the Organizational Crisis of 1913	37 39 42 45
4.	Charismatic Leadership: Max Weber's Model and Its Applicability to the Rule of Hitler	53
	Weber's Model The Latent Charismatic Situation The Manifest Charismatic Situation The Establishment of Charismatic Leadership The Properties of Charismatic Leadership	53 56 57 59 63
	The Properties of Charismatic Leadership	

5.	Charismatic Domination, Totalitarian Dictatorship, and Plebiscitary Democracy in the Twentieth Century Luciano Cavalli	67
	Toward a Theory of Charismatic Domination	67
	Types of Extraordinary Situations	71
	Totalitarian Dictatorship	71
	Plebiscitary Democracy	73
	Plebiscitary Democracy and Political Parties	74
	Toward a Systematic Study of Charismatic Phenomena	76
6.	Power and Leadership in Lewinian Field Theory: Recalling an Interrupted Task Carl F. Graumann	83
	Kurt Lewin and the Change in Social Psychology	83
	Power and Leadership in the Field-Theoretical Perspective Individualism and the Galileian Principle: An Unresolved	84
	Conflict	95
7	The Contribution of Cognitive Resources and Behavior to	
/.	Leadership Performance	101
	Antecedents	101
	Contributions of Leader Intelligence to Task Performance	103
	Cognitive Resource Theory	104
	Initial Empirical Support for the Cognitive Resource Theory	105
	Discussion	110
		110
8.	Leadership as a Function of Group Action	115
	Without Action, There Is No Leadership	115
	Basic Features of Group Action	116
	Leadership in Group Action	120
	The Future of Leadership	132
9.	Contests, Conquests, Coronations: On Media Events and Their Heroes Elihu Katz and Daniel Dayan	135
	-	124
	Heroes and the Daily News	136
	Media Events	137
	A Typology of Media Events	139
	Events and Their Heroes	140
	The Role of Television	142
	Media Events and Conflict Management	142

Con	tents
-----	-------

10.	The Creation of Political Leaders in the Context of American Politics in the 1970s and 1980s Nadav Kennan and Martha Hadley	145
	The Players	146
	The Voters and Their Perceptions	150
	Shaping and Introducing the Candidate	158
	Reassessment and Fine Tuning	162
	Reflections on the Process: The Creation of a Political	102
	Leader or the Creation of a Political Manager?	164
	Leader of the Creation of a Political Manager?	104
11.	Leadership MsQualified: I. The Gender Bias in Everyday	
	and Scientific Thinking Lenelis Kruse and Margret Wintermantel	171
		171
	Some Facts and Figures	171
	Leadership Research and Theory	173
	Women as a Topic of Leadership Research	1/4
	The Gender Bias in Psychological Research	190
	Conclusion	193
12	Leadership MsQualified: II. Reflections on and Initial	
	Case Study Investigation of Contemporary Women Leaders Erika Apfelbaum and Martha Hadley	199
	Toward an Expanding Conceptualization of Leadership	202
	Interviewing Women Leaders: A Pilot Study	205
	Pathways to Leadership: The Activation of Women Leaders Consequences of the Particular Pathways: Network Support,	207
	Interchangeability, Entitlement, and the Protégé System The Anomalies of Women's Leadership Praxis: Coping with	209
	Issues of Authority Constructing the Function, Praxis, and Social Ecology of	211
	Leadership	213
	Creating an Alternative Ecology	215
	The Public and the Private: The Double Standard for Women	210
	Leaders, a Further MsQualification	217
	Future Perspectives	219
		21)
13.	Scientific Leadership	223
	Joseph Agassi	
	The Need for Leadership	223
	The Scientific Leadership	229
	The Functions of Scientific Leadership	234

14. Epilogue	241
Author Index	251
Subject Index	257

Chapter 1 Changing Conceptions of Leadership: An Introduction

Carl F. Graumann

The present volume is a companion to *Changing Conceptions of Crowd Mind* and Behavior (Graumann & Moscovici, 1985). The order of the books reflects a historical sequence: When the crowd was discovered as a social problem for close scrutiny by the new sciences of psychology and sociology, leadership almost from the beginning became an essential topic, if not a significant feature, of mass psychology—although perhaps one should say leaders rather than leadership. Because the general and scientific interest in crowds—due to the "rise of the masses"—had a political origin, mainly in France, the prototypes were the historically decisive crowds of the French Revolution, of the Paris Commune, and of the strikes, the new weapon of an awakening working class or labor force. Hence, the question of who led the revolting or striking masses, or, at least, who might have been the agent or agents behind the "mob," was felt as most important, if not politically much more urgent than the inquiry into the nature of crowds.

