

LEADERSHIP ORIENTATION AND SELF-PRESENTATION: A LEADER'S
IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT UNDER STRESS

By

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Organizational leadership has been viewed both as a social role bounded by norms and expectations, and as a dynamic social influence or social exchange process. In both, the contingencies of the situation and the personality of the leader are seen to interact in the production of leadership behavior. The evaluation of that behavior depends on the degree to which it satisfies the expectations of the organization and of the group members and fosters goal achievement for both.

The organizationally appointed leader's objective is to achieve maximum performance with a minimal use of formal sanctions. One method the leader has to achieve this is through the establishment of a working relationship with each subordinate. This process has been labeled "role-making" and involves the exchange of information and expectations. In the initial phase of "role-making" self-presentation or impression management is seen as crucial. This "taking of a line" or establishing of "face" is the individual's way of trying to control the definition of the situation and the informal social exchange agreements that are formed.

For the appointed leader, self-presentation is seen as a means of establishing initial credibility and indicating one's suitability for the leadership role so as to gain a high degree of voluntary compliance from subordinates early in the interaction.

Three scales were considered as possible predictors of a leader's self-presentation: Johnson and Johnson's Leadership Behavior Survey, Fiedler's Least Preferred Co-Worker Scale, and Ziller's Self-Other Orientation Scale. Relationships among these scales were evaluated and their predictability for a structured self-presentation analyzed in a laboratory study using decision making groups.

Forty-eight freshman ROTC cadets participated in 4-person groups in which each served as the group leader for one of four tactical situations. Situational stress was manipulated by emphasis on the task responsibilities, the human relations responsibilities, or both of these functions of appointed leaders. Each member prepared a structured self-presentation by rating himself on the degree to which each of 33 personal attributes was representative of him. This description was read to the group by the member prior to his tenure as group leader. At the conclusion of the fourth situation, group members rated each other on performance and the predictability of their self-presentation for their behavior as leader.

Certain hypotheses concerning the relationships among the scales were supported. Low LPC leaders were found to be higher in self-esteem, as predicted. Against predictions, most leaders described themselves as active on both dimensions of the Leadership Behavior Survey rather

than emphasizing the functional area corresponding to their secondary motivation as inferred from their LPC score.

A strong main effect of LPC was found for the favorability of self-presentations. Low LPC leaders described themselves more favorably. In particular, low LPC leaders who received the experimental manipulation emphasizing both dimensions of leadership described themselves most favorably on the structured self-presentation. High LPC leaders in this condition, in contrast, described themselves less favorably. These low LPC leaders' self-presentations were seen as highly predictive of their future behavior while these high LPC leaders were seen as performing very differently than they said they would. Leaders in both these cells, however, achieved high leadership performance ratings.

This investigation provides some evidence that the LPC scale may be a useful predictor of an individual's self-presentation style and that different styles may be equally effective in fostering attributions of effectiveness for the individual in the leadership role.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

People come to occupy the social role of leader in a variety of ways. Some emerge from the group by virtue of activity or resource to become "first among peers." Others conduct open campaigns for recognized positions and attain the leader role through election by the group to be led. Still others are altercast by the group into the role of leader seemingly against their will and inclination. A large percentage of those who occupy formal positions of authority, however, are appointed not by the group members themselves but by the larger organization or corporate hierarchy of which that group is a part. The production foreman, the school principal, the police sergeant, the corporate manager, and the military officer all occupy positions of authority by virtue of organizational appointment. The problem of predicting how effective an appointed individual will be in the leader role has intrigued students of the leadership process for centuries. Single factor leadership theories ranging from the "Great Man" and trait hypotheses to situational force prescriptions have failed to attain substantial predictive validity. Interactionist theories, as exemplified by Fiedler's Contingency Model (1967) have achieved greater success by considering the complex interactions between the unique characteristics of the leader and the intricacies of the situation.

Leadership is viewed as both a social role bounded by expectations and as a dynamic social influence/social exchange process. The specific role expectations and exchange agreements that come to operate within a formal group are derived from the interaction of general social norms, organizational presumptions and the characteristics of the group members.

Recently, Fiedler (1974) has proposed that organizations can improve their chances of securing effective leadership by the manipulation of certain situational variables and/or the appropriate matching of a prospective leader to situations which favor that individual's leadership "style." In his formulation, Fiedler (1974) proposes two contrasting "styles" based on the construct of motivational hierarchy and utilizes three situational factors to analyze the degree of uncertainty or stress confronting the leader. Based on over one hundred empirical studies, Fiedler concludes that "a leader's performance depends as much on the situation assigned him (her) as on his or her own personality" (1974, p. 70). The organization may most readily change the situation by altering the structure of the group task and/or by adjusting the level of position power authorized. Changes in the most significant of Fiedler's three situational dimensions, however, depend primarily on the leader, for it is he or she who must establish person to person working relationships with subordinates and superiors.

It is the objective of this paper to present an investigation of the processes of self-presentation and role-building as they relate to the establishment of such operational relationships between the appointed leader and others within a formal group. The ability to establish one's credibility and suitability for the role of leader

is seen as crucial to the formation of working relationships that will facilitate goal achievement and ascriptions of effectiveness. Based on this assumption, the central questions then are (1) is there a way to predict a leader's self-presentational emphasis, (2) do situational as well as personal variables effect self-presentations, and (3) do the leader's early efforts at defining his/her role affect later evaluations of his/her performance on-the-job?

A Role Making Model of Leadership

Most classic and contemporary psychological theories of leadership have concentrated on the precursors and results of leadership behavior. Classic theories, based on the presumed traits of leaders and principles of leadership performance, assumed that possession of the former and knowledge of and adherence to the latter would foster acceptance of the individual as "leader" and enhance his/her effectiveness. Having the "correct" complex of traits coupled with somewhat flexible behavior patterns (based on knowledge of "the principles") was viewed both as the predictor of and criteria for judging suitability for leadership.

Situational theories of leadership and management, in contrast, have concentrated on the environmental precursors and on-going social forces. Conceptually, as the situational forces vary, required or preferred leadership behaviors also vary. A number of models have been proposed and tested to varying degrees which suggest the matching of leadership behavior to the demands of such situational variables as time constraints, communications system, imposed organizational structure, task demands, group composition, and stress.

Numerous definitions of leadership have been proposed that suggest leadership should be viewed as an on-going group process. Allport

(1924) proposed that leadership requires direct, face to face contact between leader and followers as it is a process of "personal social control." Nash (1929) advanced his belief that leadership "implies influencing change" in the behavior of people, while Tead (1929) defined it as the activity of influencing others to cooperate in achieving some mutually desirable goal. For Schenk (1928) leadership is the "management" of men and women by inspiration and persuasion rather than by coercion or the threat of coercion. French and Raven (1959) and others have defined leadership in terms of differential power relationships operating among the members of a group.

Social Power and the Leadership Process

Bertrand Russell, writing in 1938 stated, "The fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics" (cited in Clark, 1969, p. 511). Russell proposes that the "laws" of social dynamics can be understood only in terms of power and considered it the job of social sciences to discover these laws. Clark (1969) defines "social power" as "the force or energy required to bring about, to sustain, or to prevent social, political, or economic change" (p. 515). To have meaning in a social context, power must be demonstrable. Claims to power are not the same as power itself. Being in the position of leader and having the authority to determine the direction of group activities is a potential source of power. It is not, however, actual power. Performing in the role of decision maker is an exercise of power only when the decision is put into action by group members.

The social phenomenon called leadership is the process of gaining willing compliance with decisions and insuring the execution of

directions by others without resort to coercive force. Therefore, as the central attribute of the leadership process, interpersonal influence is social power in operation. As the primary concern of this paper is the investigation of organizationally appointed rather than emergent or elected leaders, the following definition of leadership will be used:

Leadership is "the process of influencing human behavior so as to accomplish the goals prescribed by the organizationally appointed leader." (Bons, 1976, p. 6)

Within an organization, the authority to direct and control the behavior of others is derived from the normative and functional structures of the organization and is exercised by selected members who occupy those positions in the hierarchy responsible for the achievement of organizational goals. Members comply with the direction of those occupying positions of authority because they recognize the right of the organization to influence their behavior on certain tasks and in certain situations. In exchange for this granted power, the organization provides rewards or remuneration to its members. However, as noted by Katz and Kahn (1966), the essence of effective organizational leadership is the achievement of desired behavior beyond simple compliance with "routine directives" or minimally acceptable performance. Effective leaders are those who are able to exercise some forms of social power beyond the position-dependent legitimate power accorded to all who occupy that organizational position.

French and Raven (1959) proposed four bases of social power in addition to legitimate power. Reward and coercive power are in large measure dependent on the degree of legitimate power and distributable resources provided to the leader by the organization for use as his/her

discretion. Personal resources also play a role but are seen as instrumental in determining the degree of referent and expert power attributed to the leader by followers. Identification with the leader is the basis for referent power while acknowledgement of task relevant skills and knowledge forms the foundation for the exercise of expert power. Leadership, then, is the ability to acquire and to apply appropriately the various forms of social power so as to attain the prescribed goals of the group through coordinated action of the members.

Leader Behavior--the Application of Social Power

An incredible amount of research effort has been expended in quest of the definitive list of leadership/management/supervisory behaviors. Most present classifications of leadership behavior can be traced, at least in part, to Halpin and Winer's (1952) report of Hemphill's 1950 Ohio State University study of aircraft commanders. These authors suggested four factors: consideration, initiation of structure, production emphasis, and sensitivity or social awareness.

Bowers and Seashore (1973) reviewed the research on leadership and compared a large number of conceptualizations of leadership functions. While they prefer use of four factors, the dual aspects of group maintenance functions (consideration) and goal achievement functions (task orientation) preferred by Cartwright and Zander (1968) and Stogdill (1974) seem to have gained general acceptance. Fiedler (1971) calls the identification of the two factors of initiation of structure and consideration "one of the most important achievements of leadership research" (p. 7). This may well be true, yet military theorists since Sun Tzu, writing for his emperor at the end of the sixth century B.C. (Griffith, 1963), have emphasized these two factors.

Present day military leadership theory can be summarized in the concise statement from the Armed Forces Officer (DOD, 1960), "The winning of battles is the product of the winning of men" (p. 70). The mission, always of prime importance, can be accomplished most effectively by gaining the willing compliance and support of those men who must work together to accomplish it. Leadership, as "the winning of men," is an influence process, one that is based on the building of credibility, confidence, trust, and mutual respect between the leader and the led. The "winning of battles" is essentially a management process, concerned with the efficient and effective application of resources, both human and material, to the accomplishment of a given task. However, without the former, the latter process will suffer from internal power struggles which will vie with task related challenges for the attention and energies of the group or organization and its members. The would-be leader is the military in particular, but also in industry, business, and government is counseled that mission accomplishment, whether that mission is victory in battle, high productivity, maximum profits, or national survival, is paramount. This goal is, according to the United States Army's Field Manual 22-100 Military Leadership, "fully compatible with a leadership approach that includes reasonable consideration of the men being led" (1973, p. i). Taking care of your subordinates, men and women, is a cardinal principle of leadership; "It is a paramount and overriding responsibility of every officer to take care of his men before caring for himself" (The Armed Forces Officer, 1960, p. 30). The leader's dual responsibilities of mission accomplishment and concern for subordinate's welfare are intimately interwoven. And yet, the descriptions of leadership behavior

and the classification systems of that behavior that have come into common use in the psychology and management literature have succeeded in isolating these responsibilities and for the most part ignoring their interrelationships.

Research with small problem solving groups conducted concurrently with Hemphill's study resulted in the development of the Interaction Process Analysis technique (Bales, 1950). From this research base, Bales proposed that leaders may be classified on the basis of their most frequent behaviors as "task specialists" or as "social specialists." Suggesting that groups need both types of leadership, Bales acknowledged that both types might be provided by the same person. While it may not be reflected in reality, the military leader is expected to do just that--perform as both task and socio-emotional leader for his unit.

This behavioral specialization is often referred to as role differentiation and has been conceptually tied to the concepts of social exchange, social power, and reciprocal social influence in an effort to more fully describe the leadership process.

Social Roles and Social Exchange

Homans (1958) is generally recognized as having first conceived of human interaction and communication in groups as an exchange process. Each member is seen as having certain expectations for the interaction, expectations both of process and of outcome. Many of these expectations are often tied to the normative structure of the group and society at large through the medium of social roles.

There are three different aspects of a social role. The perceived role is that complex of behaviors viewed by the position holder or "actor" as appropriate for one occupying that position. Other social

group members similarly have a perception of the appropriate behaviors for a position occupant which may be termed the expected role. Thirdly, the actual behavior of a position occupant comprises the enacted role, which may be variably correspondent with the other two conceptualizations. Role conformity is defined as a high degree of correspondence between expected and enacted roles. In-role performances (enacted roles) are judged both on their degree of correspondence and on the outcomes they produce.

Playing a role well often means conforming to the expectations of the group which defines the expected role components. Sarbin (1968) views role expectations as a cognitive concept through which positions in the social structure are defined in terms of actions and qualities expected of the person who at any time occupies the position. Sarbin describes it thus:

The conduct expected of the occupant of the position, the exercise of rights and privileges, and the fulfillment of duties and obligations, applies to the person who at any time is assigned this role. (Sarbin, 1968, p. 498)

Sarbin (1968) proposes three judgmental questions concerning role enactment. First, is the conduct (behavior/enacted role) appropriate to the social position granted to or attained by the actor? That is, does the performance fit the ecological setting? Secondly, is the enactment proper? That is, does overt behavior meet normative demands and standards (expected role) which serve as evaluation criteria for the observer? And thirdly, is the enactment convincing? That is, does the enactment lead the observer to declare unequivocally that the incumbent is legitimately occupying the position? The answer to each of these questions will determine in part the costs and rewards incurred by the actor as a result of that behavioral sequence. This

is especially true if the behavior is an influence attempt made by an individual in a leadership position.

As Hollander and Julian (1970) put it, "...the leader who fulfills expectations and helps achieve group goals provides a rewarding resource for others which is exchanged for status, esteem and greater influence" (p. 35). This is the essence of the leader-follower exchange agreement or "informal contract." In return for his/her "leader pay" (defined by Jacobs, 1971, as higher degrees of status wisdom, esteem, competence, etc.) the individual performing the leadership role is expected to facilitate the satisfaction of member needs and aspirations. Therefore, the outcome of group activities is an important determinant of the final social exchange ratio.

