6 Individual Differences in Leadership

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To varying but generally high degrees, all mammalian species are social animals (i.e., individual mammals are organized into clans and collectives). How are these collectives organized? What dictates their behavior beyond the instincts and motives of the individuals comprising the group? What explains the varying rates of success both within and between collectives or groups? *Leadership*—which we define as actions by individuals which serve to direct, control, or influence the group's behavior toward collective goals—may not be the only answer to these questions, but it is probably the most important. It is fair to surmise that whenever there is social activity, a social structure develops, and one (perhaps the) defining characteristic of that structure is the emergence of a leader or leaders. Leaders may then be argued to be a human universal: Where there are humans, there is a collective social structure, and where there is a social structure, there is a leader at the head and center of it.

Yet, as with many complex social phenomena, answering one question only stimulates others. As noted by R. Hogan and Kaiser (2005), two of those questions are: "Who *shall* rule?" and "Who *should* rule?" (p. 169).

More generally, in studying a group, one quickly wonders: What has caused this leadership structure to emerge? Why has one animal (the alpha) emerged to lead the collective? And how does this leadership cause this collective to flourish—or flounder?

Given these questions, it is of no surprise that the earliest conceptions of leadership focused on individual differences. The most famous of these is Thomas Carlyle's "great man" theory, in which he argued, "For, as I take it, Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here" (Carlyle, 1840/2008, p. 1). Despite its intuitive appeal, this "great man" (or, more accurately in contemporary society, "great person") approach, and the trait perspective in general, fell out of favor. Reviewers of the literature commented that the approach was "too simplistic" (Conger & Kanungo, 1998, p. 38), "futile" (House & Aditya, 1997, p. 410), and even "dangerous" and a product of "self-delusion" (see Andersen, 2006, p. 1083).[1]

What caused this apparent failure? To some degree, it was a product of the times. The intellectual movements in mid-20th century psychology (between, say, 1930 and 1980)—humanistic psychology, behaviorism, the cognitive revolution, finally and most importantly, social psychology—not only did not emphasize individual differences, but they were, in some cases, openly hostile to them. Behavioral genetics provided a devastating and durable rebuttal to the dismissal of individual differences, as did many of the conceptual advances offered in response to Mischel's (1968) critique. Still, intellectual traditions die hard, and there remain not small pockets of resistance to trait research (R. Hogan, 2005). It is an insoluble limit to scientific inquiry that belief does not always yield to evidence, especially when the evidence falls short of lawful relations (always the case in social scientific inquiry).

Another reason for the resistance to traits was unintentionally self-inflicted. Personality theory was and is fragmented by issues both pragmatic (how to measure personality) and philosophical (whether to focus on individual differences [nomothetics] or individual development [idiographics]). There is not—and probably never will be—consensus on how to define personality, how to distinguish related terms (traits, temperament), what comprises personality psychology, and how to measure personality. Though this may indicate a "weak paradigm" (Kuhn, 1970), all social sciences are "weak" or uncertain in that variation in human behavior is so complex in its nature and origins as to defy lawful explanation. In our opinion, the solution to such "weak" disciplines is not to attempt to forge a false consensus or to proffer mathematically rigorous but unrealistic methods or models (the problem with the dominant approach—Samuelsonianism—in economics [McCloskey, 2002]). Rather, a discipline is healthiest that embraces debate and engages itself toward addressing intellectual disagreements. The best of personality psychology does this. Yet, this process yields slow and uneven gains in understanding.

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Still another reason for the limited impact of trait theory on leadership research was at once a very practical and a very deep one: What traits are "cardinal"—as opposed to "central" or "secondary" (Allport, 1937)? Some of the most important midcentury personality research was inventory based (e.g., Gough's California Psychological Inventory; Cattell's 16 PF; Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey). Although there was some overlap in these inventories, mostly, it was a rather confusing exercise to distill common cardinal and central traits from these inventories. No matter what its critics maintain, a path out of this wilderness was provided by working on the five-factor model, or the "Big Five" (Costa & McCrae, 1992; Digman, 1990; Goldberg, 1990; Norman, 1963; Tupes & Christal, 1961). Though not a formal or comprehensive theory of personality (does one exist?), the five-factor typology provided both an organizing structure and a reasonable measurement approach. The structure has been related to virtually all applied criteria.

Concomitant with the acceptance of the five-factor model was growth and application of a methodology: meta-analysis. Meta-analyses of a diverse set of topics caused re-examination of many previously held assumptions—In general, these meta-analyses showed that subjective eyeballing of data across studies generally leads reviewers to overestimate the variability in the data and underestimate central tendencies. The intersection of these trends—meta-analyses using the five-factor model as an organizing framework—has produced powerful insights into many, if not most, organizational behaviors (see R. Hogan, 2005; Ones, Dilchert, Viswesvaran, & Judge, 2007).

Capitalizing on these two trends, Judge, Bono, Ilies, and Gerhardt (2002) conducted a meta-analysis of the leader trait approach, organizing the traits according to the five-factor model. Judge et al. (2002) meta-analyzed 222 correlations from 73 samples. They found that four of the Big Five traits had nontrivial correlations with leadership emergence and effectiveness: extraversion, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and openness to experience. When the criterion was regressed on the five traits, the five-factor model had a multiple correlation of $R = .53$ with leader emergence and $R = .39$ with leadership effectiveness. Despite the apparent success of this effort and other attempts to link the five-factor model to organizational criteria, critics of the trait approach remain, and many of these criticisms are relevant to the leader trait perspective, even if they were not specifically directed at it.

First, some remain unimpressed by the size of the validity coefficients. These criticisms pertain mostly to the relations of the Big Five traits to job performance, but since the leader trait correlations are not dramatically different, the same criticisms may apply. In comparing the personality literature to an oft-cited, earlier review (Guion & Gottier, 1965), Murphy and Dzieweczynski (2005, p. 345) concluded with respect to job performance, "One major concern was that the validity of personality inventories as predictors of job performance and other organizationally relevant criteria seemed generally low. An examination of the current literature suggests that this concern is still a legitimate one." Andersen (2006), in commenting on the

leader trait approach specifically, concluded (p. 1088): "The main point is that the relationship (measured as correlation) is low. Consequently, personality has low explanatory and predictive power."

A second criticism pertains to the ways in which leadership is measured. Some argue that whereas personality measures may reveal whether an individual is perceived as leader-like, such measures are less successful in identifying whether those leaders are successful in an objective sense. Kaiser, Hogan, and Craig (2008) criticized the Judge et al. (2002) study for this (failed) distinction, noting that the study focuses on "how leaders are regarded and tells us little about leading effective teams" or how such traits "help organizations prosper" (p. 102). Morgeson, Campion, Dipboye, Hollenbeck, Murphy, & Schmitt (2007) also criticize the Judge et al. (2002) meta-analysis on these grounds, arguing, "Perceived influence is not equivalent to effectiveness, and showing that there is a correlation of a personality dimension with perceived influence does not provide a strong basis for use of this measure to select managers who will be effective" (p. 1044). Though Judge et al. (2002) did distinguish between leader emergence—who is recognized as a leader of a group—and leadership effectiveness—how well that leader performs in that role—it is fair to conclude that most of the studies they cumulated for leadership effectiveness still relied on subjective evaluations. Objective measures of leadership, of course, have their own problems, including contamination (financial success of a leader's unit may depend on many factors unrelated to the effectiveness of his or her leadership) and faux objectivity (are historian ratings of U.S. presidential greatness really objective?).