Also theoretically the topic of leadership, albeit in different terms, became closely related to that of the mind of the crowd. It was customary in the nineteenth century (and for many has remained so), to regard crowds as primitive, instinct-driven, emotional, irrational, subconscious, and so on. The individual, however educated, rational, and disciplined he or she might be, once submerged in the crowd, took on all its attributes as a result of contagion and/or suggestion. Accordingly, it was to the fields of epidemiology and psychiatry that mass psychologists looked for models and theories. Animal magnetism (mesmerism) and hypnotism served as the first explanatory paradigms for the mental change individuals undergo when merging with a crowd. Hypnotism, however, requires a hypnotist, whose relationship with the subject or patient is transferred to the leader and the crowd. As the hypnotized (conventionally female) patient, half-conscious, half-awake, is open to the suggestions of the hypnotist, so the crowd was said to be in relation to a leader (for well-documented reviews of early crowd psychology see Barrows, 1981; Nye, 1975).

For Le Bon the suggestibility of crowds was the counterpart of the hypnotic or at least very persuasive power of prestigious leaders. Their power was mainly seen as executed in speeches-the highly suggestive, rhetorically artful addresses of political leaders, demagogues, or evangelists who were able to enthuse, enrage, madden, and mobilize crowds. This was one of the messages that mass psychology succeeded in getting across to the orator-leaders of the twentieth century, that to lead the masses is essentially to talk to them in mass assemblies or by radio and televised messages. Not only did leaders such as the Duce and the Führer learn this lesson well (although not always acknowledging the sources); the message is still widely acknowledged in mass democracies, revised and refined by mass communication experts who act as consultants and stage directors to many of those in power and those who aspire to be (cf. Chapters 9 and 10). Yet the study of leadership as we find it in the context of contemporary social psychology is no longer a study of the mighty, of the personalities and behaviors of the outstanding figures of modern society, but of the many minor heads, bosses, and superiors of everyday, mainly institutional, life.

This shift of interest from the Great Man to petty leadership is closely connected with the shift from crowd to group psychology. This lowering of aspiration and narrowing of focus has several reasons, the most conspicuous and debatable of which is methodological convenience. Experimentation is still the principal method of social psychology, and petty leaders and small groups are much more accessible to scientific research than are socially eminent leaders and large crowds. However, accessibility and availability are not the best heuristic of scientific procedure, nor should a method, however privileged, be crucial for the decision whether a problem should be treated or discarded. In the history of psychology it has happened that problems were abandoned for methodological reasons; so it was both after the behaviorist revolution, and in the wake of the cognitive turn. Yet despite today's research preferences and reluctances in social psychology, not only leadership and groups but also leaders and masses have remained crucial problems to be dealt with scientifically, and that, we believe, includes psychology.

The interdisciplinary Study Group on Historical Change in Social Psychology, from whose symposia the contributions to this volume are taken, inquires into the nature of this change. Is it the phenomena under investigation that have changed, or is it our conceptions, or is historical change a covariation of both? As we did with crowds we asked again whether leaders and leadership have changed from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century: changed in character, in functions, in role, in the ways they emerge or are created. To answer such questions presupposes that our instruments are sharp enough to measure any differences. But are our concepts so well-defined and practicable that we are able to compare, say, Napoleon's charisma with Hitler's or de Gaulle's? Are they discriminative enough to decide whether it is legitimate to ascribe charismatic leadership to John F. Kennedy or Ronald Reagan?

A shift of focus of research interests in leadership has been noted before: from emphasis on theory to emphasis on research, from unidirectional to interactional or reciprocal conceptions, from individual-centered approaches to individual \times group or person \times situation conceptions (cf. Stogdill, 1974; Bass, 1981; Hare, 1976). These are general trends that may be found in other areas of psychological research as well.