The personal determinants of role enactment are (1) past experience, (2) physical and intellectual ability, (3) the number of roles and positions simultaneously salient to the actor, (4) organismic involvement (effort), and (5) preemptiveness (time and priorities). Cameron (1950) proposed that the more roles in an individual's repertoire (i.e., past experience) the better prepared this actor will be to meet the exigencies of social life. A diverse repertoire would insure possession of such assets as adaptability and flexibility, which are manifest in the ability to reciprocate to novel input and to accommodate stress from both sudden change and from long unremitting strain within the social context. In this regard, Biddle and Thomas (1966) employ the concept of "specialization" which is defined as the amount and variety of particular differentiated behaviors engaged in by a person. The individual possesses both a level of within-role specialization and a broader level of role-summed/position-summed specialization. In the

social exchange of group interaction, role appropriate abilities, skills, knowledge, techniques, physical traits, and past experience become "currency" available to the individual.

In the special case of the position of leader, role enactment centers around the exercise of influence. Bass (1961) has divided the process of social influence into three stages. He labeled an individual's efforts to alter or direct the behavior of others as "attempted" leadership. In both informal groups and formal organizational settings, numerous suggestions, proposals, and wishes are expressed. Of these attempted leadership acts, only those that actually produce the suggested or desired change in others can be classified as "successful" leadership. "Effective" leadership exists in Bass' model only when the change in behavior results in reinforcement or reward for the complying individuals. A member's action or effort that leads the group to execute a course of action that results in goal achievement is, therefore, an act of effective leadership, regardless of whether this action was taken by the formally recognized "leader" or a hierarchical subordinate. It must be noted that Bass' formulation has been primarily applied to the concept of emergent leadership in "leaderless groups." It suggests, however, that judgments of the effectiveness of an individual occupying an institutional position of leader (titular leader) will be made on the degree to which his/her decisions, directions, and guidance result first in compliance and then in rewarding outcomes for the organization and its members.

The social exchange process involves the expectations that each individual has for himself and for each of the other members of the group. Argyle and Kendon (1967) propose that one of the major

determinants of these expectations and subsequently one's performance in a situation is one's conception of the "kinds of others" he/she is dealing with. If we perceive our fellow workers and/or subordinates as self-motivated, enthusiastic, cooperative and competent our behavior towards them will vary radically from that which we would manifest if we saw them as unmotivated, antagonistic, and incompetent. In 1964, Dr. Robert Ziller proposed that the extent to which the leader differentiates among the members of his group is positively related to the variance of the leader's performance ratings of these members as well as the the "satisfaction and productivity" of the group members. He cites a series of studies conducted by Fred Fiedler (1960) which indicated that those leaders described as "psychologically distant" were more effective in promoting the productivity of task groups than are leaders with "psychologically closer interpersonal relations." Fiedler assumed that his "similarity of opposites" and "least preferred co-worker" scales were the measure of "psychological distance," a term Ziller suggests is a misnomer for the concept being measured. Ziller concludes that in reality, the leader is being asked to discriminate between two persons. Apparently then, the leaders who were effective in discrimination between "good" and "poor" workers in some general sense were more effective in promoting the productivity of task groups. He goes on to state:

...Fiedler's results suggest that leaders of highly productive groups evaluated the members as individuals rather than as non-differentiated parts of a greater whole, the group; that is, members of the more productive groups were individuated by their leaders. (p. 355)

Erving Goffman (1959) suggests another factor influencing the social exchange bargain or informal contract arranged between members

of a task group. He states:

Regardless of the particular objective which the individual has in mind and of his motive for having this objective, it will be in his interest to control the conduct of the others, especially their responsive treatment of him. This control is achieved largely by influencing the definition of the situation which the others come to formulate, and he can influence this definition by expressing himself in such a way to give them the kind of impression that will lead them to act voluntarily in accordance with his own plan [emphasis added]. (p. 3)

For the leader of a military, industrial, or governmental organization, this statement has special importance. Tasked with the responsibility of directing the group's activities and accountable for the group's performance on its assigned tasks, the leader must "control" the behavior of others by gaining the maximum amount of "voluntary" compliance. Such voluntary compliance will reduce the leader's costs incurred through demands for critical observation and detailed supervision, threatened and applied sanctions, and promised and granted incentives. The leader can control the definition of the situation in large measure by influencing the expectations followers come to form about his or her suitability to serve in the leadership position and by prescribing the terms of the informal contract or exchange bargain that must be negotiated between the leader and each subordinate. Graen (1975) calls this process of defining the situation and establishing a working consensus for the group "role making."

Role Making

Graen (1975) defines role making as a set of processes by which two functionally interdependent individuals work through how each will behave in certain situations (interlocking behavior) and agree upon the structural characteristics of their relationship (constructing relationship norms).

This process occurs against the background of the society, the culture, and the formal or informal organization to which these individuals belong.

Graen and Cashman (1975) have proposed that the functional relationship between a person in a leader position and one in a follower position constitutes a special case of role making. The occupants of these two hierarchical positions form a vertical dyad and their interaction constitutes a vertical dyad linkage which is circumscribed by the development of both behavioral norms and relationship norms between the leader and the individual group member.

Graen and Cashman (1975) summarize the role-making process between a newly appointed leader and group member as follows:

The model which emerges from our role making studies of managerial dyads within formal organizations is one of team building within units. Leaders of managerial units, when faced with the task of developing new reporting relationships with most of those they are responsible for leading, respond in manners which serve to differentiate their units. With only some of their subordinate managers, leaders attempt to develop special exchange relationships which transcend the formal employment contract. All subordinate managers so selected may or may not accept such a special exchange relationship. But, those who do consummate such an exchange, promise to develop into members of the 'trusted' in-group of the leader. In contrast, those who either are not given the opportunity or who decline the opportunity of the special exchange become members of the out-group of the leader. Thus, the unit becomes differentiated over time into two distant subgroups, an in-group and an out-group. (p. 17)

The first stages of role-making must include the exchange of information between the members of the dyad. Graen calls this the "Sampling Phase" which begins with the first encounter and the impressions made by each member. Initial observations and assessments are matched against expectations for physical appearance, bearing, speech patterns,

task relevant abilities, talents, interests and motivations. It is during this Sampling Phase that the leader's self-presentational skill will be particularly important.

The Self-Presentational Process

Well before Goffman (1959) proposed his theatrical analogy of social behavior, Dexter (1950) wrote, "The most important instrument with which the leader has to work is himself--his own personality and the impression that he creates on other people" (p. 592). Anyone desiring to assume leadership, he counsels, "will discover that his behavior, gestures, mannerisms, styles of clothing, all may enter into his effectiveness or ineffectiveness--and that in selling his ideas, he must also be concerned with the impression he himself makes" (p. 593). Dexter further proposes that "the innovator or leader must study, to achieve maximum effectiveness, what role he ought to play and, within the limits of possibility, adapt himself to that role, realizing always that changing situations may call for a change in roles" (p. 593).

The above statements constitute a fair description of the concepts and processes involved in social phenomena called self-presentation. Behavior ranging from formal written self-description such as a resumé to the simplest mannerism presents our "public face" to the world (Goffman, 1967). Argyle and Kendon (1967) suggest, "Generally speaking, people present a somewhat idealized or at least edited version of themselves for public inspection" (p. 82), and propose that the ability to "create perceptions of and attitudes towards self on the part of others present is a subtle social skill, though one that is usually practiced quite unconsciously" (p. 82).

Goffman (1959) calls this ability to "create perceptions" impression management which he defines as the process by which people select those personal attributes for presentation that will facilitate the creating of a certain impression in hopes of improving their chances for success in the situation. A consistent and well supported self-presentation is what Argyle and Kendon (1967) would call a "skilled performance." They define "performance" as a stream of action continuously under the control of sensory input, and a "skill" as an organized, coordinated activity in relation to an object or situation involving sensory, central nervous system, and motor mechanisms. The elements of a skilled self-presentational performance would include self-descriptions supported by actual behavior; performance predictions that could be met or exceeded; and situationally relevant abilities offered to the group and then provided. Consistency of one's predictive self-presentation and one's actual behavior will foster credibility as a communicator (Burgoon, 1974) and as a legitimate source of influence.

If we wish to make a certain impression, we must carefully control the appropriate aspects of our public behavior. Our public image will determine in large measure how others will react to us and, therefore, we take care to present a "face" that will facilitate social interaction and/or the achievement of our personal goals for the ongoing interaction. As noted by Dexter (1950) and frequently by Goffman (1959, 1967), changing situations call for a change of roles and, therefore, of self-presentation. The individual in an interaction creates specific expectations in others through his/her self-presentation. The self-presentation conveys information about how an individual sees him-/

herself and how he/she would like to be seen by others. Since the individual portrays each social role with a degree of uniqueness, observation of that person's overt behavior is essential to determining how that individual defines the situation and what position he/she intends to occupy in the interaction. Goffman says it best:

Every person lives in a world of social encounters, involving him in either face to face or mediated contact with other participants. In each of these contacts, he tends to act out...a line--that is, a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself. Regardless of whether a person intends to take a line (make a self-presentation) he will find that he has done so in effect. The other participants will assume that he has more or less willfully taken a stand, so that is he is to deal with their responses to him, he must take into consideration the impressions they have formed of him. (1955, p. 213)

Establishing Credibility

Numerous studies of persuasion processes including propaganda, advertising, and attitude change using both direct person to person and mass communications, have shown the source's credibility or believability to be of central importance (see reviews by Kiesler, Collins, & Miller, 1969; Burgoon, 1973).

Source credibility is a perceived phenomenon; it is "in the eye of the beholder." McCroskey and his associates have suggested five attributes or dimensions influencing the perception of source credibility. These are competence, character, composure, sociability, and extraversion (McCroskey, Jensen, & Todd, 1972). Conflict between dimensions, however, reduces the overall credibility of the source. Great expertise without trustworthiness (good character) may not produce high credibility, while extroversion with composure, sociability,

and apparent trustworthiness may overcome a task competence deficiency and permit influence to be exerted by the source.

Perceptions of credibility are tied to the source's self-presentation and degree of self-disclosure. Goffman (1959) sees maintaining composure as crucial to preventing "loss of face," while that class of behaviors labeled "extroverted" are a means of gaining and holding a central location (focal point) in the group and consequently the attention of that audience. Informing others of task related skills and abilities through self-description and actual performance provides them with information upon which to make a competence estimate. Perceptions of trustworthiness result when an individual fulfills or surpasses an ability self-description or a previously stated intention to act.

Bandura suggests that the consequences for self and others of behavior also influences the perception of source credibility. If we observe a source or potential model threaten or promise a particular consequence (for another individual) contingent upon a prescribed behavior and then fail to follow through on the threat or promise, the source's credibility drops. Inconsistencies in "follow through" behavior by leaders and other holding reward/coercive power makes their future behavior unpredictable and reduces their credibility.

As noted above, one of the variables involved in the perception of communicator credibility is competence. In the case of the appointed leader, the presentation of evidence concerning competence for the position is of central importance, as referent and expert power (French & Raven, 1959) are both related to demonstrated competence. For example, Goldman and Fraas (1965) ran task-oriented groups with four types of leaders: (1) those appointed by the experimenter for

ability on the task; (2) those arbitrarily appointed; (3) those elected by the group; and (4) no leader (leaderless groups). In this study, groups worked best for the leader appointed for proven ability, that is, the ones perceived by the group as having the ability or competence to lead on the task. Supporting this is the fact that the second best groups were led by elected leaders, who it can be assumed were seen as reliable and effective.

Self-presentation therefore can be seen as an integral part of the building of relationships within a formal group. Each member, but the new leader in particular, presents his/her definition of the role he/she is to play and the personal attributes they see as appropriate to that performance. Subsequent evaluations of performance may well be influenced by the degree of correspondence between the leader's initial self-description and subsequent on-the-job behavior. This subsequent behavior is usually referred to as the leader's "style."

Defining the Situation

The role building model presented assumes that the appointed leader will make an analysis of the situation and attempt to alter certain facets to increase his/her control. In particular, the leader's initial self-presentation is seen as an attempt to generate certain expectations that will foster attributions of competence, credibility and legitimacy. Such favorable attributions should increase the leader's ability to influence the behavior of his/her subordinates toward the accomplishment of prescribed goals.

In addition to the expectations of subordinates, other situational variables also have an impact on the leader's behavior. Korten (1962), for example, proposes that variations in stress will alter the acceptability

of different styles of leadership. He contends that in high stress situations there is pressure for a clarification of goals and of goal paths (means to attain goals). He goes on to state that:

...the more compelling and/or the more clearly structured the goal, the greater will be the desire to take a direct approach to the attainment of the goal. Pleasant socializing is replaced with more intense emphasis on achievement. (p. 225)

Such a "direct approach" to task achievement he labels authoritarian leadership which he defines as centralized decision making. In less stressful situations, or when a task is well in hand, Korten suggests that groups prefer a more democratic or person-oriented rather than task-oriented leader.

Korten's model, however, considers only one side of the leadership effectiveness question. According to Fiedler (1974), certain types of leaders will behave differently in a given situation. In describing his Contingency Model, Fiedler states:

The theory holds that the effectiveness of the task group or an organization depends on two main factors: the personality of the leader and the degree to which the situation gives the leader power, control and influence over the situation or, conversely, the degree to which the situation confronts the leader with uncertainty. (p. 65)

Accurately estimating the uncertainty and perceiving the demands of the situation is a challenge to even the most socially adroit. For the newly appointed leader this challenge is particularly salient for at no other time are the many variables effecting the leadership process less under the leader's control than in the early stages of his/her association with a group. It is at this point that the interaction between a leader's personality and the situation is particularly evident. Not only immediate reactive behavior of others but future

effectiveness as well may depend on the leader's ability to rapidly gain control of the situation and reduce the level of uncertainty for him/herself and for others by establishing credibility and legitimacy. A carefully considered self-presentation is seen as the first step in defining the situation and building the parameters of one's role.

In summary, a role-making model of leadership has been presented that incorporates the concepts of social power, social exchange, leadership functions, and situational pressures. The initial phase of an encounter between the appointed leader and the group is a period of testing. Both the group environment and the other members of the group are investigated and evaluated. Members attempt to clarify their roles and offer their expectations for the leader, who in turn attempts to define the situation in terms favorable to his/her "style" of leadership. The result is a working consensus upon which the group builds its subsequent interactions.

CHAPTER II

PREDICTORS OF SELF-PRESENTATION

For the formal organization, the selection and placement of leaders and managers is a crucial problem. Fiedler (1974) contends that leaders should be matched to the situation in which they must function. This match may be achieved by altering the situation to fit the leader; by altering the leader to fit the situation; or by selecting leaders who by personality and motivation are suited to the existing situation. This latter course of action requires the use of some means of analyzing the leader and the situation. A number of models have been devised and tested to varying degrees in an effort to uncover a reasonable predictor of leadership performance and effectiveness. However, none has directly addressed the leader's self-presentational behavior. The capability to predict the "live" or "face" a leader is likely to assume for him/herself in a given situation would be a forward step in the interpretation and explanation of differential leadership performance. If we could predict the most likely self-presentation and judge its effectiveness in fostering attributions of competence and credibility, then we might well be able to help potential leaders increase their impression management skills.