Third and finally, the five-factor model is not the sole statement on the structure of personality. There are critics of the epistemological origins of the model, and of its ontological status (Block, 1995, 2001; McAdams, 1992). Another line of research, although not necessarily standing in opposition to the five-factor model, argues in favor of either fewer (e.g., Digman, 1997) or more (e.g., Benet-Martinez & Waller, 1997) core factors. Goldberg, for example, despite being a strong advocate of the notion that the most salient individual differences become encoded in natural language (i.e., lexical hypothesis), favors a circumplex model of trait interactions (Abridged Big Five Dimensional Circumplex [AB5C]; Hofstee, de Raad, & Goldberg, 1992), whereby blends of the five traits are treated as more valid indicators of personality than the otherwise distinct five factors. Moreover, despite widespread use of the five-factor model, including facets of subdimensions of these factors (see DeYoung, Quilty, & Peterson, 2007), there still is not widespread agreement on the lower order facets.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the leader trait approach in such a way as to organize thinking, present a perspective, and provide an agenda for future research. In so doing, beyond addressing the above criticisms, we borrow from two recent perspectives in personality research. First, we focus not only on the Big Five traits, but consider the leadership implications of more narrow, but also possibly more powerful, personality traits. Second, we

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draw from recent thinking on the paradoxical implications of traits for fitness (Nettle, 2006). We do consider the advantages of positively valenced ("bright") traits and the disadvantages conferred by negatively valenced ("dark") traits. However, we also consider the possible advantages of "dark side" traits, and the possible disadvantage of "bright side" traits (Judge & LePine, 2007).

Before our specific discussion of traits, we first review a critical theoretical perspective that underlies our analysis to follow. Specifically, we briefly review research on evolutionary theory and evolutionary psychology and focus in particular on the issue of trait paradox. That perspective then guides the trait discussion that follows, which focuses on the bright and dark sides of the specific traits.

Evolutionary Psychology and Trait Paradox

Evolutionary theory does many things relevant to the leader trait perspective, including: (a) providing a theory for the existence of certain traits, and of leadership, in humans (or other species [Gosling, 2008; Van Vugt, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2008]); (b) providing an explanation, if only in part, for the efficacy of certain traits and of leadership (Van Vugt et al., 2008); and (c) also providing a prediction, at least in a general form, for trait paradoxes. Given that evolutionary approaches are considered elsewhere in the book (see Van Vugt's chapter), here we focus on what is particularly germane to our approach to follow: trait paradox.

Paradox of Traits

The interaction of species with their environment is often paradoxical. What leads to fitness at one time or in one context might be reversed at another time or in a different situation. Moreover, the two evolutionary selection processes—survival fitness and sexual fitness—may contradict one another: Males sometimes die or are damaged in mating rituals, and females' impregnation endangers their survival both pre- and post-partum (M. Kirkpatrick & Ryan, 1991). Here we focus on three evolutionary paradoxes relevant to the leader trait perspective: (a) the benefits of a trait at one time or in one context may be reversed when times or situations change; (b) traits rarely have unalloyed advantages (or disadvantages) even in a single context at a single point in time; and (c) there are nonlinearities in the effect of a trait on fitness or leadership outcomes.

First, a trait that promotes fitness at one time (or in one situation) may become irrelevant or, worse, counterproductive, when situations change. An individual with a slow metabolism or greedy appetite might do well when food is scarce. But that same individual might become morbidly obese in a

munificent environment. As applied to the leader trait perspective, this paradox suggests a possible mismatch between the traits of leaders and contemporary demands. Evolution is, as judged against the length of life span, an extraordinarily long process. The high mutation rate of humans notwithstanding (Penke, Denissen, & Miller, 2007), many if not most characteristics we have today evolved over tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of years. Yet civilization today is radically different from that of 10,000 years ago—what is a very short period in human evolution is a very long period in human civilization. Just as some characteristics, both physical (e.g., good vision) and psychological (e.g., alertness) might have waned in importance to survival, so might other characteristics become more important (e.g., refinement, demureness) only relatively recently. In short, the traits that caused us to rise to the top of the food chain, and our leaders to rise highest, may not be as well suited to contemporary society (Van Vugt et al., 2008).

Second, even when confined to a singular environment at one point in time, trait paradox occurs. This form of paradox might be labeled "antagonistic pleiotropy" (Penke et al., 2007), where polymorphisms (i.e., a specific genetic variant or mutation that is discernable) have a positive effect on one fitness-related trait and a negative effect on another. Given the complex set of behaviors that underlie solving adaptive problems, one might expect most traits, even those very helpful to fitness, to contain antagonistic pleiotropy. What causes one to be attractive to mates often involves taking risk and, in so doing, trading one type of fitness (reproductive) for another (survival). At this juncture, one might ask: "It is all fine and good to talk about reproductive fitness when one's subject is mating rituals, but that subject is not germane to organizational leadership." We think this argument misunderstands the nature of genes. We value height in our leaders (Judge & Cable, 2004), not because it is rational to do so but because at one time height helped solve adaptive problems or suggested reproductive fitness. Natural selection led to humans having those instincts, and those same instincts will take a very long time to dissipate, even when they cease to be important to fitness (and, of course, some traits remain important to survival or reproductive fitness). People do not discard their genes when they enter the door to their workplace.

Adapting this to the topic at hand, these observations suggest that just as certain characteristics may have countervailing effects on fitness, so too might they have similar effects on leader effectiveness. A trusting, gentle, compassionate leader might earn the affection of her followers, but she also might be vulnerable to being manipulated or duped by others. A shrewd, scheming, cunning leader might be despised and distrusted by those who know him well, but he might gain many advantages at the expense of the uninitiated.

Third, traits may not have linear effects—on fitness or on leadership outcomes. Comparing two leaders being one standard deviation apart on openness may mean one thing if both leaders are below the overall openness mean and may mean something quite different if both leaders are above the mean. The higher scoring leader might be seen as more innovative, entrepreneurial, and autonomous in the former case but as sensation seeking, radical, or

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unmanageable in the latter case. Similarly, bold and assertive actions position one to "claim" valuable resources for oneself and one's clan (Ames & Flynn, 2007), and first mover advantages are often important to group survival (Van Vugt et al., 2008). However, overly bold actions can become foolhardy and expose oneself or one's collective to unwanted attention, counterattacks, and resource depletion. Thus, for some traits, curvilinear relations should exist.