If one is interested in the modern social psychology of leadership and examines the more recent theories or models, another narrowing of scope becomes evident. There is a preference for conceptualizing leadership as "a set of group functions which must occur in any group if it is to behave effectively to satisfy the needs of its members" (Gibb, 1969, p. 205). Although this proposal for conceiving of leadership psychologically is not a proper definition, it gives, mainly in its normative conditional clause, the direction of most recent theorizing and research: the parameters contributing to the effectiveness of leadership or of groups in general, part of which may be the efficiency of leaders. Most of the contingency approaches (cf. Fiedler, 1967), the path-goal theory (House, 1971), and the normative decision model (Vroom & Yetton, 1974) are primarily effectiveness oriented. Even when the focus is on leadership styles or patterns of interaction between leaders and subordinates, the overall perspective of such studies is with a view to the effectiveness of styles of interaction. This holds for the so-called Ohio and Michigan studies of leadership (e.g., Fleishman & Bass, 1974; Fleishman & Hunt, 1973; Hill & Hughes, 1974), for the managerial grid (Blake & Mouton, 1964), as well as for the four-factor theory of leadership (Bowers & Seashore, 1966). The field of application and validation of such models is the taskoriented group or organization, and the fostering disciplines are organizational and personnel psychology and business and administrative science rather than "pure" social psychology.

Because presentations and critical discussions of the various competing models of efficient leadership are offered in many places, on the handbook, the critical review, and the textbook level, they are not taken up here. The Study Group and, hence, this volume remain committed to the idea of historical change in social psychology. One recurrent phenomenon in the history of the social and behavioral sciences is the apparent "loss" and "recovery" of a problem. The problem may be a large one such as language or the crowd, or it may be relatively small such as the relation between intelligence and leadership performance. Loss and recovery may be terms at once too emphatic and too broad to cover the various forms of the disappearance and reappearance of theories, problems, and methods from professional journals, textbooks, or the minds of researchers. Disproof, invalidation, lack of progress, but also satiation due to overresearching an area are the most frequent motives for the discontinuous nature of historical

change in the sciences. Their counterparts are the discovery that turns out to be a rediscovery, the belated insight that a disproof or invalidation in itself was invalid, the fresh look at an old problem, a new urgency to resume work in a deserted field, and, frequently, a new method enabling us to tackle problems formerly considered too complex for the instruments then available. Considering that science is always in a state of tension between risk and security, between exploration and proof, we sometimes observe and appreciate a return from the safer ground of multiply confirmed results to a still-uncharted area previously bypassed as unsafe. The new look then implies fresh courage. The reconsideration of Kurt Lewin's and the Lewinians' contribution to the topics of power and leadership (as in Chapter 6) was not undertaken in a merely historical attitude nor as a ritual homage to one of the pioneers of leadership and small-group research. It was rather the discontinuance of the Lewinian approach that motivated this retrospect and reassessment as an "interrupted task" in the Lewinian sense. Resuming this unfinished task does not mean merely picking up the thread where Lewin had to drop it, but reassessing an approach that in its factual research never quite matched the Galilean mode of thought in which it was undertaken. The field-theoretical key construct of interdependence, important as it is for the conception of leadership, requires that the mutual behaviors of leaders and followers be taken as seriously as their mental representations of one another and their mutual (social) knowledge. The present cognitive trend has, mainly in social psychology, strengthened the tendency to underrate real behavior and environment in favor of their representation. That this tendency also invigorates the theoretical and methodological individualism prevalent in social psychology (Graumann, 1986) may serve as a monitory signal, at least for those who like to view social psychology as a social science and to communicate more freely and profitably across the boundaries between the social sciences.

A growing faction of social psychologists in Europe and America has been working since the late sixties for a reintegration of their discipline into the social sciences (cf. Israel & Tajfel, 1972). Since our Study Group was founded as an instrument to promote and practice the dialogue among psychology, social history, and other social sciences, there has always been a strong interest in the social context in which disciplines, theories, and research topics emerge. We can really understand neither the crowd psychology of the fin de siècle nor its conception of mass leadership without knowing the political, social, economic, and partly even the military situation of France. The same holds for the rise of Völkerpsychologie in nineteenth-century Germany, or, for that matter, the dependence on the post-World War II intellectual climate of the Lewinian conception of group and leadership "climates." Nor is it mere happenstance that the attempts at liberalizing and "socializing" social psychology were begun in the very years when the wind of change rose in many fields. In the meantime the wind itself has changed, but the few changes brought about in social psychology

are there to work with. Otherwise, we would experience another instance of discontinuity.