Three scales were selected as potential predictors of self-presentational emphasis--Johnson and Johnson's (1975) Leadership Behavior Survey, Fiedler's (1967) Least Preferred Co-Worker (LPC) Scale, and

Ziller's (1973) Self-Other Orientation Scale. In addition to their differences in format, the scales also differ in the object rated. The Behavior Survey consists of 20 statements describing behavior in group settings. The items are equally divided between task functions and group maintenance functions. The respondent is instructed to rate him/herself on each item so as to reflect how he/she usually behaves in groups. A five point frequency scale (always to never) is used. A total score for each of the functional groupings (task and maintenance) is computed and these scores are then used as "coordinates" to permit plotting of the individual's self-report on the "task-maintenance grid." Johnson and Johnson assume this placement is a veridical indicator of the individual's leadership style. A (1,1) person is inactive and non-directive; a (1,10) person places high value on maintaining good interpersonal relations within the group; a (10,1) person places maximum emphasis on task accomplishment with minimum concern for group maintenance; a (5,5) person, sitting in the center of the grid, balances task and maintenance needs of the group through compromise and yet neglects the "creative integration" of these two needs; finally, the (10,10) person is seen as the "ideal" leader--creative, democratic and committed to both the task and his/her subordinates.

The LPC scale consists of 16 to 22 bipolar adjectives separated by an eight-unit equal interval scale. Respondents are requested to think of the individual with whom they have had the most difficult time working on a cooperative task and then to describe this individual using the scale items. Total scores are computed with subjects divided on the basis of their score into high and low LPC categories or high, middle and low LPC designations.

The Self-Other Orientation Scale consists of a set of topological representations on which the respondent is asked to place letters representing various combinations of persons including self, friends, parents, etc. The scale is intended as a measure of self-concept and includes items to assess self-esteem, self-centrality, social interest, interpersonal power, social marginality (reflecting competing group demands) and inclusion (identification with a group). Respondents are scored on each item individually resulting in a composite self-concept representation.

Interpretation of the Scales

Johnson and Johnson's (1975) Leadership Behavior Survey is an updated form of Blake and Mouton's (1964) Managerial Grid Approach. It was designed as a behavioral analysis system to facilitate the teaching of diagnostic skills and behaviors to be used in improving the effectiveness of a working group under respondent's leadership. Johnson and Johnson (1975) define leadership as the "performance of acts that help the group reach its goals, maintain itself in good working order, and adapt to changes in the environment, and these acts are group functions" (p. 22). In support of their approach, Johnson and Johnson (1975) state, "The functional approach to leadership assumes that leadership is a learned set of skills that anyone with certain minimal requirements can acquire," and they contend that an individual's orientation to leadership can be analyzed and enhanced by training.

The Behavior Survey represents a class of self-descriptive scales that may be easily manipulated by respondents (Campbell, Dunnette, Lawler, & Weick, 1970). Its items are all positively stated and each represents a behavior that is, by definition, desirable for the "ideal

leader." As such, responses may well reflect an idealized rating rather than the assumed veridical perception of the individuals' actual behavior in groups.

In contrast to the Behavior Survey, the LPC scale is not readily connected to an idealize role description. Whether a person's rating of the least preferred co-worker is in fact a perception of a single individual or of a class of people is not in question here. Fiedler (1972, 1974) considers the LPC scale to be an indicator of a dimension of an individual's personality. Specifically, Fiedler considers the LPC score to be "an index of a goal or motivational hierarchy" (p. 11, 1971) with a high score indicative of a social relationship motivated individual and a low score suggesting task achievement motivation. He contends that for an individual this hierarchy remains relatively stable with one aspect consistently predominating and cites test-retest reliability for military leaders of .72 over an 8-month period (Bons, 1974) and .67 for faculty members over a 2-year period (Prothero, 1974).

Fiedler (1971) states that the high LPC person (an individual who rates his least preferred co-worker high on the majority of the items) "does indeed have as his basic goal the establishment and maintenance of close interpersonal relations--he needs to be related and socially connected to others" (p. 11). If, however, good relations exist in the group, this primary goal is satisfied and the high LPC individual will seek satisfaction of secondary goals which Fiedler claims "appear to be the approval and admiration of others and the attainment of a position of prominence" (1971, p. 11). The high LPC person will strive to attain this recognition through concentration on the task-related aspects of the situation.

On the other hand, Fiedler (1971) states that the low LPC person (an individual more willing to criticize another, as indicated by ratings on the negative side of the dimensions), "has as his major goal the accomplishment of a task or assignment" (p. 11)...the low LPC person appears to derive his principle reinforcement and self-esteem from task accomplishment. However, when the task is under control, the low LPC person pursues his secondary goal of good interpersonal relations with his co-workers, believing good relations to be conducive to task accomplishment.

As is implicit in the above explanation, Fiedler does not consider the LPC scale to be an independent predictor of leadership behavior. In contrast to Johnson and Johnson's (1975) assumption of an "ideal leader," Fiedler (1974) states that "it is not accurate to speak of a 'good' or a 'poor' leader, rather, a leader may perform well in one type situation but not in another" (p. 71). The behavior of a leader is, for Fiedler, a product of the interaction of that individual's motivational system and demands of the situation.

Ziller's (1973) Self-Other Orientation Scale is ideally suited to an analysis of the self-concept as it relates to leadership behavior. Like the LPC scale, it is not an obvious self-descriptive measure and therefore less prone to conscious manipulation and social desirability influences. Items included in the scale are assumed to tap many dimensions of one's interpersonal orientation that might be related to the role building process and to behavior in groups in general.

Epstein (1973) defines the self-concept as "a dynamic organization that changes with experience" (p. 402) and as "a subsystem of internally consistent hierarchically organized concepts contained within a broader

conceptual system" (Epstein, 1973, p. 407). It is proposed that prominent among these concepts are the social roles that the individual has accepted as characteristic of himself and which act as anchoring points for the individual in social interaction. Similarly, Ziller (1964) views the self-concept as a product of a life-long socialization process which reflects the constant conflict between the needs of one's social group and one's own need satisfaction. For a person in a leadership position, the competing demands of self and group are particularly pronounced. Leadership success is judged primarily on the achievement of group goals, as imposed by the organization and on the satisfaction of subordinates' needs; not on the leader's own level of need satisfaction. The reported self-concept is seen as a reflection of the degree to which one has been able to cope with the competing demands in social life.

Hypotheses Relating the Predictor Scales

Hypothesis One - An inverse relationship exists between LPC score and those aspects of the self-concept that reflect a positive regard for self and a sense of control over the environment. Specifically, it is predicted that (1) high self-esteem, (2) majority identification, (3) high interpersonal power, and (4) high social interest will be more characteristic of low LPC persons than of high LPC persons. As a corollary to Hypothesis One, a direct relationship is predicted between LPC score and measures of marginality, self-centrality and inclusion. Evidence in support of these predictions is largely tangential as these constructs have not previously been directly compared to the best knowledge of this writer. Research supporting the hypothesis as it concerns each of the above constructs will be presented in turn.

Self-esteem. Wylie (1968) indicates that all recent personality theories place importance on "self-referent constructs." The term "self" is used to refer both to an "agent," "doer," or "mover" of behavior, and as the object of the person's own knowledge and evaluations. As a "mover" or motivational agent, however, the self-concept may also reflect what Fiedler (1971) defined as the individual's motivational hierarchy tapped by the LPC scale. The construct of such a motivational hierarchy may best be defined as a manifestation of the individual's past history of reinforcement (success, satisfaction, gratification) in groups, (e.g., Epstein, 1973; Hilgard, 1949). It may be inferred that an individual will emphasize those aspects of a situation that have been rewarding in the past, or those he/she perceives as most likely to result in future positive reinforcement. As has been noted, Fiedler's (1971, 1974) motivational system dichotomy parallels the generally accepted functional division of leadership behaviors into task and maintenance activities. Fiedler infers from his many studies that those scoring high on the LPC scale may be classified as "relationship motivated." These individuals have as their "basic goal the establishment of close interpersonal relations" (Fiedler, 1971, p. 11) and manifest a need to feel socially connected to others. Fiedler (1974) states that this basic goal is particularly apparent in uncertain and anxiety-provoking situations. Under such conditions the high LPC person "will seek out others and solicit their support" (p. 65). The high LPC person's secondary motivation, which becomes apparent in more secure and relaxed conditions, comes from a need for the esteem and admiration of others, especially from immediate superiors.

In contrast to the high LPC person, the low LPC person is seen as principally motivated by task achievement as a tangible demonstration of his or her worth. In uncertain and anxiety-provoking situations, the low LPC person concentrates on completing the task. In situations where the task is reasonably under control, the low LPC person's secondary goals reflect concern for subordinate's feelings and satisfactions. As Fiedler (1974) phrases it, for the low LPC leader it is "business before pleasure, but business with pleasure whenever possible" (p. 66).

Given the above conceptualization, the satisfaction of one's basic goals or needs in an interpersonal setting should be supportive to one's self-concept and maintain or enhance one's self-esteem. Threats to the achievement of one's basic goal or need must be overcome if self-esteem is to be maintained. For a leader whose primary motivation comes from achieving good interpersonal relations, i.e., a high LPC person, the foundations of his/her self-concept would be belief and confidence in his/her social/human relations skills. For a leader whose primary motivation is task achievement, i.e., the low LPC person, his/her self-concept anchors should be in task-related skills proven by experience to result in positive reinforcement, that is, task or mission accomplishment.

Ziller (1973) states that persons with high self-esteem are less dependent on external sources of reinforcement. High self-esteem is related to the integration of the self-system and Ziller sees this integration as providing the individual with a degree of insulation from environmental pressures. In contrast, the low self-esteem person does "not possess a well-developed conceptual buffer for evaluative

stimuli" (p. 4). Ziller (1973) proposes that "Low self-esteem is associated with short term adaptation...whereas high self-esteem is associated with long range adaptation" (p. 6).

Fiedler, Bons, and Hastings (1975) report on the results of a number of studies which indicate (given an initially moderately favorable situation) that the performance of low LPC leaders improve with experience on the job. These authors report positive correlations between performance and experience for task-motivated leaders but a negative relationship for relationship-motivated leaders. They state:

This suggests that relationship-motivated leaders who were moved more rapidly from job to job performed better than did those who remained on the same job longer. Total experience on the job, and in this case, no doubt, in similar jobs, enhanced the performance on the task-motivated leader. (p. 241).

It would appear therefore that low LPC leaders made their adaptations for the long term whereas high LPC leaders reflect a short term adaptation to the job environment.

As has been noted, both high and low LPC persons are seen as placing high value on establishing good interpersonal relations. However, in the case of the high LPC person, acceptance by others is predominant and central to their feelings of competence. Fiedler (1972) reports on a study by Bishop (1964) in which the reactions of high and low LPC leaders to success and failure in interpersonal relations and assigned tasks were measured. Three independent variables were scored from self-reports: adjustment, operationalized as the individual's satisfaction with the group and their reported anxiety and tension; subjective interpersonal success ratings; and subjective task success

as measured by ratings of past and future group performance. Fiedler states that:

Bishop's study showed that the adjustment of high LPC persons increases as a function of experiencing interpersonal success, while the adjustment of low LPC persons increases as a function of experiencing task success. (p. 398).

The high LPC leader's need to be socially connected to others may be most clearly reflected in his/her reluctance to criticize even the least preferred co-worker. Wylie suggests that an individual's evaluations of others are a positive function of one's own level of self-evaluation. Rogers (1951) found in a clinical setting that people with high self-regard tend to be relatively accepting of others. Dittes (1959), however, argues from laboratory research that persons low in self-esteem have a greater need for approval from others, will be more threatened by disapproval, and thus show a strong tendency to report liking people who accept them and dislike those who reject them. Walster (1965) reported similar findings. These discrepant results and interpretations were reviewed by Berscheid and Walster (1969). These authors concluded the variations were the result of situational differences. Experimenters, in an effort to exert control, make the evaluations of others clear to their subjects. Clinicians, in contrast, work in situations where their clients are not sure whether others accept or reject them. This ambiguous interpersonal situation is probably the norm in most "real life" situations where "control" is exercised by all parties to some degree, and where our social norms of courtesy, tact, and emotional control often conceal honest feelings. Under such ambiguous conditions as exist when people first meet, people

with high self-esteem are more likely to assume that others like them and such assumptions lead to reciprocation of liking. Persons low in self-esteem will tend not to make such assumptions of liking and may even expect to be disliked. Thus they may be defensive and distant or they may work hard to "being liked."

The above analysis permits the inference that a person with low self-esteem is more likely to be a high LPC person. Given Dittes' (1959) interpretation of a low self-esteem person's need for approval and Berscheid and Walster's (1969) belief that this same person will not expect to be liked at the outset of an interaction, it is possible to see how the leader with lower self-esteem might concentrate his/her efforts on improving interpersonal relations as a first step in securing his/her leadership position. In contrast, the low LPC person may well be high in self-esteem, being confident in his/her abilities on both the task and, when the opportunity arises, in interpersonal relations. The low LPC person is able to criticize others since he/she is secure in work group situations and sees no threat to his/her own self-concept from the act of criticizing another.

Majority identification. Ziller (1973a) sees majority and minority identification as alternate rather than competing or mutually exclusive coping mechanisms. He states "Identification with the majority is presumed to be associated with a sense of control over the environment" (p. 15) and proposes that "majority identification and self-esteem may be directly associated" (p. 15). Identification with the minority may reflect a degree of personal distinction or feeling of uniqueness. Ziller (1973a) reports majority identification as positively related

to low social interest ($r = 0.36$). Despite their apparent similarity, majority identification is related to low inclusion ($r = 0.24$).

Interpersonal power. As this item is presented, a high score indicates a low sense of personal power vis a vis others in a social context. Ziller (1973a) reports strong positive correlations for power with low social interest ($r = 0.50$), low inclusion ($r = 0.42$), majority identification ($r = .33$) and low self-centrality ($r = .37$). The low LPC leader who, as Fiedler (1967, 1972) reports, performs well in highly unfavorable situations (i.e., poor leader-follower relations, unstructured task and low position power) must draw on a personal sense of power to obtain compliance from the group. In contrast, the high LPC leader performs better in situations that provide a moderate degree of favorability for the leader. Such situations, it may be seen, provide a power base of some sort for the leader either in existing good interpersonal relations or from a structured task and strong position power (Fiedler's Octants IV and V of the contingency model). Given these results, it is inferred that feeling of low personal power (high score on the items) will be more representative of high LPC persons.