Similarly, the fitness implications of traits may be complex, and may be affected by the presence or absence of other traits. The evolutionary biologist Ernst Mayr noted, "The genotype . . . is always in the context with other genes, and the interaction with those other genes make a particular gene either more favorable or less favorable" (Diamond, 2001, p. 39; see also Mayr, 2001). A genotypic predisposition toward conscientiousness may reveal a phenotypic manifestation in many different ways, perhaps depending on the presence of other traits. Whether the conscientious leader is effective may depend on how that conscientiousness is expressed.

A Note on Behavioral Genetics

Genetic sources of personality traits are now so well established that one might reasonably call it a law (Turkheimer, 2000). *Leaders are born* in the sense that identical twins reared apart share striking similarities in terms of their leadership emergence. Numerous studies now show that various mea-sures of leadership—from indicators of leader emergence (leadership offices held) to leadership effectiveness measures (measures of transformational leadership behavior)—show significant heritabilities, often in the 30%–60% range (Arvey, Rotundo, Johnson, Zhang, & McGue, 2006; A. M. Johnson, Vernon, Harris, & Jang, 2004; A. M. Johnson et al., 1998). A significant part of the heritability of leadership is no doubt because of the heritability of indi-vidual differences associated with leadership (Ilies, Gerhardt, & Le, 2004).

It is reasonable to ask how evolutionary theory and behavioral genetics can be reconciled. After all, if a phenotype is helpful to reproductive success or survival, then variation in that trait should become attenuated over time as those who are low on the characteristic are disproportionately selected out. Put another way, if mutation adds variation, then evolution removes it (by selecting out those with counteradaptive variation).

Evolutionary selection, however, has its own process, and there are various reasons why genetic individual differences persist (Penke et al., 2007). First, there is *selective neutrality,* where selection is blind to an individual difference (i.e., the characteristic is unrelated to fitness). One might, for example, observe characteristics in some leaders (say, sensitivity to criticism) that say little about their effectiveness or their evolutionary fitness. Second, there is *mutation-selection balance,* where selection does not perfectly eliminate the individual difference, often because the nature of the context has changed (i.e., some of the characteristics that led to fitness in the early stages of humanity may not apply to fitness in contemporary life). Third, there is *balancing selection,*

where selection itself maintains genetic variation (i.e., a characteristic may be positively related to fitness in some environments or contexts, and negatively related to fitness in others). There are also more complex mechanisms that allow genetic mutation and evolutionary adaptation to maintain individual differences. One possibility was mentioned earlier: frequency-dependent selection, where the fitness implications of a particular trait depend on its prevalence in other members of the species (see Ilies et al., 2004). The benefits of psychological collectivism, for example, may accelerate as collectivism in a species or sub-population increases (i.e., the payoff to collectivism increases as others in one's population are similarly collectivistic [positive frequency-dependent selection]).

What are the implications of behavioral genetics for the leader trait perspective? As noted above, it provides an explanation for why, at least in part, leaders are born. To a significant degree, leadership is rooted in individual genes, namely, their genetic predispositions to have psychological (personality, intelligence) and physical (height, attractiveness) characteristics that predispose them to seek leadership positions, to be selected by others to such positions, and to thrive in such positions once selected.

Model of Individual Differences in Leadership _____

Based on the foregoing review, and based substantially on an earlier work (Judge, Piccolo, & Kosalka, 2009), Figure 6.1 presents a conceptual model. Following prior leader trait research (Judge et al., 2002), the model distinguishes between leader emergence and leadership effectiveness. Based on criticisms of the leader trait paradigm (Kaiser et al., 2008), it also draws a distinction between subjective leadership effectiveness—follower ratings of leaders, follower affective reactions to leaders—and objective effectiveness—as reflected in group performance, group survival. The model posits trait effects on both emergence and effectiveness. Because one must first emerge as a leader to be effective as one, it also shows a link from leader emergence to leadership effectiveness. Moreover, because both the process of emerging as leader and becoming an effective leader after emerging as one depend on behaviors, leader states and styles mediate the trait effects. Finally, the model also suggests various moderating influences through the model.

Having presented the model in a general sense, we turn our attention to the core of our model. Specifically, we discuss in detail: (a) the *paradox of leader individual differences*—the ways in which leader individual differences (personality, ability) exert paradoxical effects on leader emergence, leadership states and styles, and leadership effectiveness; (b) *mediators of individual differences*—leadership states and styles as explanations for the relationship of leader traits to leader emergence and to leadership effectiveness; and (c) *moderators of individual differences*—the degree to which follower and leader individual differences, as well as context, moderate the linkages within the model. In the following sections, we discuss each of these processes in turn.

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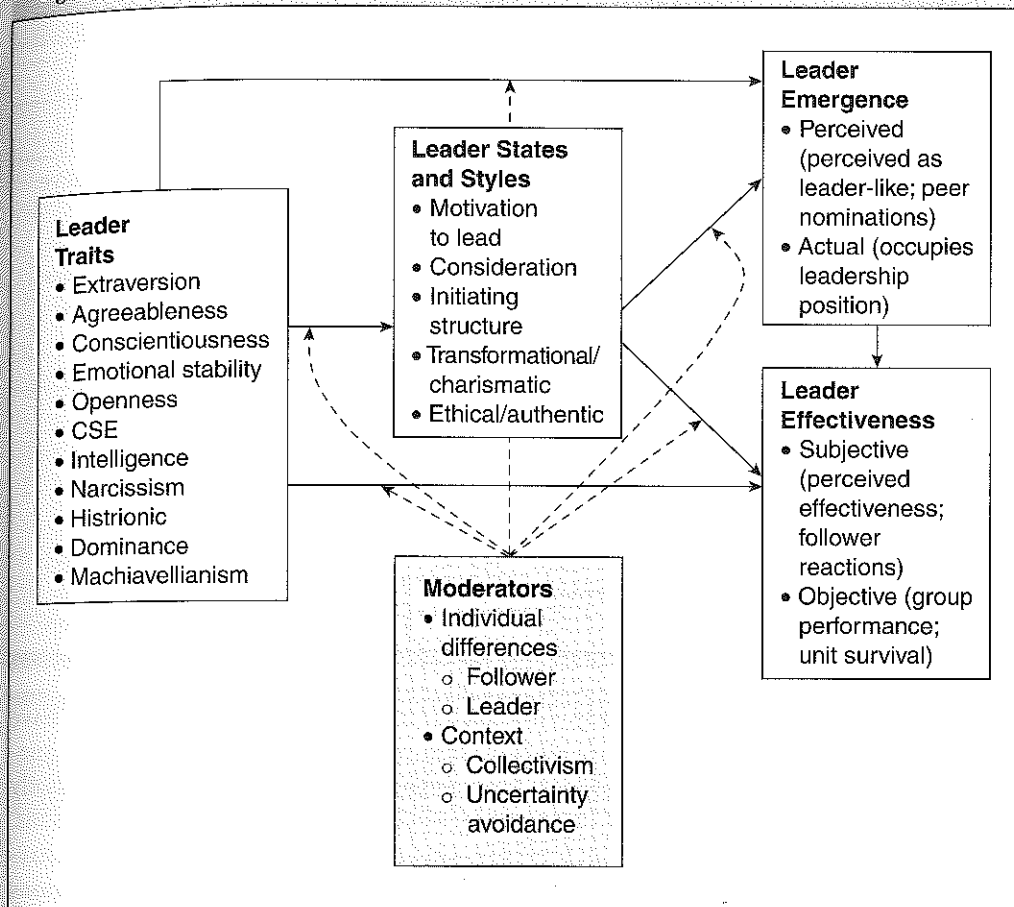
NOTE: CSE = core self-evaluations. Bold lines represent direct effects of leader traits on leader emergence and on leader effectiveness. Dashed lines represent moderating influences.