In a different sense Fred Fiedler tries to retrieve a topic that had been laid aside for a while: the role of intelligence in leadership performance (Chapter 7). Have we not heard repeatedly how little personality traits in general and intellectual traits in particular contribute to effective leadership? At least, the tests designed to measure intellectual differences have not been very predictive of the selection of leaders; experimental studies have yielded contradictory or inconclusive evidence. The fresh look presented in this volume is a differentiating reevaluation of parameters in both the leader and the group, accomplished by means of a new theoretical model.

A new theoretical approach is also offered by Mario von Cranach (Chapter 8). Whereas the idea that leadership is determined by the nature of the group and the problems it means to solve can be traced back at least to Bogardus (1918) and was central to all group-dynamic conceptions of leadership since Brown (1936), the fresh look von Cranach invites us to take is from a sociopsychologically adapted theory of action. Recalling what was said about continuities and discontinuities in the history of science, we have here a conceptual and methodological innovation emerging or construed from the convergence of two traditions.

Although it makes sense to analyze leadership in the context of groups and group actions and to understand group activities as always implying some kind and degree of leadership, we must not forget the lesson from history: There are leaders of the masses who are not primarily leaders of small groups (the favorite units of social psychological analysis). The leader of a nation or of a mass movement and the idol of a generation may be members of small groups, but their leadership role derives from the feelings and the responses of the masses. In full analogy with the group-psychological approach we are held to study mass leadership in its social context. There may be similarities, but there will also be differences. And who dares to generalize from small-group research to the study of crowds and mass movements? Although we know that some do, we preferred to look into some of the specifics of collective leadership.

One remarkable phenomenon is the patent contradiction that arises in social movements that, while resenting hierarchical structures, and above all dominating leader figures, are in urgent need of direction and structure. Leaders are needed but unwanted, or at best tolerated as necessary ills as was the case in the German socialist movement in late nineteenth century, as demonstrated by Groh in Chapter 3. This problem continues to be faced by contemporary grassroots movements like the West German Green Party, who resent the existence of those partisans to whom they owe a good part of their public appeal, prestige, and constituency. It is the figures against the more homogeneous ground of the masses that make up the public image of social movements, and the image may become an essential part of a social representation. One of the modern means of creating, building up, shaping, and strengthening the prestige of leading figures is by the design and rehearsal of media events. Leadership at the top levels of modern mass society has become unthinkable without its regular or intermittent presentation to the public by means of the mass media. In Chapter 9 Katz and Dayan contribute a brief study on the different social functions served by the rehearsals of contests, conquests, and coronations. The questions behind this demonstration remains: What is the need for heroes in a democratic society? Is it the need to identify? to adore? to be carried away? Whatever the proper answers may be, we are back in the psychology of the crowd rather than the group. In any case, the media of modern mass communication are an integral part of the social context in which leadership is realized.

In a similar vein-partly more extreme, partly more down-to-earth-Nadav Kennan and Martha Hadley demonstrate how political leaders are made and marketed like other consumer goods with the help of modern marketing research and strategy (Chapter 10). This contribution was bound to receive more than mere praise. As perhaps the most prosaic text in our discourse on leadership it came closest to the ideal of experimental design: control all the variables but the ones you want to vary in accordance with your intention (hypothesis). On second look, however, it is less an experiment in conditioning than a well-designed training program. As such it is in line with a long tradition of training candidates to become political, ecclesiastical, business, or military leaders. At the far modern extreme from the original conception of the Great Man manipulating the masses, we have now the irony of a quasi-inversion: The leader-to-be is the leader to be manipulated according to the expectations and hopes of the masses who, in yet another aspect of the interactions, are regularly or intermittently being told what they may expect or at least hope for. The social context in which such leadership occurs is truly complex in its reciprocal nature and a challenge for better theory and methodology.

The present volume contains the revised papers presented to the Study Group. It does not reflect the group discussions except in a much digested form in this introduction and in the epilogue by Serge Moscovici. A few comments on the vicissitudes of our communication are in order. The Study Group is interdisciplinary as well as international; its lingua franca is English, the second language for the majority of speakers (and authors). It is in this language that we have tried, mostly with success, to communicate differences that sometimes were difficult to convey because of the need to translate into a common language. Only superficially can the difficulties be called linguistic, however. They were also cultural in many respects. I daresay that our exchange on the changing conceptions of leadership was as cross-cultural as it was cross-disciplinary. Cross-culturally we have several problems that make comparisons difficult. Most comparisons may involve differences in political culture and tradition, for example between France,