Social interest. Ziller (1973a) reports a low negative correlation ($r = .09$) between low self-esteem and social interest. He describes social interest as the tendency to include the self with others rather than holding oneself apart from others. Bass, Fiedler and Kreuger (1964) report that responses to the Bass Personality Orientation Inventory (Bass, 1961) revealed that high LPC persons were more self-oriented than low LPC persons. High LPC persons described themselves as seeking self-enhancement, positions of prominence, and public

recognition for their achievements. This would appear to reflect a need to be apart from and above rather than included in the group as a whole.

Marginality. This construct is designed to measure feeling of being a "marginal man," the person "who stands on the boundary between two groups" (Ziller, 1973a, p. 18), and is unable or unwilling to fully associate himself with either. Likert's (1967) concept of the linking pin function of leaders is a positive manifestation of this boundary position. The organizationally appointed leader, in particular, has two competing loyalties. He must insure the achievement of directed goals but must also respond to the needs of his subordinates. Fiedler (1972) sees the low LPC leader as handling this role-conflict in a reasonable manner as a result of his fostering of good interpersonal relations as a support to task achievement. In contrast, the high LPC leader finds the demands for task achievement and group maintenance to be incompatible. It is proposed, therefore, that the marginality responses will be more characteristic of high than of low LPC leaders.

Self-centrality. Ziller (1973a) defines this construct as "the perception of the social environment largely from the point of view of the perceiver" (p. 7). Again, the report by Bass, Fiedler and Frueger (1964) of the self-orientation of the high LPC leader is cited in support of the prediction of a direct relationship. Ziller (1973b) reports that children who moved frequently between communities exhibited greater self-centrality than did those who lived in the same community throughout their life. These responses may be tangentially related to the better performance of high LPC leaders who changed jobs frequently.

Frequent changes in environment may require a self-orientation which will permit a degree of evaluative consistency.

In support of the implied inverse relationship between self-centrality and self-esteem in its above predictions, Ziller (1973b) reports that individuals rated as sociometric isolates placed themselves in the central position more frequently than did sociometric stars.

Inclusion. Ziller (1973a) considers his measure of inclusion to tap the individual's perception of whether or not a relationship exists between self and others. The person low in inclusion is seen as wishing to avoid obligation and intimate social contact. While in the extreme such a motivation would be detrimental to leadership, the task-motivated leader may be less inclined to establish emotional ties between self and followers, at least in the early stages of group activity. However, Ziller (1973a) reports a strong positive correlation between inclusion and social interest ($r = 0.45$) which has been predicted to be more representative of the low LPC leader.

Hypothesis Two - Situation free self-descriptions, while generally favorable, will reflect an emphasis on that functional dimension of leadership that corresponds to the individual's secondary motivations as identified by the interpretation of LPC Scale scores.

On the basis of this hypothesis, it is predicted that (1) low LPC leaders will score themselves as "always" or "frequently" performing most of the behaviors described in the Leadership Behavior Survey, thereby achieving a high total score on both dimensions of task and interpersonal relations. However, low LPC leaders will emphasize the latter over the former; (2) high LPC leaders will score themselves as

performing these behaviors less frequently but will score themselves higher on the task dimension than on the interpersonal relations dimension.

Fiedler and Chemers (1974) propose that, even in laboratory situations, leadership is a highly ego-involving activity. As a result, when a person is asked to describe his or her past leadership behavior, the individual is likely to render a reasonably favorable report, especially in situations where his/her claims are not likely to be directly challenged. As presented, the Johnson and Johnson (1975) Leadership Behavior Survey is a non-situationally-related self-report which Fiedler (1972) suggests is likely to reflect idealized behavioral descriptions. Such descriptions, Fiedler states, are often found to be inconsistent with actual behavior observed under controlled conditions. These inconsistencies can be resolved when the interaction between the leader's motivational system and the situation is considered.

Fiedler (1972) states that on self-report measures low LPC persons tend to describe themselves as concerned with developing or maintaining good relations, while high LPC persons tend to describe themselves as self-oriented, that is, concerned with attaining positions of prominence..." (p. 392). Such self-descriptions appear to reflect how these individuals behave in favorable situations, while experimental situations may, in fact, be seen as unfavorable. Fiedler states:

Finally, we find a complex interaction between LPC and situational favorableness in determining interpersonal behavior. In favorable situations in which the leader has a relatively high degree of influence and control high LPC leaders behave in a task-relevant manner, while low LPC persons are seen as considerate and concerned with good interpersonal relations. The opposite is the case in unfavorable situations. (p. 392).

Fiedler presents a table to summarize the relationships which is reproduced as Table 1. In explaining Table 1, Fiedler (1972) proposes that:

An individual's self-description is more likely to reflect how he sees himself in situations in which he has relatively great control and influence, i.e., when he is secure, poised, and sure of himself, than when he is insecure, anxious, and humbling. In these secure situations, he is likely to seek attainment of his secondary, as well as, his primary goals and motives. (p. 394).

He points out that experimental conditions are designed to involve unknown, uncontrolled (by the subject) elements that place the individual under stress (as, of course, is the case in many non-experimental leadership situations as well). Add to this situational stress the evaluation apprehension present in the lab setting, and the situation becomes relatively insecure for the participants. As a result, the individual is likely to behave in a manner that will insure attainment of his/her primary goals. That is, the high LPC person generally concentrates on improving interpersonal relations while the low LPC person concentrates on task accomplishment.

The prediction that low LPC leaders will be more likely to describe themselves as highly active on both dimensions is based on the mutually supporting nature of the low LPC person's primary and secondary motivations. In highly favorable situations (i.e., Octant I of the Contingency Model) low LPC leaders have been found to be most effective (Fiedler, 1967, 1972). In such situations, the task is "under control and the low LPC leader concentrates his efforts on maintaining group cohesiveness and improving working relationships. Further support for this prediction is provided by a study of combat engineer squads by

TABLE 1

SYSTEMATIC PRESENTATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF LPC AND
LEADER BEHAVIOR AS DESCRIBED IN FAVORABLE AND
UNFAVORABLE SITUATIONS (FROM FIEDLER, 1972)

	Self-Description*	Description by Others	
		Favorable Situation	Unfavorable Situation
High LPC	Concerned with TASK	Concerned with TASK	Concerned with INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS
Low LPC	Concerned with GOOD RELATIONS	Concerned with GOOD RELATIONS	Concentrates on TASK

*Note.--Presumes situation is favorable to the leader.

Julian, Bishop, and Fiedler (1966). Results indicated that the high LPC leader is at a disadvantage when forced by events to perform both leadership roles as socio-emotional leader and as the initiator of structure. In contrast, the low LPC leader was able to fulfill both roles and perform both functions with relative ease. Fiedler (1972) in reviewing this study summarized the relationship in the following manner:

Thus, the high LPC leader, who attends to the task, does so at the cost of poor relations with his group. The low LPC leader can, however, be both task-oriented as well as having good relations with his unit. (p. 399).

Two studies provide direct support for the predictions. Bass, Fiedler and Kreuger (1964) report on one of the few self-report measures to yield a reliable relationship with LPC, the Bass Personality Orientation Inventory (Bass, 1961). They found, contrary to their predictions, that high LPC persons were more self-oriented than low LPC persons, while low LPC persons showed a distinct interaction orientation. High LPC persons described themselves as seeking self-enhancement, positions of prominence, and public recognition of their achievements. Good personal relations and social interaction were identified most frequently by low LPC persons as their principle objectives. Fiedler (1972) relates an unpublished study by S. M. Nealey in 1968 in which college students were asked questions concerning a list of various traits or personality adjectives. High LPC students rated more task-relevant adjectives as important than did low LPC students, while low LPC students rated the relationship relevant items as more important. When asked to imagine themselves as the foreman of a work group in serious difficulties, Nealey's high LPC

subjects predominantly said they would concentrate on the task, while low LPC subjects reported they would concentrate on interpersonal relations. These responses do not correspond with the observed behavior of high and low LPC leaders in actual stressful situations. It appears that in this case, imagining oneself in a difficult or stressful situation was not sufficient to precipitate self-reports of intended behavior that correspond to reality and to the individual's primary goal motivation as measured by the LPC scale.

Hypothesis Three - There is a direct relationship between the level of self-esteem and the overall favorability of one's non-situational self-description when these measurements are made at the same time.

However, recognizing the impact of aspirations, a leader who perceived the ideal role performance for a leader as primarily either task direction or group maintenance, may also have high self-esteem. It is predicted that (1) self-esteem will correlate positively with overall scores on the Behavior Survey, and (2) that those persons strongly emphasizing one dimension will be found to report high self-esteem.

William James (1950) proposed that self-esteem equals the ratio of success over pretensions (or aspirations). Likewise, self-descriptions are reflections of one's behavior in successful encounters in the past, for as Heider (1958) suggests, people will attribute favorable characteristics to themselves whenever the situation will allow. For aspiring leaders, the items on the Behavior Survey constitute a series of behaviors that may be valued differently as a result of past training or experience. However, all are positively stated and appear to be appropriate behavior for leaders.

Rosenberg (1968) proposes that a person's "global self-esteem is not based solely on his assessment of his constituent qualities; it is based on his self-assessment of qualities that count" (p. 339). Based on the concept of psychological selectivity, Rosenberg proposes that a person will come "to value those things at which he considers himself good and to disvalue those qualities at which he considers himself poor" (p. 340). Perceiving oneself to be an "ideal" leader (in Johnson and Johnson, 1975, terms a 10, 10 leader) and therefore valuing such role behavior should in the absence of conflicting evidence, be supportive of high self-esteem.

CHAPTER III

SELF-PRESENTATION AND ROLE BUILDING

To achieve a desired status or position within a group, an individual must demonstrate certain aspects of self seen as appropriate to assumption of that role by the group. In some cases, an ascribed status or biological characteristic, such as ethnic group or sex, is sufficient to either foster acceptance or precipitate rejection. In other cases, an achieved status or complex of past performance is required, such as an academic degree or a number of years of experience. Argyle and Kendon (1967) state that a considerable amount and variety of research has been directed at specific social skills related to perceptions of competence. Frequently such research has compared "good" and "bad" performers on some objective set of outcome criteria, for example, high and low productivity (Argyle, Gardner, & Cioffi, 1958). This research, however, has not touched on the self-presentational processes employed by the leaders of the groups evaluated. These authors propose that achievement of the state of competence in professional and social skills involves the successful attainment of some combination of group or task related goals. Acknowledging that different social tasks require different skills, they suggest some common ones, i.e., perceptual sensitivity, warmth, flexibility, energy, and a large repertoire of social techniques that may be cross-situational for any position of social prominence.

A number of theoretical frameworks have been reviewed in an effort to establish a foundation for a role-building/self-presentational model of leadership in which the aspiring leader's selective presentation of his or her "credentials" is seen as the foundation upon which that leader builds his or her efforts toward acceptance, credibility and authority within the group. As has been suggested, self-presentations must be fitted to the demands of the situation if they are to serve the leader's ends. Based on his or her past history of success (as measured by the predictor scales) and his or her perception of the situational demands to include follower expectations, (as manipulated in the experimental situation) it has been proposed that the leader will adjust his initial self-presentation to foster perceptions of competence. This initial self-description is seen as an integral part of the Sampling Phase of Graen and Schiemann's (1976) role making process model. It is at this point that the leader begins to establish the "working consensus" (Goffman, 1959) between his perceptions of the leadership role and his follower's expectations for one filling the role. As part of this sampling process, it is assumed that the leader will attempt to lay the foundation for later recognition of referent and expert power by selective claims of skills, abilities and personal characteristic felt to be both appropriate to the situation and fully supportable by later behavior. In natural groups, the appointed leader's self-introduction to the members of his/her new work group is one opportunity to make these selective claims.

Rosenberg (1968) reviews the construct of "psychological selectivity" and its relation to the self-concept (particularly self-esteem) and social

behavior. He suggests that selectivity:

...is particularly free to operate under two conditions: (1) where the situation is unstructured and ambiguous, and (2) where the range of options is wide. These conditions are particularly characteristic of self-evaluations. (p. 339).

The initial phase of a person's tenure in a leadership position is a period of self-evaluation and can be seen to reflect both of these conditions. Therefore, it is likely that new leaders will strive to maintain self-esteem and gain recognition through a carefully monitored self-presentation. This assumption is supported by studies conducted by Snyder (1974) who proposes that "Individuals differ in the extent to which they monitor (observe and control) their expressive behavior and self-presentation" (p. 536). His results indicate that individuals scoring high on his "Self-Monitoring Scale" were seen by peers as more self-controlled and better able to create the impressions they see as situationally appropriate.

Measures of Self-Presentation

The self-presentational device employed in this study is a modification of one devised by Schlenker (1975) and included in a "personal information questionnaire." Schlenker explained the purpose of this questionnaire to his subjects by emphasizing that a feeling of "groupness" would develop more rapidly if the members exchanged personal information. Subjects were led to believe that after completing the questionnaire in private, they would sit around a circular table in the middle of the room and read one another their responses. One of the pages of the questionnaire contained the self-presentational measure. It consisted of 35 personal attribute items, each of which was to be rated on a five point scale from "completely representative" to "completely unrepresentative."

Schlenker considers his scale of 35 attributes to be a "behavioroid" measure of self-presentation rather than merely a self-report form when it is used in situations where subjects expect to be required to read their self-evaluations to their group prior to beginning the task. As such, he assumed it is a measure of how a person actually expects to act in the upcoming situation rather than some idealized description of how one would like to act in such a situation or how one would like people to believe we will behave.

Because of the prominence of his/her position in the group, a leader's self-presentation is constantly subject to the evaluations of both group members and those outside the group but observing the group in action. This being the case, a leader, provided an opportunity like Schlenker's (1975) subjects to make a verbal self-presentation prior to the beginning of the group task, is likely to exercise care in describing his personal attributes to the group. Newly appointed, assigned, or elected leaders are commonly provided this opportunity to make a self-introduction in non-laboratory settings. Therefore, it is a logical extension of Schlenker's design to provide subjects expecting to lead a problem solving group with a structured self-presentational form and then provide them the opportunity to actually present that self-description to the group they would subsequently lead (an opportunity not provided to Schlenker's subjects). The final form used in this study consists of 33 personal attribute items. All are value-laden, culturally biased terms, selected from both Schlenker's (1975) scale and listings of "leadership traits" compiled by Stogdill (1974). Each item was rated on a five point scale of "representativeness."

This form, labeled "Information Exchange Worksheet" is a principle dependent measure of this study. Its use is supported by the central

assumption that "first impressions" can and will be manipulated by those who are aware of their impact on the behavior of others especially during initial encounters. It is proposed that this structured self-presentation is the experimental equivalent of an organizational leader's self-introduction to the members of his/her new work group.