Paradox of Leader Individual Differences

As shown by prior quantitative reviews (Judge et al., 2002), many socially desir-
able personality traits—so called "bright" traits—are likely to be valuable for
leader emergence and leadership effectiveness across situations. Yet these same
traits could be counterproductive in particular contexts. Thus, bright traits,
albeit favorable for leadership in general, also carry with them paradoxical util-
ity. We would also observe a similar phenomenon for socially undesirable (i.e.,
"dark") traits, such that these traits might compromise leader effectiveness in
general but actually might enhance group survival and fitness in some.

Thus, the framework for trait paradox, as shown in Table 6.1, considers
four possible implications for leader emergence and leadership effective-
ness of traits: (a) socially desirable traits that in most cases, have positive

Table 6.1 Paradoxical Effects of Leader Individual Differences on Leader Emergence or Leadership Effectiveness

Trait Social Desirability	Actual Effects in Specific Context or Situation	
	Bright effect	Dark effect
Bright trait	Socially desirable trait has positive implications for leaders and stakeholders *Example*: Conscientious leader displays high ethical standards in pursuing agenda in long-term interest of organization.	Socially desirable trait has negative implications for leaders and stakeholders *Example*: Conscientious leader has difficulty adapting strategy when confronted with environmental turbulence.
Dark trait	Socially undesirable trait has positive implications for leaders and stakeholders *Example*: Narcissistic leader's self-confidence causes him/her to emerge from chaotic context when no one else is willing to assume responsibility.	Socially undesirable trait has negative implications for leaders and stakeholders *Example*: Narcissistic leader manipulates reward structure (e.g., stock price based on granted options) to personal advantage at long-term expense to organization.

implications; (b) socially undesirable traits that in most situations, have negative implication; (c) socially desirable traits that in particular situations and at extreme levels, have negative implications; and (d) socially undesirable traits that in particular situations, have positive implications. In so doing, we draw on a person–situation interactionist model of behavior and performance (Tett & Burnett, 2003) to describe the conditions under which particular personality traits relate to leader effectiveness. We consider seven "bright side" individual differences: The Big Five traits, core self-evaluations, and intelligence. Based on Judge et al. (2009), we consider four "dark side" traits that are among the most widely investigated socially undesirable traits: narcissism, dominance, histrionic personality, and Machiavellianism. Of course, other bright and dark side traits could be considered. (Table 6.2 and Table 6.3 highlight these traits and their potential implications.)

Table 6.2 Possible Leader Trait Paradoxes Involving "Bright" Five-Factor Model Traits

		Leadership Benefits and Costs	
		Leader Benefits	Leader Costs
	Extraversion	More likely to emerge as leader; More charismatic and inspiring; Greater ambition	More impulsive and risky decisions; Less likely to listen to followers; May lack persistence and commitment to long-term vision

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		Leadership Benefits and Costs	
		Leader Benefits	Leader Costs
"Bright" (Big Five) Traits	Agreeableness	More considerate; More positive interpersonal interactions and helping behavior; Lower conflict; Lower deviance and turnover	Lower ambition to lead or excel; Less initiating structure; Easily "rolled" off course by influential followers
	Conscientiousness	Greater desire to lead; More effective at setting and maintaining goals; More ethical	Reduced adaptability; More controlling; More likely to lose visionary focus (in favor micro-management)
	Emotional stability	Greater desire to lead; More positive vision; More ethical	Less able to detect risks; Less concerned with danger (more susceptible to illusions); More likely to choose "easy" wins that verify self-concept
	Openness	More innovative; More visionary; More adaptable	Nonconformists; More likely to lead group in dangerous or independent direction; Less likely to accept leadership from above

Table 6.3 Possible Leader Trait Paradoxes Involving "Dark" Traits

		Leadership Benefits and Costs	
		Leader Benefits	Leader Costs
"Dark" Traits	Narcissism	More likely to emerge as leader; More willing to defend territory against threats; More charismatic	Inflated self-views in terms of leadership; Exploitive and manipulative leadership; Derogation of perceived competitors
	Histrionic	More likely to emerge as leader; More likely to be viewed as charismatic and innovative; Good social skills, especially in new environments	Vanity (overly concerned with looks, overly sensitive to disapproval; attention-seeking); Overly dramatic and unstable; Low tolerance for frustration
	Dominance	More motivated to lead; More likely to emerge as leader; More effective at taking charge	Perceived as controlling or domineering; May be conflict-seeking; Difficult interactions with dominant followers
	Machiavellianism	Greater motivation to lead; More politically astute; May win greater gains for group	Less considerate; More manipulative; Overly political and "distributive" (win-lose) leadership

Bright Side of Bright Traits

Each of the Big Five traits—being "bright" or socially desirable traits—may have positive effects for leaders.

Conscientiousness. Because conscientious individuals are detail-oriented and deliberate in their decision making (Costa & McCrae, 1992; R. Hogan & Hogan, 2001), conscientiousness may facilitate leader effectiveness through initiating structure activities. Moreover, conscientious leaders tend to be disciplined in pursuit of goal attainment, suggesting that conscientious leaders will clearly and consistently define role expectations and fairly deliver on informal contracts (Bass, 1985). Conscientious leaders will exhibit integrity (J. Hogan & Ones, 1997) and more tenacity and persistence in pursuit of organizational objectives (Goldberg, 1990), explaining perhaps, why conscientious leaders foster work climates regarded as fair and just (Mayer, Nishii, Schneider, & Goldstein, 2007).

Extraversion. Because extraverts are assertive, of all the Big Five traits, extraversion should be the strongest predictor of leader emergence, and that is the case (Judge et al., 2002). Because extraverts are energetic, upbeat, talkative, and enthusiastic (Costa & McCrae, 1992), they should be more charismatic as well. It is therefore no surprise that Bono and Judge (2004) recognized extraversion as "the strongest and most consistent correlate of transformational leadership" (p. 901).

Agreeableness. Agreeableness is manifested in modesty and altruistic behavior (Costa & McCrae, 1992), which means that agreeable leaders should be more considerate. Agreeable leaders are likely to promote cooperation and helping behavior among team members (Hurtz & Donovan, 2000), be empathetic when delivering critical feedback, and encourage a pleasant, friendly, and fair work environment (Mayer et al., 2007).