In describing the process of self-presentation/impression management, Goffman (1955) uses the term "face" which he defines as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he/she has taken during a particular contact" (p. 214). It is the totality of the behaviors displayed and the facts and fictions revealed about him/herself by the actor through his verbal and nonverbal communications. For Goffman (1955), to "have," "be in," or "maintain face," a person's line must effectively present an image of him/her that is internally consistent. That is, the image must be supported by judgments and evidence conveyed by other participants and confirmed by evidence transmitted through the impersonal agencies of the situation. In effect, maintaining face is the result of effective, conforming role enactment. Therefore, in this study (as in life) self-presentation will not simply be considered one's self-description but is viewed as all of those verbal and nonverbal behaviors one portrays in fulfilling a social role as perceived by others.

In this regard, a series of questions are included in the post-experimental evaluation form to measure (1) perceptions of behavioral emphasis (task-oriented and relationship-oriented behaviors); (2) the internal consistency of the individual's self-presentation as measured by a question of the self-description's predictability for in-group behavior; (3) and ratings of performance which are viewed as indicators

of the individual's credibility and acceptability for leadership. The relationships among these various ratings made by peers and in some cases made about oneself are also investigated.

The relationships between the predictor scales and the individual's total self-presentation were also assessed. This includes comparisons of each scale with the structured self-description and with perceived in-role behavior ratings. These analyses in particular are directed at answering the first major question of this study concerning the predictability of self-presentational emphasis.

Analysis of the Leadership Situation

Prior to addressing the predictions made concerning the prediction and assessment of self-presentations, the relationship of the situation to leadership behavior must be reviewed.

Bogardus (1934) presents an interactionist view of leadership that has only recently gained general acceptance as a result of the work of such theorists as Fiedler and Hollander and Julian. Considering the situation, Bogardus states:

Social situations are never static. They are ever changing; the idea of process is implicit. Social situations call now for one set of leadership qualities but tomorrow perhaps for another set of traits. (p. 278).

Given the dynamic nature of the situation, Bogardus proposes:

The development of leadership depends on studying situations and on acquiring skill in controlling them. In order to 'learn' leadership, a person analyzes situations and develops appropriate techniques for controlling them. By anticipating situations one person may become a leader while other persons are 'running around in circles.' (p. 269).

As has been noted, Johnson and Johnson's (1975) prescription for the "ideal" leader foregoes any consideration of the situational variability.

This conceptualization is challenged by Korten, Hershey and Blanchard and, most prominently, Fiedler.

The Korten Stress Model

Korten (1962) presents a model based on the variables of situational stress and need for goal structure. Simply stated, under conditions of high stress there exists a demand for clear goals and a direct approach to goal achievement. In such a situation, the group requires a leader who can provide the needed clarity and who will facilitate goal-directed activity. Korten refers to this type of leader as authoritarian, one who through an orientation or the task will overcome internal disagreements and control the group's behavior. Conversely, when the situation is free of ambiguities and stress, group members prefer a higher degree of personal control and involvement in decision making. In such an environment, the leadership style Korten calls "democratic" or "participative" will be preferred by the group. Korten concludes that by understanding the effects of the situation on the group, dysfunctional pressures can be avoided or effectively countered.

The Life Cycle Theory

Hershey and Blanchard (1969) propose that the most effective mix of task and relationship behaviors depends in large measure on the level of "maturity" of one's subordinates. They define maturity as (1) the capacity to set high but attainable goals, (2) the willingness and ability to take responsibility, and (3) a high degree of task related education and/or experience. With motive subordinates, Hershey and Blanchard propose that the effective leader will be the one who manifests a low frequency of both task and relationship behavior toward subordinates. With immature followers,

Hershey and Blanchard's "Life Cycle Theory" suggests that the successful leader must show a high frequency of task behaviors but minimize relationship behaviors. With "average maturity" subordinates, the leader should behave in a high task/high relationship manner until members achieve a reasonable degree of task competence. At this point to remain optimally effective the leader should reduce the frequency of task direction while maintaining a high level of group maintenance behavior.

The Contingency Model

Both of these models contribute to an understanding of the factors influencing leader behavior. However, unlike Fiedler's Contingency Model, neither considers the interaction of situational forces with leader personality. As has been noted, the Contingency Model utilizes a dimension of situational favorability for the leader composed of three dichotomous variables: leader-member relations, task and structure, and position power. Fiedler (1974) considers that this dimension reflects the degree of control, power and influence over the situation potentially available to the leader. A situation reflecting good leader-member relations, a structured task, and strong position power for the leader is defined by Fiedler as low in stress (Octant I). A situation lacking all of these qualities would be high in stress (Octant VIII) while those characterized by a combination represent gradations of favorability and/or stress.

Low LPC (task-motivated) leaders have been found to be most effective in highly favorable (low stress) and highly unfavorable (high stress) situations (Fiedler, 1967). Korten's (1962) prescriptions for leader behavior match the reported performance of low LPC leaders in these two types of situations. Under stress, the low LPC leader's primary motivation

of task achievement matches the needs and expectations of the group for task direction and goal clarification. In non-stress situations, the low LPC leader's secondary motivation for good interpersonal relations becomes operational and again this matches group expectations.

Fiedler (1967, 1972) reports that high LPC leaders perform best in moderately favorable/moderately stressful situations (Octants VI and V). In Octant VI situations with favorable interpersonal relations secured, the high LPC leader's primary motivations are satisfied, permitting a concentration of task-related behaviors. The high LPC leader in such cases may draw on referent power derived from his/her relations with subordinates to overcome a lack of position power. For the high LPC leader, this type situation may be a low-stress/low anxiety one. Octant V situations provide for a structured task and strong position power but relatively poor interpersonal relations. In such a situation, the high LPC leader's primary motives are threatened indicating a potential for greater stress and anxiety. To this contingency, the effective high LPC leader responds with an emphasis on interpersonal relations.

The Experimental Situations

Results of studies considering leadership performance in Octants III and VII of the Contingency Model have not reflected the clear and consistent types of relationship between LPC designation and effectiveness that characterize the Octants reviewed above. These Octants, however, are ideal for a study of organizationally appointed leaders since such leaders generally have a recognized level of position power yet may often find themselves faced with an unstructured task. These Octants differ only on the variable of leader-member relations. Due to the lack of

consistent results from past studies, it was decided to attempt to increase the stress in the experimental situation through a manipulation of the instructions provided to the subjects. Variable emphasis on one or the other or both of the dimensions of leadership was seen as a possible source of additional stress. It was intended that the prescriptions of the priority of mission accomplishment or of taking care of one's subordinates would be perceived as a threat or a support to the individual's primary motivational orientation. A combined "mission and men" prescription reflecting the actual doctrinal expectations for a military leader was also used.

Since subjects were to be drawn from freshmen ROTC classes, it was decided to present each leader with a military tactics problem. The tactical situations were selected from a group of 18 previously used with junior and senior ROTC cadets in a study of responsibility attributions (Caine, 1975) and were evaluated by the members of the ROTC staff and other commissioned officers in residence at the University of Florida prior to use. In many ways, these situations and the procedure for solving them parallel a number of similar tasks analyzed by Shaw (1963). For example, Shaw's tasks number 53, 56, and 71 all concern military related problems, where analysis of a number of possible options was required. Each of these tasks reflects a low scale value on the "decision variability" dimension, high scores on both "goal path multiplicity" and "solution multiplicity" dimensions, and a medium scale value on "goal clarity" (a dimension considered by Shaw to show considerable variability). This pattern of scale values on these dimensions fit Fiedler's (1963) definition of an "unstructured task." It was felt that the four platoon

tactical situations also fit this definition. To check this belief, ratings were obtained from 10 officers using the definitions provided by Shaw (1963) for each of the four tactical situations on the following dimensions: difficulty, decision verifiability, goal path multiplicity, intrinsic interest, solution multiplicity, and intellectual-manipulative requirements. Ratings were on scales from one (low) to eight (high). Mean ratings are presented in Table 2. In general, the situations do appear to fit the "unstructured" category.

Strong position power (full decision authority) was built into the experimental situation. Overall, subjects perceive it as such, as indicated by their responses on a post-experimental manipulation check question. It was assumed that at the outset leader-member relations would be essentially neutral as subjects would be relative strangers. It was assumed that subjects would strive for good relations. Therefore, post-exercise ratings of interpersonal relations were taken to indicate the end-state rather than the initial condition of group relations. Using these responses, it was possible to determine the Contingency Model Octant that applied to the experimental situation.

Hypotheses Concerning Situational Self-Presentation

Hypotehsis Four - Responses on the Behavioral Survey will be predictive of structured situational self-presentations and peer ratings of behavior "on-the-job" only in low stress situations. Based on this, it is predicted that in the low stress experimental conditions, (1) subjects who report themselves as frequently performing in both leadership functional dimensions of the Behavior Survey (high scores on both dimensions) will describe themselves to others in highly favorable terms, and (2) will be perceived

TABLE 2
ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF TACTICAL SITUATIONS MEAN RATINGS

Dimension*	Situations			
	One	Two	Three	Four
Difficulty	6.3	6.8	5.9	7.1
Decision Verifiability	2.4	3.1	2.2	2.9
Goal-Path Multiplicity	7.0	6.9	7.2	6.5
Intrinsic Interest	5.2	4.9	4.7	5.1
Solution Multiplicity	6.0	6.5	7.1	6.8
Intellectual Manipulation	4.9	5.7	5.3	6.1

*From Shaw, 1963.

as active on both dimensions by peers. Likewise, subjects that report themselves as performing less frequently on one or both dimensions (variable scores), will (3) describe themselves in less favorably and be perceived as differentially active by peers.

If Fiedler's (1972) reasoning that responses to self-report scales (such as the Behavioral Survey) represent idealized leadership behavior is correct, then such measures will be meaningful predictors of overt behavior only in situations favorable to the individual. The above predictions are supported by evidence previously presented during consideration of the predictor scales (see Chapter II). However, it must be noted that the consistency of what might be considered a measure of behavioral intentions (the Behavior Survey), with one's later behavior in a group setting is supported by a study of a scale designed to measure "intentions to achieve individual prominence" (Shaw, 1960). The scale is composed of items with obvious meanings related to a desire for individual prominence and high scorers were found to volunteer for the prominent role as group recorder in an experimental situation more frequently than low scorers. In this case, the obvious self-report was a valid predictor of later behavior.

Hypothesis Five - An individual's predictive self-presentation and group behavior are the products of the interaction of one's motivational hierarchy and the degree of situational stress. It is predicted that (1) high LPC leader will emphasize interpersonal relations traits in high stress situations and task competence traits in low stress situations; (2) low LPC leaders will emphasize interpersonal relations traits in low stress situations and task competence traits in high stress situations.

For this study, high stress was presumed to result from instructional emphasis on the functional dimension corresponding to the leader's secondary motivation. As has been noted previously, it is assumed that emphasis on both functional dimensions is seen as a favorable situation for the low LPC leader and as unfavorable for the high LPC leader. Therefore, it is predicted that in the "Both" experimental condition high LPC leaders will emphasize interpersonal relations traits while low LPC leaders will present a highly favorable and balanced self-description. These predictions are summarized in Table 3.

As a corollary to Hypothesis Five, it is proposed that overall favorability of self-presentations will differ as a result of the personality situation interaction. It is predicted that low LPC subjects in the "Both" condition will present themselves most favorably followed by low LPC leaders receiving the interpersonal relations manipulation. The high LPC leaders in the "Both" condition are expected to present themselves least favorably.

These predictions are based on the assumption that individuals assigned to a leadership position will attempt to establish their credibility and suitability for that position by selectively presenting those "credentials" that will permit them to make a favorable "first impression" on others and to control the definition of their role and the group situation in general. In Goffman's (1955) terms, this self-description is the first indication of the "face" that a leader projects to the group. As "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he/she has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman, 1955, p. 214), one's social "face" should reflect those characteristics of self

TABLE 3

PREDICTED EFFECTS ON SELF-PRESENTATION OF THE LPC
 DESIGNATION BY FUNCTIONAL DIMENSION
 EMPHASIS INTERACTION

LPC Designation		Emphasis Condition (Manipulation)		
		Task	IPR	Both
	Degree of Stress Assumed	Low Stress	High Stress	Low Stress
LOW LPC	Self-Presentational Emphasis Predicted	IPR	Task	Balanced
	Degree of Stress Assumed	High Stress	Low Stress	High Stress
HIGH LPC	Self-Presentational Emphasis Predicted	IPR	Task	IPR

of which the individual sees as appropriate to the situation. Jones, Gergen, and Jones (1963) found that a person's goal in an interaction will affect the type of self-presentation he/she will make. If one's goal is to be liked (for example by a subordinate), modesty may be the best course of action, while if one's goal is to impress another, self-enhancement, especially on skills or attributes unlikely to be challenged, may be the course to select. Therefore, given an opportunity to present a self-description to another at the outset of a face to face interaction, the individual must decide what claims to make to build the most favorable expectations on the part of the other. These claims must be made carefully. The individual must feel capable of meeting the expectations he/she creates, or risk what Goffman (1955) calls "loss of face," or embarrassment and loss of credibility.

Goffman (1959) describes this process in the following way:

The expressiveness of the individual (and therefore his capacity to give impressions) appears to involve two radically different kinds of sign activity: the expression that he gives and the expression that he gives off. The first involves verbal symbols or their substitutes....The second involves a wide range of action that others can treat as symptomatic of the actor, the expectation being that the action was performed for reasons other than the information conveyed in this way. (p. 2).

The impact of the situation on self-presentation can be seen in the results of two recent studies. Schneider (1969) investigated the effects of success and failure on self-presentation. Schneider's procedure centered on a subject's interview with a clinical psychology graduate student. When subjects expected evaluative feedback from the interviewer, those who had experienced success were quite modest in their claims of personal attributes.

This was interpreted as an effort to preserve the positive evaluation they had previously received. Subjects that failed and expected feedback presented themselves quite positively. This was seen as an effort to regain some self-esteem lost as a result of their performance failure. It seems likely that situations that appear to threaten the leader's chances of success, a similar effect might be found.

Schlenker (1975) also utilized a success/failure manipulation to analyze self-presentation. Subjects completed a task and then received bogus feedback on that task leading to expectations of doing extremely well or very poorly. A control group was given no information on which to form a specific performance expectation. Half of the subjects were led to believe that the quality of their future performance would be unknown to the other group members. The other half of the subjects were led to expect their performance to be public. Once these conditions were established, participants were asked to complete a personal information questionnaire containing the self-presentational measure.

Schlenker reports that both performance expectations and anonymity/public manipulations were successful. A factor analysis of the self-presentational data produced two factors. An analysis of variance revealed a reliable anonymity by performance expectations interaction for Factor One, competence. Subjects in the public condition presented themselves consistently with their performance expectations, that is, when expecting success they presented more positively than when expecting failure. There was no difference by expectation for the anonymous condition with all self-presentations fairly positive. The no feedback public condition only differed from the failure public condition. Schlenker concludes: "A lack

of certainty about their upcoming performance coupled with hopes for success probably explains the fairly positive self-presentations of the no feedback-public condition subjects" (p. 10).

Analysis of Factor Two, interpersonal relations, did not produce a significant anonymity by performance expectations interaction. Given the conditions of Schlenker's study which eliminated all face to face interaction during the task by the use of individual booths, public condition subjects appear to have been less concerned with presenting "accurate" views of their interpersonal skills. These attributes would not be subject to refutation as a result of the isolation.

Hypothesis Six - There is a direct relationship between the degree to which one's self-presentation is seen as predictive of later in-role performance and the evaluation of that performance. Specifically, it is predicted that peer ratings of leadership performance will be positively correlated with ratings of the predictability of structured self-descriptions.

As a corollary to Hypothesis Six, it is proposed that a highly favorable self-description, if seen as not highly predictable, will produce strongly negative attributions of effectiveness. As has been suggested by Goffman (1959) and Argyle and Kendon (1967), having once established a particular "face," it is in the individual's best interest to try to meet or exceed the expectations created. The degree of correspondence (predictability) between one's initial self-presentation and later behavior will have an impact on how that behavior is evaluated. Attributions of effectiveness and contribution to the group may well be lower than actually deserved if one fails to "come up to expectations."

Hypothesis Seven - A weak but positive relationship exists between self-esteem and the overall favorability of one's self-presentation. As the focal aspect of the self concept, the level of self-esteem should effect how one presents him/herself. However, the impact of the experimental situation is seen as moderating any direct relationship that may exist between self-esteem and the structured self-presentation. Therefore, while self-esteem may effect self-presentational favorability, the demands of the situation must be met as well.

A study by Stires (1970) provides indirect support for this hypothesis. Stires informed the members of certain experimental groups that they differed in task related ability, while other groups were told that members did not differ in ability. Individuals who previously expressed confidence in their ability, attempted to gain leadership of the group through modesty. Those who reported being uncertain about their ability attempted to gain the respect of others through self-enhancement.

CHAPTER IV
EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Method

Subjects

A total of 53 freshman ROTC cadets at the University of Florida completed the three predictors scales. Of these, 48 volunteered to participate in the small group decision making exercise. Cadets were randomly assigned to groups with the limitation that no two individuals from the same class or drill unit were permitted in a group. Each group consisted of two low and two high LPC persons. Participating cadets were released from a drill period to compensate for participation.

Experimental Overview

Analysis of the relationships among the three predictor scales were made independent of the experimental procedure. The LPC scale was selected as the major experimental independent variable on the bases of its demonstrated relationship to predictions of leadership effectiveness when applied in the contingency model. The experimental manipulation of situational stress was included in the instructions to subjects. Three different descriptions of a leader's responsibilities were prepared; one emphasizing the task-achievement function; one emphasizing the group maintenance function; and one consisting of a balanced presentation emphasizing both functional dimensions. These emphasis

conditions were designed to increase the stress in the experimental situation for certain leaders identified by their LPC score. The 2 x 3 factorial design was used to test the interactional effect of LPC and situational stress on self-presentation and leadership performance. To test certain hypotheses, comparisons of the other predictor scales (The Behavior Survey and the Self-Other Orientation Scales) with results derived in the experimental situation were made. Such comparisons, where possible, consider the total subject pool and/or specific cells, appropriately identified.

Leadership of the group was rotated among the four members with each serving as the "platoon leader" for one of the tactical problems presented. It was felt that such a procedure would increase the intrinsic interest in the exercise and maintain a high level of involvement by all participants at all phases. Subjects were required to make forced comparison performance ratings of their three group peers following the completion of the problem sequence.

Procedure

Twelve groups were formed as indicated above and scheduled for a 90 minute period either during the late afternoon or early evening. Each of three commissioned officers in uniform conducted four groups, balanced for experimental condition. All sessions were held in the same classroom in the ROTC Department building.

When the participants arrived, each was given a name tag, instructed to be seated at one of four separate tables, and asked to remain silent. After all four participants were seated, the experimenter introduced himself and explained the purpose and procedures of the exercise.

Cadets were asked to read their copy of the instructions as the experimenter read them aloud. The instructions began:

You will be participating in a group decision making exercise involving platoon level tactical problems. The group will act as if they were a platoon leader and his three squad leaders. Four situations will be presented with the group's leadership rotating so that each of you will be the leader once. The leader will have full decision authority in selecting the group's solution to a problem. He may, however, use any method he wishes to analyze the situation and arrive at that decision.

The instructions included one of three emphasis manipulation statements prepared with the intent of challenging the participants with a concentration on one of the two basic leadership functional areas or with both equally weighted. The text of the task emphasis statement is representative:

The Army's leadership manual FM 22-100 states that: 'Our Army has been and must always be mission-oriented. Thus, our ultimate objective-our primary leadership goal-must continue to be mission accomplishment.' In solving the situations to come, mission accomplishment-that is, finding the best possible solution to the problem, must be the leader's primary concern.

Following this, it was necessary to justify the making of structured self-presentations by participants. Borrowing liberally from Schlenker (in press), the following explanation was given:

In a project of this sort, it is very important that the persons participating get the feeling that they are members of a real group, and not simply individuals interacting with strangers. We will be simulating the decision making structure of a military unit. In an actual unit, you would know each other's strengths and weaknesses, but here we have only a short time to complete the exercise. Therefore, we must facilitate the exchange of information about each other. Doing this has been shown to foster a feeling of "groupness" and we hope that will happen here as well. Your packet includes a sheet entitled "Information Exchange Worksheet" and I would like each of you to read the instructions and

fill out every item on the sheet. Do this as honestly as you can because when it comes your turn to be the platoon leader, you will read your responses to the others. These items will give both a fairly complete picture of you and provide a common ground for information exchange. You are making out the sheets now and will be reading them so that those who go later in the exercise will not be unduly influenced by those leading first. Please don't feel you have to be excessively modest. It is best to describe yourself accurately.

The "Information Exchange Worksheet" contained 33 personal descriptive terms. Items were designed to permit participating individuals to rate themselves on a wide range of task and interpersonal "traits." Subjects were instructed to rate how representative each attribute is of them using a five point scale from highly representative (1) to completely unrepresentative (5).

When all subjects had completed the worksheet, these were collected and the group asked to move to a single circular table. Prior to taking seats, subjects drew sequence numbers to determine the order of leadership appointment. The first platoon leader was instructed to sit in the position with a place marker bearing a second lieutenant's gold bar insignia on it. The other group members each selected one of the other places marked with a squad leader's sergeants stripes. The platoon leader was given his self-presentation form which he was instructed to read to the group. When this was completed, the experimenter presented a copy of the first tactical problem to each member of the group and an answer sheet to the platoon leader. He retrieved the platoon leader's worksheet and stated "You have five minutes to reach a decision. You may select one of the three courses of action provided with the problem or propose one of your own design. There are no absolutely right or wrong answers. No extra time will be

allowed. I will notify you when one minute remains." The experimenter then left the room.

At the end of the first five minutes, the situation forms and the solution were collected. Group leadership was then rotated with the new leader occupying the "leader's chair" (always placed so the leader faced away from the windows) and other members changing seats also. The new leader was given his worksheet to read and the process continued as before. All four situations were completed in the same manner.

Following the fourth situation, subjects were asked to return to the individual tables. No performance feedback was given at this time. The post-exercise measures were issued. Part One consisted of peer ratings, asking for comparative rankings of the other three members on leadership, followership, overall contribution to the group, and the degree their self-description matched their actual behavior during the discussions. Part Two contained a series of items including ratings of group interpersonal atmosphere, satisfaction with one's own performance as a leader, feeling of personal responsibility and an open-ended statement of the cadet's conceptualization of the "essence" of leadership. This final question was intended as a manipulation check on the emphasis feedback. All but the last item used a 15 point equal interval scale with end points labeled.

When these measures had been completed, cadets were informed only of the group's overall performance based on a quick review of solutions. Cadets were asked not to discuss the procedure or the situations with others. They were informed that individualized performance feedback on all the scales and peer evaluations would be provided to each of them in writing in the near future and that a detailed debriefing would be conducted after completion of the project.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Predictor Scale Relationships

LPC/Self-Concept Relationship

The comparison of LPC scores with responses on the Self-Other Orientation Scale produced some support for the Hypothesis One. Overall, a low but reliable inverse relationship between LPC score and self-esteem score was observed, $r(46) = -.331$, $p < .025$. This is interpreted as some support for the prediction that high self-esteem would be more characteristic of low LPC persons. Using a median split for self-esteem scores, a 2 x 2 distribution matrix was formed with high/low LPC categories. Assuming an equal distribution, cell frequencies were analyzed by a chi square test, $\chi^2(1) = 3.64$, $p < .06$. The distribution pattern provides support for the predicted inverse relationship, with high LPC/low self-esteem and low LPC/high self-esteem cells predominating.

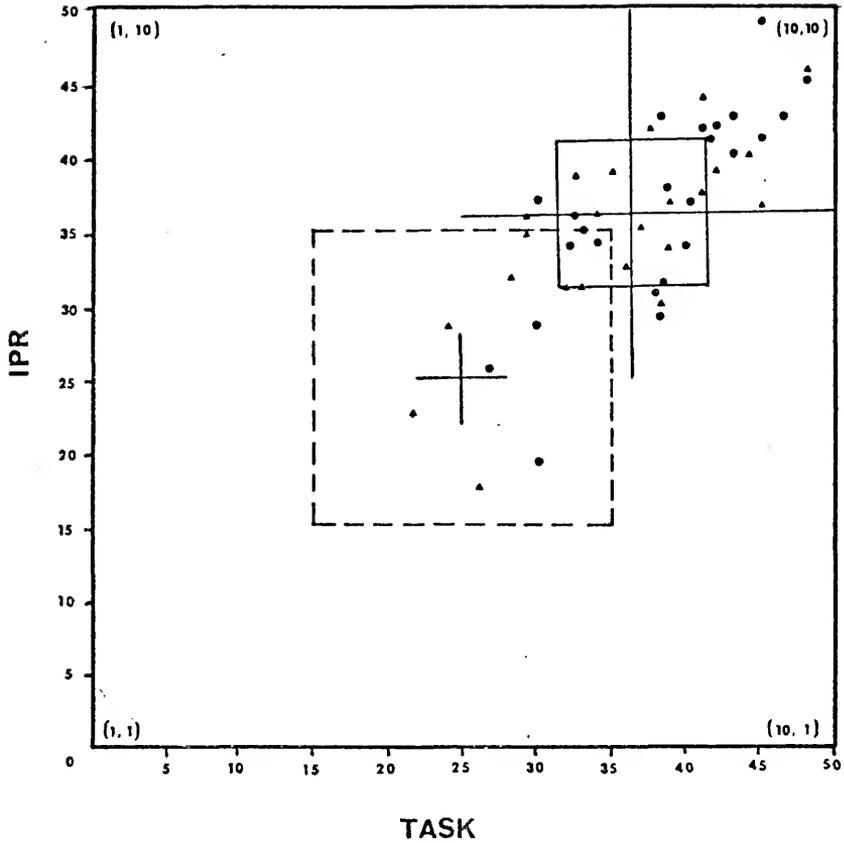
Predictions of an inverse relationship between LPC score and majority/minority identification scores (Majority Identification = high score on items) were also confirmed, $r(46) = -.246$, $p < .05$. However, measures of Social Interest and Personal Power were not found to be reliably related to LPC scores, $r(46) = -.061$, N.S. and $r(46) = .180$, N.S.

No support was found for the corollary to Hypothesis One that suggested a direct relationship between LPC score and measures of marginality, self-centrality and inclusion. Correlations for these items with LPC were .13, .06, and .03.

LPC/Behavioral Survey Relationship

Based on Hypothesis Two, it was predicted that those scoring low on the LPC scale would be more likely to describe themselves as high on both the task and interpersonal relations dimensions but emphasize the interpersonal relations dimension while high LPC leaders would rate themselves more moderately on both but emphasize the task dimension. One-way analysis of variance comparing high and low LPC leaders on each dimension separately did not indicate any reliable differences in the responses, $F(1,46) = 1.674, p < .203$ for task and $F(1,46) = .713, p < .403$ for interpersonal relations. However, task dimension scores were found to correlate reliably with LPC scores, $r(46) = .304, p < .025$. This is interpreted as a tendency by high LPC leaders to see themselves as more active on the task dimension as expected. The relationship between LPC and the interpersonal relations scores was not significant, $r(46) = .176, N.S.$

The prediction that low LPC leaders would describe themselves as highly active on both dimensions while high LPC leaders would rate themselves more moderately received little support. Scores for almost all subjects were high. Plotting the actual scores on the standard task-maintenance grid, it was found that all but five subjects were firmly in the upper right or high task/high maintenance quadrant. Using the approximate means for all subjects on the two dimensions (36 and 36) a new grid center point (or 5, 5 point) was superimposed on the data. This converted grid provides for a more meaningful examination of these data. High LPC leaders were expected to describe themselves primarily as "compromise" (5,5) or "total task" group leaders. On the converted grid (Figure 1), high LPC



Note.--Triangles = High LPC leaders.

Circles = Low LPC leaders.

Figure 1. Johnson and Johnson's Behavior Survey Grid.

Individuals did predominantly fall in the compromise area ($n = 9$) but also had reasonable representation in the inactive and highly active areas (5 and 6 subjects, respectively).

Low LPC leaders were expected to describe themselves as "ideal" (highly active or 10,10) or as relationship oriented (1,10). In fact, they frequented the balanced, highly active (10 and 8), with the high relationship (1,10) quadrant represented by a single individual. Assuming a uniform distribution, a chi square test performed on the overall distribution was significant ($\chi^2 (1) = 11.324, p < .001$), with the balanced quadrants predominating. On the modified grid 22 subjects saw themselves as highly active on both dimensions (12 low LPC and 10 high LPC) and 14 rating themselves as less active but still balanced (7 high and 7 low LPC). A one-way analysis of variance comparing overall ratings of high and low LPC leaders on the Behavior Survey was performed. No reliable difference was found, $F (1,46) = 1.360, N.S.$ It must be concluded that the results provide only limited support for Hypothesis Two.