Emotional stability. Emotionally stable leaders are calm, relaxed, consistent in their emotional expressions, and not likely to experience negative emotions such as stress, anxiety, or jealousy (Judge & LePine, 2007). Leaders who exhibit emotional stability are likely to remain calm in moments of crisis, be patient with employee development, and recover quickly from group and organizational failures.

Openness to experience. Openness to experience is linked to creativity, imagination, and insight (John & Srivastava, 1999), suggesting that visionary leadership is more likely for open individuals. In their meta-analytic review, Bono and Judge (2004) found that open individuals receive high scores on the intellectual stimulation and inspirational motivation components of transformational leadership, as these leaders have a vivid imagination, are able to challenge conventional wisdom on critical issues, and visualize a compelling future for the organization.

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Core self-evaluation. The Big Five, of course, do not exhaust the "bright side" individual differences that are characteristics of relevant leadership. One such individual difference is core self-evaluations (CSE). According to Judge (2009), "Core self-evaluations are fundamental, bottom-line evaluations that people make of themselves" (p. 58). Hiller and Hambrick (2005) offer a comprehensive review of the literature linking the core traits and executive leadership, noting that in many situations a positive self-concept underlies many required behaviors of executive leadership, including innovation and risk-taking. Moreover, Hiller and Hambrick (2005) also suggest that high levels of core self-evaluations in CEOs will be associated with simpler and faster strategic decision processes, a greater number of large stake initiatives, and more enduring organizational persistence in pursuit of those initiatives. Supporting this line of reasoning, a recent study found that CSE was linked to the success of chief executives of major league baseball organizations (Resick, Whitman, Weingarden, & Hiller, 2009).

Intelligence. The final bright side individual difference we consider here is not a personality trait, but rather an ability, namely general mental ability or intelligence. Few individual differences are more valued in modern Western society than cognitive ability (i.e., intelligence; Judge, Colbert, & Ilies, 2004). Judge and his colleagues found that the relationship between intelligence and leadership is indeed significant, albeit not as strong as the relationship between intelligence and job performance. Intelligence, of course, helps leaders solve the problems that confront their unit and, perhaps, decide on a vision and mission that is effective and appealing to stakeholders.

Dark Side of Dark Traits

Narcissism. Narcissism is a personality trait that is characterized by arrogance, self-absorption, entitlement, and hostility (Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006). As a self-regulatory defense mechanism against a grandiose, yet shallow, self-concept (Morf & Rhodewait, 2001), narcissists tend to view others as inferior to themselves and tend to derogate those whom they see as competitors. Narcissist leaders are more likely to interpret information with a self-serving bias and make decisions based on how those decisions will reflect on their reputations. Van Dijk and De Cremer (2006) found that narcissistic managers were more self-serving than their more humble counterparts, with an inclination to allocate scarce organizational resources to themselves. Whereas narcissistic leaders may be prone to enhance self-ratings of leadership, attractiveness, and influence, these same leaders are generally viewed negatively by others, which reveals itself in lower job performance and fewer examples of organizational citizenship among subordinates (Judge, LePine, & Rich, 2006).

Histrionic personality. Those who have a histrionic personality tend to be dramatic, colorful, seductive, social, manipulative, exhibitionistic, and emotional. The reader might wonder whether these characteristics might well

describe charismatic leaders. Indeed, recent evidence suggests that individuals who score high on histrionic personality measures tend to score high on measures of transformational leadership (Khoo & Burch, 2008). R. Hogan and Kaiser (2005) describe the benefits of a histrionic personality to leadership, which include being entertaining and engaging. Another study suggested that innovative managers were more likely to score high on aspects of histrionic personality—manipulative, dramatic, and eccentric (Zibarras, Port, & Woods, 2008). This suggests that histrionic individuals may be particularly likely to be viewed as leader-like, and thus more likely to emerge as leaders.

Dominance. Whereas dominance is often regarded as a lower level facet of extraversion (Judge et al., 2002), it often is not, and need not be, subsumed under extraversion (Judge et al., 2009). Dominant individuals prefer to take charge, to control conversations, and to direct others. As noted by Judge et al. (2009), dominant leaders may lead through brute force and may be unlikely to lead their followers to feel their views are supported or even considered. In a study of personality and authority in families, for example, Altemeyer (2004) found that highly dominating individuals were regarded as power hungry and manipulative. Nicol (2009) found that socially dominant leaders were less likely to be described as considerate by their followers. Van Vugt (2006) challenges the conventional wisdom in evolutionary psychology that leadership emerges from dominance and submission, arguing, "The literature suggests that people do not support dominant leaders, quite possibly because of fears of being exploited by them" (p. 359).

Machiavellianism. Machiavellianism is a term used to define a personality trait characterized by both awareness—political astuteness and cunning—and an ability to use that awareness to achieve one's ends. Embedded in Machiavellianism is the encouragement to deceive, manipulate, and forcefully persuade others towards the leader's goals. Machiavellian leaders are more likely to employ "hard" political influence behaviors (Reimers & Barbuto, 2002) and tend to avoid motives of organizational concern and prosocial values (Becker & O'Hair, 2007). Machiavellians are less likely to share knowledge with others (Liu, 2008). Though Machiavellian leaders may have greater influence over people (Goldberg, 1999), that influence is generally used for personal power rather than the collective good.

Dark Side of Bright Traits

Conscientiousness. Highly conscientious individuals tend to be cautious and analytical and, therefore, often less willing to innovate or take risks. Cautious leaders avoid innovation, resist change, and delay critical decision-making processes, hampered by their need to gather compelling information and evidence in support their preferences (R. Hogan & Hogan, 2001). Leaders who

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are highly conscientious may be threatened by turbulent circumstances and organizational change, and they experience stress when impending deadlines and daunting workloads compromise their strong desires to follow strict and organized procedures. Indeed, conscientious individuals tend to be less adaptable to change (LePine, Colquitt, & Erez, 2000), which suggests that conscientious leaders may be poorly equipped to handle the very changes they are charged with envisioning, anticipating, and/or responding to. Moreover, highly conscientious leaders may be seen as difficult to please, prone to micromanagement, and bureaucratic about procedures and policies (R. Hogan & Hogan, 2001).

Extraversion. Extraverts tend to be bold and aggressive. As a result, extraverts are more likely to have conflictual relations with others (Bono, Boles, Judge, & Lauver, 2002), suggesting that extraverted leaders may produce more conflicts with followers and colleagues. Because of their sociability and broader social networks (Forret & Dougherty, 2001), extraverted leaders may also engage in short, shallow communications with many people in an organization, thus failing to provide a clear strategic focus for followers. Third, extraverted groups may be more prone to risky shift (Rim, 1982), suggesting that groups working for extraverted leaders may be similarly predisposed toward risky decisions. Finally, as sensation seekers who maintain short-lived enthusiasm for projects, people, and ideas (Beauducel, Brocke & Leue, 2006), extraverted leaders may make hasty or overly aggressive decisions or may not have the persistence to see elongated projects to their conclusion.

Agreeableness. Because agreeable individuals are cooperative, accommodating, gentle, and conflict-avoidant (Graziano & Eisenberg, 1997), agreeable leaders may avoid making tough decisions and may seek to minimize conflict to suboptimal levels. Further, because agreeable managers are prone to giving lenient performance ratings (Bernardin, Cooke, & Villanova, 2000), followers of agreeable leaders may be deprived of honest appraisals of their work and, thus, may fail to benefit from criticism. If leaders communicate their preferences through the feedback they provide (Kaiser et al., 2008), then the gentle and lenient feedback provided by agreeable leaders suggests a preference for social harmony over all else (competition, achievement, making hard choices necessary for survival). Agreeable leaders who use a nonconfrontational style may be ideally suited for positions that demand complacent adherence to the status quo. Thus, it may be unlikely to find highly agreeable leaders proposing radical process innovations or challenging the status quo. The problem, of course, is that leaders often must be willing to assert themselves to challenge the status quo. R. Hogan, Curphy, and Hogan (1994) describe the results of a study which found that the most common reason for managerial incompetence was "managers' unwillingness to exercise authority (e.g., 'is reluctant to confront problems and conflict')" (p. 494).

Emotional stability. Leadership is an inherently emotional process (Dasborough & Ashkanasy, 2002). Leaders with high levels of emotional stability are less likely to use inspirational appeal as an influence tactic (Cable & Judge, 2003), relying instead on objective and rational arguments. Yet of all the influence tactics that managers use, inspirational appeal is the most effective in gaining commitment from followers (Yukl & Tracey, 1992). Another potential downside of emotionally stable leaders is that they may not perceive threats from the environment. D. D. P. Johnson (2004) documents how many leader decisions to go to war—often with catastrophic consequences to the leader's followers—were born from positive illusions.

Openness to experience. McCrae (1996) characterized individuals scoring high on measures of openness to experience as nonconformists, those who pride themselves on antiauthoritarian and antiestablishment attitudes, whereas Judge and LePine (2007) considered high openness as a potential hazard in hierarchical, conventional, or traditional work settings. Because open leaders are willing to try most anything in the pursuit of organizational success, these leaders might get easily distracted with vogue ideas, therefore pursuing short-term strategies that defy deeply held corporate values and traditions, potentially compromising an organization's long-term stability. Indeed, openness to experience is negatively correlated with continuance commitment (Erdheim, Wang & Zickar, 2006). Open leaders might lack focus on organizational objectives and, instead, focus on skeptical or alternative viewpoints. Thus, open leaders might compromise a group's ability to fit within a broader collective (Judge et al., 2009).

Core self-evaluations. Extremely positive self-views—what Hiller and Hambrick (2005) describe as hyper-CSE—can be very dysfunctional in a leader. Hyper-CSE might cause leaders to underappreciate risk or to have "rosy view" about the future. Thus, overly confident leaders might make overly risky decisions because they deny the risk that is there (Simon & Houghton, 2003). Or, high CSE leaders might overpay in acquiring another company because they believe the future brighter than it is (Hayward & Hambrick, 1997). Although positive self-regard is positive for interpersonal and leadership functioning in general, hyper-CSE will most likely hamper the objectivity of strategic judgments, whereby leaders with hyper-CSE might craft organizational strategies that serve their own best interests, rather than those of the organization's stakeholders. Finally, because individuals with high self-esteem react defensively to critical feedback (Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger & Vohs, 2003), leaders high in CSE might react to negative feedback by questioning the competence of the evaluator and the validity of evaluation technique (Kernis & Sun, 1994).

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Judge et al. (2009), "It is not uncommon for individuals with exceptionally high IQs to be perceived as atypical and treated as outsiders to a work group" (p. 869). Bass (1990) and Stogdill (1948) hypothesized that it could be detrimental to a group if the leader's intelligence substantially exceeds that of group members. This speculation inspired Judge et al. (2004) to suggest that group intelligence, a group's collective intellectual capacity, would moderate the relationship between leader intelligence and leader effectiveness, such that groups with a high IQ would be more receptive to a highly intelligent leader than groups with low IQs. Thus, intellect in and of itself may not be perfectly effective, especially if there exists a mismatch of IQs between group members and the group's leader. Finally, highly intellectual individuals have a high need for cognition (Cacioppo, Petty, Feinstein, & Jarvis, 1996), suggesting that very intelligent leaders may be indecisive because they are pensive and may make problems more complex than they really are.

Bright Side of Dark Traits

Narcissism. Narcissistic individuals maintain exaggerated views of their own self-worth, but the multidimensional trait appears to have some positive associations in the leadership process. The authoritative component of narcissism (Emmons, 1984) predicted ratings of leader emergence in four-person leaderless discussion groups (Brunell et al., 2008). Deluga (1997), in an archival analysis of U.S. presidential personalities, suggested that narcissistic entitlement and self-sufficiency were positively associated with charismatic leadership and ratings of executive performance. Because narcissistic leaders favor bold and aggressive actions that are likely to draw attention to their vision and leadership, there are times when such actions are beneficial to the leader's organization. Chatterjee and Hambrick (2007), for example, used an unobtrusive measure of narcissism among 111 CEOs and evaluated strategic innovation and performance over a 12-year period. Narcissism was positively related to the number and size of corporate acquisitions, a benchmark the authors regard as a proxy for strategic dynamism. Although these narcissistic CEOs ultimately achieved organizational performance that fluctuated over time, their firms' performance was essentially no different from those with less self-aggrandizing leaders.

Histrionic personality. As Conger (1993) notes, charismatic leadership is based on a self-construed "hero" mentality, where the leader must convince others of his or her "extraordinariness" (p. 285). This self-construal of one's heroic qualities fits with the histrionic personality, where individuals put themselves on a pedestal and need to be the center of others' attention. Moreover, histrionic individuals are often thought to have attractive social skills, though their skills are directed at focusing attention on themselves and manipulating others for their personal goals. Finally, R. Hogan and Kaiser (2005) note that

histrionic leaders are likely to be impulsive, attention seeking, and may lead by crisis. As Willner (1984) noted, if a crisis is not present, a charismatic leader will often create one.

Dominance. Dominance was among the first traits associated with leadership and leader emergence (Mann, 1959). Dominant individuals command the attention of others, and consistently attain high levels of influence (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009). As such, individuals who get high scores on ratings of dominance are more likely to emerge as leaders and more likely to be promoted to positions of authority (Foti & Hauenstein, 2007; Hing, Bobocel, Zanna, & McBride, 2007; Judge et al., 2009). In addition, socially dominant leaders display a strong desire for achievement and control (Cozzolino & Snyder, 2008), making them attractive to willing followers. Anderson and Kilduff (2009), for example, argued that trait dominance is associated with the appearance of competence, which may explain why Hare, Koenigs, and Hare (1997), in a field study of 260 managers, reported that both managers and coworkers believed that "model" managers should be more dominant than they are usually rated to be.