Self-Esteem/Behavior Survey Relationship

The prediction of a positive relationship between self-esteem and total self-evaluation on the Behavior Survey was not supported, $r (46) = -.051, N.S.$ Likewise, neither dimension revealed a reliable relationship, $r (46) = -.062, N.S.$ for task and $r (46) = -.21, N.S.$ for interpersonal relations. The second prediction derived from Hypothesis Three was also not supported. Of the 13 subjects whose dimension scores differed by 5 points or more (range 48 to 17) 7 were scored as high self-esteem and 6 low self-esteem by median split of all subjects. Self-esteem scores for this sub-group ranged from 10 to 23 out of a possible score range of 4 to 24. It should

be noted that the overall mean self-esteem score was 18.29 for the entire subject pool. This figure corresponds to a single measure mean of 4.57 in a range of 1 to 6. This grand mean is somewhat higher than the average self-esteem score of 3.733 reported by Ziller (1973a) for a group of 298 teachers, supervisors, and principals. The subjects in the present project appear to be higher in self-esteem as a group than others previously tested.

Situational Evaluations

Verification of the Contingency Model Situational Dimensions

Analysis of the post-exercise questions concerning the favorability of interpersonal relations and perceived leader power revealed nearly universal ratings of favorable relations in groups and strong position power in the role of platoon leader. As the task was designed to be unstructured, this places the experimental situation in Octant III of the Contingency Model. The mean rating on the question of quality of the interpersonal relations in the group was 12.56 out of a possible maximum of 15. Average rating of perceived position power and decision authority was 11.85. In both cases the standard deviation was less than 3 points.

Verification of the Situational Stress Manipulation

The impact of the experimental manipulation of various aspects of the leader's responsibility or functions was checked by an open response question. Subjects were asked to describe in a few words the "fundamental principle of military leadership." The responses were evaluated by two officers not otherwise connected with the project. Their review indicated that a majority of subjects in each experimental condition

responded in accordance with the emphasis manipulation they received. Some subjects in all conditions responded with comments on both dimensions of leadership function. This type of response, however, was most characteristic of the "Both" emphasis condition subjects. It is concluded that the manipulation was a success at least to the degree that subjects acknowledged the differences among experimental conditions.

Prediction of Self-Presentation

As a result of the lack of major differentiations among subjects on the Behavior Survey, adequate assessment of the fourth hypothesis cannot reasonably be made. Partial testing was completed using those subjects whose total score on the Behavior Survey was 80 or above with balanced dimensions ($n = 12$) and those whose dimension scores differed by five points or more ($n = 13$). Not all cells in the experimental design are represented in these subgroups, therefore, any evaluation of structured self-presentations would be inconclusive. However, peer ratings of behavior on the job can serve to indicate how these claimants of high activity and disproportionate behavior are perceived by others.

Overall means for peer ratings of task activities and interpersonal relations (IPR) were 10.75 and 10.04, respectively. For the subgroup of high balanced claimants ($n = 12$) these means were 10.69 for task and 10.78 for IPR, neither of which differs reliably from the overall means. Similarly, average scores for those in low stress ($n = 9$) and high stress situations ($n = 3$) did not differ reliably. For the subgroup of unbalanced claimants, mean peer ratings were 11.01 and 9.94

for task and IPR, respectively. Once again these do not differ reliably from overall means. Of this group, seven claimed to be more task active and six to be more IPR active. Peer ratings indicate 10 of the 13 as emphasizing task behavior over IPR activity although differences in most cases are not extreme. Similarly, only two of the highly active balanced claimants were rated as performing equally on both dimensions. In general, there is little support for Hypothesis Four.

Contingency Model and Prediction of Self-Presentation

In order to permit analysis of the emphasis placed on different trait dimension by the individual under certain conditions, the self-descriptive data from the Information Exchange Worksheet was subjected to two series of factor analysis procedures using Biomedical and Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences programs which include orthogonal rotation subprograms. Against expectations, two clear factors related to the task and interpersonal relations dimensions could not be readily identified. A three factor model was tested but again attributes semantically related to task behaviors were mixed with those related to interpersonal relations. Given the limited number of subjects and the relatively large number of items, factor analysis may have been an inoperable procedure in this study. Therefore, Hypothesis Five and the predictions of differential use of task and interpersonal relations terms in self-presentations cannot be assessed in the manner intended. Had each scale item been evaluated and placed into one of two categories prior to the use of the scale, total dimension scores of these predetermined combinations might have been used. However, this was not done and a test of the Hypothesis must await further research.

The corollary to Hypothesis Five, however, can be assessed by use of total self-presentation scores. In effect, the 33 characteristics were treated as equally weighted elements in the leader's description of his social self. The scores of all semantically negative terms were reversed prior to compiling total scores. As the rating scale used a value of one (1) for highly representative and all items were computed as positive traits, the lower the score the more representative, positive, and favorable the self-presentation was. The range of the total scores for the 33 characteristics was 42 to 115 of a possible range of 33 to 165.

No reliable interaction effect within the 2 x 3 matrix (LPC by emphasis) was found for total self-presentation scores. As expected, a reliable main effect of LPC classification was found, $F(1,46) = 4.861$, $p < .05$ (Table 4). As a group, low LPC leaders described themselves more favorably than did high LPC leaders. No reliable main effect of the emphasis manipulation was found, $F(2,42) = 1.236$, N.S.

Certain cell comparisons were made based on predictions that assumed an interaction between LPC and situational challenge or stress. As predicted, low LPC leaders in the "Both" condition (assumed to be low stress and compatible with the leader's motivational hierarchy) did present themselves most favorably while high LPC leaders in the same condition presented themselves much less favorably, $t(46) = 1.84$, $p < .05$. However, the expected effect of a low stress situation on the high LPC leader (interpersonal relations emphasis condition) did not produce a relatively favorable self-presentation when compared to the low LPC leaders receiving the same emphasis manipulation. It appears

TABLE 4
SELF-PRESENTATION SCORES

LPC Designation	Emphasis Condition (Manipulation)			
	Task	IPR	Both	Row Means
LOW LPC	65.79	62.31	60.15	62.75
HIGH LPC	71.21	73.81	70.74	71.92

Note.--Lower scores indicate more favorable (representative) self-presentation (All negative terms reversed prior to computing scores).

that personal rather than situational determinants were predominant in the production of self-presentations in this study.

Evaluation of Leader Behavior

No frequency counts of actual behavior in the group setting were made in this study. The only evidence for in-role behavioral emphasis available for analysis are the subjective ratings by peers made as the part of the post-experimental evaluation. No interaction or main effects were found for ratings of either task-oriented behaviors or for interpersonal relations behaviors. Therefore, as perceived by others, leaders across all experimental conditions behaved in a similar manner.

Given that leaders were generally perceived as behaving similarly, Hypothesis Six gains in significance. Univariate analysis of variance revealed a highly reliable interaction of LPC and emphasis manipulation for rating of predictability of the self-presentation for later in-role behavior, $F(2,42) = 4.889, p < .01$. Neither main effect was significant. In the "Both" condition, low LPC leaders were seen as more accurately presenting themselves than were high LPC leaders, $t(46) = 2.652, p < .01$. In the task condition, high and low LPC leaders did not differ reliably in their degree of predictability. However, in the IPR condition, high and low LPC leaders did tend to differ, $t(46) = 1.63, p < .10$ (two-tailed test) with high LPC subjects seen as marginally more predictable. Given these results and those previously reported for differences in total self-presentation scores, the "Both" condition emerges as the situation of major interest (Table 5).

Certain within row comparisons are also of interest. Low LPC leaders in the task condition were seen as less predictable than low

TABLE 5
 COMPARISON OF LEADERSHIP PERFORMANCE RATINGS
 AND PREDICTABILITY

Predictability Ratings			
LPC Designation	Emphasis Condition (Manipulation)		
	Task	IPR	Both
LOW LPC	10.14	10.83	11.66
HIGH LPC	10.79	11.76	9.86
Leadership Ratings			
LOW LPC	6.88	8.88	11.00
HIGH LPC	8.88	10.63	12.25

LPC leaders in the "Both" condition, $t(46) = 1.93, p < .05$. These situations were both assumed to be low stress conditions for the low LPC leader and while their self-presentations did not differ reliably, the perception of their behavior in the role of group leader led others to see them as differentially predictable. This difference may be attributed to the expectations fostered among the group members by the emphasis manipulation, but, except for the evidence provided by the manipulation check question, no direct assessment of expectations was made.

"Both" condition high LPC leaders were seen as significantly less predictive of their in-role behavior than were IPR condition high LPC leaders, $t(46) = 2.739, p < .01$. High LPC leaders in the task and "Both" conditions did not differ in their degree of predictability.

Predictions made based on Hypothesis Six were generally confirmed but with an unexpected reversal. Based on the predictability scores, leaders in the low LPC/"Both" condition and the high LPC/IPR condition (rated as highly predictive) should have received the highest average leadership ratings while the high LPC/"Both" condition leaders (rated as the least predictable) should have received the lowest average leadership ratings. In fact, raw scores indicate that the high LPC/"Both" condition leaders received the highest average leadership rating, $M = 12.25$ (15 point scale) followed by the low LPC/"Both" condition leaders, $M = 11.0$, and the high LPC/IPR condition leaders, $M = 10.63$. These scores do not reliably differ from each other but do differ from the average ratings of some of those leaders in other cells seen as moderately predictable. Specifically, the low LPC/Task condition

leaders were rated lower ($M = 6.88$) than the low LPC/"Both" condition leaders, $t(46) = 2.68$, $p < .01$, as suggested by their differences in predictability of self-presentation. High LPC/Task condition leaders while not reliably more predictable than high LPC, were rated as less effective than high LPC/"Both" condition leaders, $t(46) = 2.621$, $p < .05$ (two-tailed test).

Given the lack of differences reported for the behavior of leaders as rated by peers and the radical differences in the degree of favorability between the self-presentations of low LPC/"Both" condition leaders and high LPC leaders in the IPR and "Both" conditions, the comparison of predictability and effectiveness scores in these cells is particularly informative. All these leaders were rated as highly effective compared to peers in other conditions, however, their relative predictability varied. High LPC/IPR condition leaders and low LPC/"Both" condition leaders were seen as highly predictive but the high LPC/"Both" condition leaders were seen as highly unpredictable of their in-role behavior. These results support the conclusion that there may be at least two ways of establishing initial credibility and fostering one's acceptability as a task group leader. In summary, being either highly predictable in one's self-presentation or highly unpredictable may foster higher evaluations of leadership effectiveness. Since the high LPC leaders' self-presentations in the IPR and "Both" conditions were equally modest, the differences in predictability must be attributed to either actual behavior differences not reported by peers or to different expectations generated by the emphasis condition manipulations. Unfortunately, no data is available to resolve this question.

Some support was found for Hypothesis Seven. A comparison of self-esteem scores and overall self-presentation scores revealed a weak negative relationship, $r(46) = -.223$, $p < .10$. Since low self-presentation scores were more favorable, the prediction of a weak but positive relationship between self-esteem and self-presentation is marginally supported.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Predictor Scale Relationships

The discovery of small but reliable correlations between the measures of self-esteem and minority identification and LPC scores is important in that it provides additional information on the construct measured by the LPC scale and on its interpretation. High self-esteem and identification with the minority seem to characterize low LPC persons. The very fact that an individual scores low on the LPC scale is an indication that he or she is willing to critically evaluate the work performance of others. This may require a secure self-concept or at least a high level of self-esteem and a sense of identification with a select group of high performers.

Some evidence in support of this interpretation comes from a study by Fishbein, Landy and Hatch (1969). The authors asked individuals previously classified as high or low LPC's to describe, in their own words, people with whom they had difficulty working on a common task. Frequency counts of the adjectives used were obtained. The high LPC person tended to see this least preferred co-worker as a competitor for prominence and recognition (leadership) within the group, citing them as intelligent, strong willed, self-motivated, assertive, bossy, and a "know-it-all." The low LPC persons in this survey tended to see their least preferred co-worker as unintelligent, incompetent, sloppy, unreliable, careless, and unpleasant. To the low LPC person, such an individual represents a

threat to task efficiency and accomplishment, rather than a direct threat to self. These results suggest that there are differences in the selection, perception and evaluation of the object being considered when an individual takes the LPC scale.

The high LPC person is, in effect, rating a competitor, a challenger or rival for the leader's prestige and esteem. This person then constitutes a threat to the high LPC person's secondary motives. However, viewing one's least preferred co-worker as a competitor may require the leader to rate him/her favorably on many of the dimensions of the LPC scale in order to maintain one's own self-concept. If, in addition, one is lower in self-esteem such threats may be all the more salient to the high LPC leader.

The low LPC leader is presumably rating a disliked individual seen as an "opposite," an inferior, and a threat to the task at hand and therefore to the group as a whole. Thus, the low LPC leader can, with minimal self-concept constraint, rate the least preferred co-worker low on every dimension. The low LPC leader's self-esteem is challenged by task failure, and derogation of a source of possible task failure is possibly a defense mechanism that helps maintain high self-esteem.

It is difficult to judge the merits of the Behavior Survey Scale for predicting how a leader will attempt to establish his credibility and suitability for leadership from this study. As indicated by the generally high and balanced ratings, those who aspire to military leadership perceive the competing and yet mutually supporting nature of the task and maintenance functions. This scale is probably best suited as a training device rather than as a predictor of later behavior.

The Prediction of Self-Presentation

Two scales do appear to have some value as predictors of an individual's self-presentation in a group setting. Self-esteem was found to be marginally related to the favorability of one's self-presentation. Similarly, the main effect of LPC score on the favorability of self-presentation supports the use of this scale in studies of impression management. Given the experimental design, the results have been presented primarily with respect to LPC score. However, the negative correlation between LPC and self-esteem scores suggests that the differences in favorability of self-presentation might be attributed to the effects of self-esteem as well. Studies by Adessa (1974), Schneider and Turkat (1975) and others suggest a positive relationship between self-esteem and the favorability of one's self-presentation, at least under certain conditions. For example, Schneider and Turkat (1975) report that defensive high self-esteem subjects presented themselves more favorably after failure than after success. Subjects seen as "genuine" high self-esteem individuals responded in a similar manner but to a lesser degree. These results, however, can help explain the relationships found in the present study only if one is willing to assume that high LPC subjects, as a group, expected to succeed and low LPC subjects expected to fail in the task-group situation. This writer is not willing to make this assumption, since high rather than low self-esteem subjects should logically expect to succeed. However, it is reasonable to infer that the two measures are tapping some common dimension of human variability and, therefore, may well have a joint application in the prediction of leadership performance.

Self-Presentational Predictability and Effectiveness Ratings

The most interesting finding of this study is the apparent curvilinear relationship between the predictability of one's self-presentation for later behavior and ratings of leadership effectiveness. For certain leaders, a highly favorable self-presentation reflecting confidence, competence or high expectations for oneself, when followed by behavior that matches the claims one has made, will result in high marks in playing the role. In contrast, a modest self-presentation that is far exceeded by actual behavior may have set the stage for attributions of extra effort on the part of the role occupant. Credibility does not suffer if one exceeds the expectations aroused in those who must evaluate you. Low and high LPC leaders in the "Both" condition appear to have used these two very different approaches to the assumption of leadership.