Machiavellianism. Although most descriptions of Machiavellianism are understandably derogatory, the original discussions of power contained in Machiavelli's *The Prince* [*Il Principe*] are far less derisive. Moreover, evidence suggests some benefits to being a Machiavellian leader. Machiavellians have a high motivation to lead (Mael, Waldman & McQueen, 2001). Moreover, Machiavellian leaders show considerable flexibility in handling structured and unstructured tasks (Drory & Gluskinos, 1980). In addition, Machiavellians engage in a variety of influence tactics—such as strategic self-disclosure—conducive to building political connections (Dingler-Duhon & Brown, 1987). Perhaps for these reasons, Simonton (1986) demonstrated that Machiavellians tend to serve the most years in national elective offices, and Machiavellianism among U.S. presidents was positively associated with legislative success in Congress.

Mediators of Individual Differences

Important to research on leader individual differences is investigation of the mechanisms that connect leader traits to leader outcomes. Our model suggests that leader traits link not only directly to leader outcomes but also indirectly. These indirect links help to explain how the personality of leaders influences their actions and, ultimately, their outcomes. If broad personality traits form the backbone of how and why individuals behave in a certain way, then specific traits are possibly the marrow. In fact, scholars have argued that specific leader traits do matter when predicting leader actions and outcomes (S. A. Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991). The actions of a leader

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include the behaviors, states, and styles displayed when making decisions, executing strategies, and interpersonally connecting with others. In the following sections, we discuss how these actions and behaviors potentially mediate the linkages in our model.

Initiating Structure and Consideration

In the 1940s and 1950s, leadership scholars undertook a collaborative effort at Ohio State University to address a growing list of leader behaviors. Researchers of the Ohio State Studies took this comprehensive list of more than 1,000 behavioral dimensions and combined them into two separate but not necessarily unrelated categories. The first category, initiating structure, is defined as the extent to which a leader defines his or her role and the roles of followers, is goal oriented, and establishes well-defined communication standards (Bass, 1990). Leaders high on this dimension often emphasize task strategy, work and role organization, deadlines, work relationships, and goals. The second category, consideration, is defined as the degree to which a leader shows care and respect for followers, looks out for their welfare, and expresses appreciation and support (Bass, 1990). Considerate leaders often place focus on interpersonal strategy and tend to show regard, compassion, and gratitude for followers. These two categories, which form the core of leadership behavioral theory, have been meta-analytically connected to important leadership outcomes (Judge, Piccolo, & Ilies, 2004).

Although we are not aware of published research linking a leader's standing on the Big Five dimensions to his or her initiating structure, personality scholars have, as previously noted, linked the Big Five to behaviors that seem to possess a structuring component. For example, studies have linked conscientiousness to voice behavior in teams (LePine & Van Dyne, 2001), autonomous goal setting (Barrick, Mount, & Strauss, 1993), and goal-setting motivation (Judge & Ilies, 2002). These three outcomes have initiating, organizing, and production commonalities, suggesting that leader conscientiousness could stand as a significant predictor of initiating structure. Another mediating possibility, albeit for a different Big Five dimension, could occur if insecure leaders (a facet of neuroticism) displayed tendencies to either control their employees or resist ideas. These actions are often typical of leaders high in initiating structure behaviors. Similar arguments could also be made for dark side traits. As an example, individuals high in dominance have a strong desire for control (Cozzolino & Snyder, 2008). Perhaps dominant leaders also value control. Control behaviors would be more typical of a leader high in structure.

We are also unaware of any published research linking a leader's Big Five dimensions to his or her consideration. However, researchers have shown that Big Five dimensions do relate to behaviors that are similar to consideration. For example, studies have revealed a positive relationship of agreeableness to

interpersonal facilitation (Hurtz & Donovan, 2000) and to benevolence (Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002), and a negative relationship to vengefulness (McCullough, Bellah, Kilpatrick, & Johnson, 2001). These results suggest that agreeableness is potentially related to leader consideration, because these outcomes align closely with the actions of a more sympathetic and warm leader, who focuses on membership, integration, and representation. As another possibility, egocentric leaders (e.g., narcissistic, histrionic, hyper-CSE, or hubristic) show tendencies to focus on grandiosity and impression management and to place value on praise and recognition (Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007; Hayward & Hambrick, 1997; Judge et al., 2009). It is conceivable that these leaders will demonstrate consideration behaviors as a tactic of self-enhancement to their followers. A somewhat related argument could be made as well for sociable and bold leaders (facets of extraversion). In fact, research has shown that extraversion predicts successful performance in jobs that require social interaction (Mount & Barrick, 1998).[2]

Transformational and Charismatic Leadership

Leaders are often faced with challenges that are unexpected or which seem insurmountable at an initial glance. Hence, leaders must motivate followers to perform beyond expectations. Transformational leaders inspire followers to commit to a shared vision that provides meaning to their work, while also serving as role models who help followers develop their own potential and view problems from new perspectives (Bass, 1985; J. M. Burns, 1978). Four behavioral dimensions of transformational leadership, listed in increasing degree of involvement and effectiveness (Avolio, 1999), are individualized consideration (leader mentors follower), intellectual stimulation (leader challenges follower creativity), inspirational motivation (leader inspires a vision), and idealized influence (leader acts as an admirable role model). This final behavior, idealized influence, is considered by many to be charisma (Judge & Piccolo, 2004). House (1977), building on previous work by sociologist Max Weber, argued that charismatic leaders act in a way that is extraordinary or heroic. The functional equivalency of charismatic and transformational leadership measures to various criteria has opened a debate as to whether or not the two are the same or if charismatic leadership is simply a facet of a broader transformational construct (Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1998). That debate is beyond the scope of this chapter, and our discussion of linkages with traits and the Big Five treats them as interchangeable (see Yukl, 1999).

There are empirical reasons to expect that transformational and charismatic leader behaviors mediate the links between leader traits and outcomes. First, and as noted earlier, Big Five dimensions have been shown to be associated with leader outcomes. Second, Big Five dimensions have been shown to be associated with both transformational and charismatic leadership (Bono & Judge, 2004). Although some results have been mixed as to which

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dimensions have the strongest and weakest correlations, all five are related to both types of leadership (Bono & Judge, 2004; Judge & Bono, 2000). Finally, both transformational and charismatic leadership are significantly related to leader outcomes. In a meta-analysis of more than 600 correlations, Judge and Piccolo (2004) found an overall moderate relationship ($r = .44$), which generalized over temporal and multisource conditions.