Given certain conditions (i.e., emphasis on interpersonal relations) some leaders may present themselves as modest or average performers, then behave in a manner that is consistent with their claim or line. This veridical self-presentation may be especially effective for the leader who is primarily motivated by good interpersonal relations (the high LPC leader). Modest claims and moderate behavior in the group may well be effective in securing favorable interpersonal relations and subsequent attributions of effectiveness, as it was for the high LPC leaders in the IPR condition of this study. For the task-motivated leader (low LPC), claims of high competence may be the first step in insuring control over the group's task activities. In the ambiguous environment surrounding a newly appointed leader, self-presentations may be directed towards the securing of one's primary goals. Further study is needed to confirm these propositions.

Evaluation of the Research Design

The situational self-presentation device, the Information Exchange Worksheet, was inadequate for its purpose. An insufficient number of task-specific characteristics were included. Words that should logically have been incorporated include: decisive, enthusiastic, objective or rational, directive, task oriented (also people oriented for contrast), high achiever, and skillful. Even with such items, a clear differentiation between task and interpersonal relations dimensions may be difficult. In all probability, an abbreviated form of the Behavior Survey Scale with its clear descriptions or an open-ended written self-description would have been more effective both in differentiating among subjects and permitting later analysis. In addition, some form of behavioral frequency counts should probably have been taken rather than relying solely on subjective peer ratings of behavioral emphasis on-the-job. Bales (1950) Interaction Process Analysis Technique would be preferable.

The actual group environment may have contained forces and pressures that significantly moderated the effect of the emphasis manipulation on in-group behavior. For these cadets, the lack of experience with military tactics and doctrine seem to have fostered a cooperative and friendly atmosphere in these peer groups such as is found only in the most cohesive of naturally occurring military groups. No member by formal training or rank had a legitimate claim to expertise nor were status differences apparent. No member posed a threat to another based on rank or experience. As a result, all members were potential sources of mutual support and opinion that could be accepted openly. Reciprocation may well have been the most powerful but implicit norm of these groups.

The rotation of leadership may have created different challenges to the establishment of credibility for the first leader as compared to those that followed. The first leader was forced to operate in an environment devoid of norms. His approach may well have become the criterion against which subsequent leaders were evaluated. By the end of the first five minute period, the group had established some operational norms that those to follow in the leadership role may have felt compelled to recognize. Having observed the first leader and the group's reaction to him subsequent leaders could make modifications in their own behavior.

In this regard, an analysis of those "first to lead" was made. Purely by chance (since cadets picked their own sequence numbers), six high and six low LPC leaders led first, two in each cell of the experimental design. Peer leadership ratings, followership ratings, and ratings of the predictability of self-presentation were compared. Mean predictability ratings did not differ ($\bar{M} = 10.28$ and $\bar{M} = 10.78$ for low and high, respectively). Followership ratings tended to differ ($\bar{M} = 10.15$ and $\bar{M} = 11.47$), $t(22) = 1.33$, $p < .10$ with high LPC cadets rated more favorably. Leadership ratings, however, differed radically. Compared to a grand mean for all subjects of 9.75, low LPC "first leaders" received an average rating of 9.0; high LPC first leaders were rated a surprising 11.63! Needless to say, these means differ reliably, $t(22) = 2.18$, $p < .05$ (two-tailed test). It appears that being first to lead was detrimental to low LPC leaders but beneficial to high LPC leaders! It may well be that the high LPC leader's interpersonal relations motivation and modest

self-presentation were more suited to the early group environment than the low LPC leader's task orientation and firm claims to proficiency.

The short time period allowed for each problem coupled with other situational constraints may have severely limited the opportunities for interpersonal relations activities not connected directly with accomplishing the task (i.e., such as prevently arguments or other disruptive actions). A better evaluation of the impact of the self-presentational form read to the group by each leader may have been gained if a period of open discussion had been provided (for example, a break between the second and third sessions) so that subjects could interact in an environment not constrained by the task demands.

Finally, it must be concluded that given the very real demands of the decision making situation in which each leader found himself, the situational stress manipulation may have been poorly designed for the task it was intended to perform. The major results of this study can be derived from the "Both" condition for it is the natural and ever-present one. Rarely can the leader escape the competing demands of the mission and those that must accomplish it. The results in this "natural" condition indicate that equally successful leaders can approach the problem of establishing credibility in different ways.

Conclusion

In summary, the results provide some support for the predicted inverse relationship between LPC scores and self-esteem scores as measured in this study but little support for the other hypothesized relationships between the predictor scales. Hypotehsis Four could not be adequately tested but the generally favorable responses on the

Leadership Behavior Survey may indicate that this group of aspiring military leaders recognizes the role ideal represented by Johnson and Johnson's 10,10 leader. Only the corollary to Hypothesis Five could be tested. Low LPC leaders presented themselves more favorably overall. In the "Both" condition, differing self-presentations were seen as highly predictive or high non-predictive of in-role behavior by low and high LPC leaders, respectively. However, these leaders were rated equally effective by their peers. The relationship between self-esteem and self-presentation found in this study may confound the LPC/self-presentation relationship, but this potential three-way interaction requires more study.

This research project was conducted to analyze the self-presentation/ impression management activities of individuals in the initial stages of role-making. Three questions were asked at the outset: (1) Is there a way to predict a leader's self-presentational emphasis? The answer to this must be a qualified yes. The LPC scale does appear to be a potential predictor although additional research is needed. (2) Do situational as well as personal variables effect self-presentation? Again, the answer must be a qualified yes. Self-esteem and one's motivational hierarchy do appear to be significant personal variables, while situational stress also appears to have an effect on self-presentation as part of a causal interaction. (3) Do the leader's early efforts at defining his/her role effect later evaluations of performance on-the-job? Once again, a tentative yes is appropriate. Self-presentations that were either solidly confirmed by later behavior and those radically at odds with in-role behavior, appear

to be related to evaluations of effectiveness. However, the degree of causality in this relationship cannot be assessed from this research.

Further research into the role making process, and the influence of skillful impression management on the assumption of leadership, will be of value not only to the student of the leadership process, but also to the practitioner of leadership in formal organizations.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
LEADERSHIP BEHAVIOR SURVEY SCALE

BEHAVIOR SURVEY

When you are a member of a group, what is your leadership behavior like? In what ways do you try to influence other group members toward accomplishing the group's goals? The purpose of the survey below is to get a description of your behavior in groups. Circle the letter to the left that most appropriately describes your likely behavior--(A) always, (F) frequently, (O) occasionally, (S) seldom, or (N) never--in connection with the given statement. Each of the items below describes aspects of leadership behavior; respond to each one according to the way in which you would be most likely to act if you were part of a problem-solving group.

When I am a member of a problem-solving group....

- A:F:O:S:N 1. I offer facts, give my opinions and ideas, provide suggestions and relevant information to help the group discussion.
- A:F:O:S:N 2. I warmly encourage all members of the group to participate, giving them recognition for their contributions, demonstrating receptivity and openness to their ideas, and generally being friendly and responsive to them.
- A:F:O:S:N 3. I ask for facts, information, opinions, ideas, and feelings from other group members to help the group discussion.
- A:F:O:S:N 4. I try to persuade members to analyze constructively their differences in opinions and ideas, searching for common elements in conflicting or opposing ideas or proposals, trying to reconcile disagreements.
- A:F:O:S:N 5. I propose goals and tasks in order to start action within the group.
- A:F:O:S:N 6. I try to relieve group tension and increase the enjoyment of group members by joking, suggesting breaks, and proposing fun approaches to group work.
- A:F:O:S:N 7. I give direction to the group by developing plans on how to proceed with group work and by focusing members' attention on the tasks to be done.
- A:F:O:S:N 8. I help communication among group members by showing good communication skills and by making sure that what each member says is understood by all.
- A:F:O:S:N 9. I pull together related ideas or suggestions made by group members and restate and summarize the major points discussed by the group.

- A:F:0:S:N 10. I ask members how they are feeling about the way in which the group is working, and about each other, as well as share my own feelings about the group work and the way in which the members interact.
- A:F:0:S:N 11. I coordinate group work by showing relationships among various ideas or suggestions, by pulling ideas and suggestions together, and by drawing together activities of various subgroups and members.
- A:F:0:S:N 12. I observe the process by which the group is working and use my observations to help in examining the effectiveness of the group.
- A:F:0:S:N 13. I determine why the group has difficulty in working effectively and what blocks progress in accomplishing the group's goals.
- A:F:0:S:N 14. I express group standards and norms and the group goals in order to make members constantly aware of the direction in which the work is going--the progress being made toward the group goal--and in order to get continued open acceptance of group norms and procedures.
- A:F:0:S:N 15. I energize the group by stimulating group members to produce a higher quality of work.
- A:F:0:S:N 16. I listen to and serve as an interested audience for other group members, weighing the ideas of others, and going along with the movement of the group when I do not disagree with its action.
- A:F:0:S:N 17. I examine how practical and workable the ideas are, evaluate the quality of alternative solutions to group problems, and apply decisions and suggestions to real situations in order to see how they will work.
- A:F:0:S:N 18. I accept and support the openness of other group members, reinforcing them for taking risks, and encouraging individuality in group members.
- A:F:0:S:N 19. I compare group decisions and accomplishments with group standards measuring accomplishments against goals.
- A:F:0:S:N 20. I promote the open discussion of conflicts between group members in order to resolve disagreements and increase group togetherness.

APPENDIX B

LEAST PREFERRED CO-WORKER SCALE

THINK OF THE PERSON WITH WHOM YOU CAN WORK LEAST WELL. THEY MAY BE SOMEONE YOU WORK WITH NOW, OR THEY MAY BE SOMEONE YOU KNEW IN THE PAST. THIS PERSON DOES NOT HAVE TO BE THE PERSON YOU LIKE LEAST WELL, BUT THEY SHOULD BE THE PERSON WITH WHOM YOU HAD THE MOST DIFFICULTY IN GETTING A JOB DONE. DESCRIBE THIS PERSON AS HE APPEARS TO YOU USING THE FOLLOWING DIMENSIONS. MARK AN "X" OVER THE LINE THAT REPRESENTS YOUR RATING.

PLEASANT	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	UNPLEASANT
FRIENDLY	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	UNFRIENDLY
REJECTING	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	ACCEPTING
HELPFUL	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	FRUSTRATING
UNENTHUSIASTIC	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	ENTHUSIASTIC
TENSE	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	RELAXED
DISTANT	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	CLOSE
COLD	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	WARM
COOPERATIVE	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	UNCOOPERATIVE
SUPPORTIVE	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	HOSTILE
BORING	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	INTERESTING
QUARRELSOME	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	HARMONIOUS
SELF-ASSURED	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	HESITANT
EFFICIENT	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	INEFFICIENT
GLOOMY	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	CHEERFUL
OPEN	: _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ : _ :	GUARDED

APPENDIX C
INFORMATION EXCHANGE WORKSHEET

INFORMATION EXCHANGE WORKSHEET

There are thirty-three (33) personal attributes listed below. Rate yourself on each one indicating how representative of you that descriptive item is. Please do this as honestly and accurately as you can. Use the following rating scheme:

HIGHLY REPRESENTATIVE	REASONABLY REPRESENTATIVE	MODERATELY REPRESENTATIVE	SLIGHTLY REPRESENTATIVE	COMPLETELY UNREPRESENTATIVE
1	2	3	4	5

Place the number on the line next to each term. For example:

HONEST 4

FAST 2

PERCEPTIVE _____

GROUCHY _____

AGGRESSIVE _____

WELL INFORMED _____

COMPETENT _____

UNSYMPATHETIC _____

EFFECTIVE LEADER _____

UNAPPROACHABLE _____

PLEASANT _____

EFFECTIVE FOLLOWER _____

POOR PUBLIC SPEAKER _____

FRANK _____

UNCOOPERATIVE _____

LIKABLE _____

*SINCERE _____

INTERESTING _____

CARELESS _____

SELFISH _____

UNORIGINAL _____

STUBBORN _____

DISTANT _____

DEFENSIVE _____

TRUSTWORTHY _____

INDEPENDENT _____

SELF CONFIDENT _____

DULL _____

FRIENDLY _____

RESPONSIBLE _____

INTELLIGENT _____

CREATIVE _____

REASONABLE _____

APPENDIX D
POST-EXPERIMENTAL RATING FORM

PART I

1. During his tenure as Platoon leader, this individual's performance was:

VERY INEFFECTIVE _____ EXCEPTIONALLY EFFECTIVE

2. During his periods as a follower, this individual's followership performance was:

VERY POOR _____ EXCEPTIONALLY GOOD

3. This individual's overall contribution to the group during the entire exercise was:

HIGHLY CONSTRUCTIVE _____ VERY DISRUPTIVE

4. How much emphasis did this individual put on improving interpersonal relations by encouraging participation, harmonizing, compromising, relieving tension, building trust, resolving disagreements, and similar behaviors, when he was the leader?

NOT AT ALL _____ A GREAT DEAL

5. How much emphasis did this individual put on getting a solution to the tactical problem by seeking and giving information, giving directions and guidance, diagnosing problems and evaluating solutions, coordinating activities, summarizing facts and similar behaviors when he was the leader?

NOT AT ALL _____ A GREAT DEAL

6. How predictive of his actual behavior in the group do you think this individual's self-description was?

NOT AT ALL LIKE HIM _____ EXACTLY LIKE HIM

8. Describe in a few words what you see as the fundamental principle of military leadership.

ALL INFORMATION ON THIS FORM IS CONFIDENTIAL!!

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Bruce Theodore Caine was born on July 16, 1944 in Queens, New York. He graduated from Garden City High School in June, 1962 and entered the College of William and Mary in September of that year. He received a Bachelor of Science degree in Biology and was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the Regular Army on June 8, 1966. He is an honor graduate of the United States Army Infantry Officer Basic and Advanced Courses and has served in command and staff positions in Vietnam and Germany. He entered the Social Psychology graduate program at the University of Florida in January, 1974 in preparation for instructor duty at the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York. Captain Caine was awarded his Master's of Arts degree by the University of Florida in August, 1975 and his Doctor of Philosophy degree in August, 1976.

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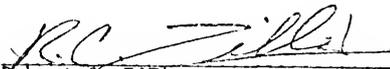
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Professor of Psychology

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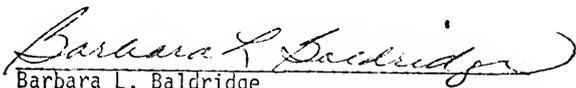
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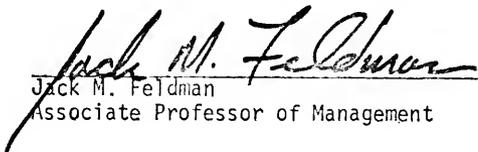
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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