There are conceptual reasons for transformational and charismatic behavior mediation as well. For example, extraversion has facets that include key similarities to charisma, including assertiveness, verboseness, and vigor (Saucier, 1994). These facets, particularly in a time of crisis or unpredictability, allow charismatic leaders to emerge as followers look to them to help reduce uncertainty. In fact, extraversion was the Big Five trait most highly correlated with idealized influence (charisma) when meta-analyzed (Bono & Judge, 2004). There are also reasons to expect transformational leadership to mediate the effects of emotional stability on leader effectiveness. Emotionally stable (low neuroticism) leaders often demonstrate a calmness and sense of security that are seen as admirable and appealing by followers, particularly during times of high uncertainty. As opposed to extraversion, which helps leaders emerge, emotional stability helps leaders leverage their charismatic qualities to be both emergent and effective (Judge et al., 2002). Also, transformational leadership potentially mediates the relationship that open leaders have with key follower and leader outcomes. Open leaders are creative, curious, and often sophisticated. These leaders are typically more willing to take risks and remain open to follower ideas and suggestions. These qualities are closely tied to highly effective aspects of transformational leadership.

Ethical and Authentic Leadership

The actions of nefarious leaders such as Enron's Jeffrey Skilling, WorldCom's Bernard Ebbers, and Bernard Madoff (all of whom are in prison) have undeniably given traction to a more recent focus on leader morality. Ethical leadership has been defined as the "demonstration of normatively appropriate conduct through personal actions and interpersonal relationships, and the promotion of such conduct to followers through two-way communication, reinforcement, and decision-making" (Brown, Treviño, & Harrison, 2005, p. 120). Authentic leadership, although related to ethical leadership via moral underpinnings, is unique in that rather than emphasizing transactional components of the moral management of others, it emphasizes that both self-awareness and self-expression should be in accordance with inner thoughts and feelings. As defined in the literature, authentic leaders are those who are acutely aware of how they think and behave and are perceived by others as being aware of their own and others' moral and value perspectives, knowledge, and strengths (Avolio & Gardner, 2005). These two leadership types are connected by the premise that they result in followers who at

some level mimic their leader's actions—an effect that might not occur were they led by less moral leaders. Because of their commonality, our arguments for mediation assume that both ethical and authentic leadership have similar influences on leader outcomes.

Scholars have suggested that moral leaders are trustworthy, fair, apathetic, and altruistic (Treviño, Hartman, & Brown, 2006). Furthermore, qualitative and quantitative research has shown that these leaders attempt to influence the morality of their followers through role modeling, rewards, and discipline (Sosik, 2005; Treviño, Brown, & Hartman, 2003). In a theoretical framework, Brown and Treviño (2006) proposed that ethical leadership should be associated with an increase in follower satisfaction, motivation, and commitment. Furthermore, they argue that ethical leadership will result in a decrease in follower deviance. Scholars have proposed that authentic leadership is related to follower authenticity, self-regulation of behaviors, and self-realization of emotion and values (Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, May, & Walumbwa, 2005). Authentic leadership has also been linked to follower commitment and citizenship behaviors (Walumbwa, Avolio, Gardner, Wernsing, & Peterson, 2008).

There are reasons to expect relationships between leader individual differences and moral behaviors. Conscientious leaders should possess a strong sense of self-direction and discipline (Costa & McCrae, 1992; John & Srivastava, 1999). Such tendencies often convey the type of self-awareness that underlies authentic and ethical leadership. Another trait, emotional stability, allows leaders to maintain consistency with respect to emotions and to be more secure in how those emotions are expressed (John & Srivastava, 1999)—both closely aligned with authenticity and self-knowing. Previous findings also show that agreeable individuals are often kind and sympathetic (Costa & McCrae, 1992; Saucier, 1994) and, if placed into a status role, have ties with ethical dimensions of leadership (Judge & Bono, 2000). Such leaders are seen as trustworthy and altruistic, and they frequently inspire followers to emulate these behaviors. This emulation often results in followers who make ethical decisions, increase prosocial behaviors, and decrease counterproductive behaviors (Brown & Treviño, 2006). And finally, leaders high in core self-evaluation likely carry a sense of assurance and efficacy about their tasks and duties. These leaders, because of positive self-appraisal and overall confidence, may be less likely to use unethical tactics as a getting-ahead maneuver.

Leader Motives

Socioanalytic theory (R. Hogan, 1983, 1986) maintains that individual differences relate to success and attainment via interpersonal actions. As this theory articulates, the interpersonal actions of individuals manifest as personal motivation either to get along (communion) or to get ahead (agency),

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as societies and work groups become structured with status and hierarchies (see Judge, Piccolo, & Kosalka, 2009, for a review). This dual motive theory has been expanded to a third motive—finding meaning—which is driven by a personal desire to find order and sensibility during times of chaos and randomness (R. Hogan & Shelton, 1998). As a theory of status and achievement striving, we argue that socioanalytic theory is one mechanism that links leader traits to leader emergence, primarily through the motives that certain traits elicit. In essence, socioanalytic theory helps explain "why" behaviors and outcomes of leaders are a result of their personalities.

The first two motives of socioanalytic theory, getting along and getting ahead, have clear associations with traits. Research has suggested that agreeable individuals are motivated to get along with others (communion), and both conscientious and extraverted individuals are motivated to get ahead (agency; Barrick, Stewart, & Piotrowski, 2002). Although these motivations often positively influence outcomes, there is a potential countereffect as well. One can certainly envision how being overly cooperative and ambitious can be detrimental if, as a result, ethics are compromised (Uhl-Bien & Carsten, 2007). The final motive, finding meaning, also has straightforward connections to leader individual differences. Researchers have noted that people try to avoid chaos, randomness, and uncertainty, striving for order, sensibility, and predictability (R. Hogan & Shelton, 1998). These desires are typical of someone high in conscientiousness and are likely to result in behaviors that satisfy these inclinations.

Moderators of Individual Differences

In addition to mediating mechanisms that link leader traits to leader outcomes, moderators potentially exist that can influence the links of our model. For the purposes of this chapter, we have separated our list of moderators into three categories. The first category, leader individual differences, includes variables that moderate the link between leader traits and leader styles or behaviors. The second category, follower individual differences, includes variables that affect how leader behaviors relate to leader outcomes. The final category, contextual differences, discusses conditions that potentially influence the paths from traits to behaviors, and from behaviors to traits.

Leader Individual Differences

We argue that either intelligence or creativity will interact with a leader's personality, such as extraversion, to moderate a leader's actual and perceived transformational leadership behaviors. We offer three separate arguments to support our assertion. First, Schmidt & Hunter (1998) found that intelligence is a significant predictor of job performance ($r = .51$), with even higher

correlations for more complex jobs. Intelligence could give extraverted leaders the efficacy needed to feel comfortable articulating a vision, thus increasing their transformational behavior. Second, individuals seem to share the common understanding that prototypical leaders are intelligent (Rubin, Bartels, & Bommer, 2002). Therefore, the relationship between a leader's extraversion and his or her perceived transformational behaviors could be amplified by leader intelligence. Finally, researchers have shown that intelligence and creativity are closely related (Rushton, 1990). We argue that extraverted leaders who display high levels of creativity are in turn often likely to stimulate and encourage creativity in their followers. Promoting creativity and intelligence is a key characteristic of transformational behavior (Bass, 1990).

Another example of potential moderation is when a leader's gender interacts with his or her personality. For instance, a leader high in agreeableness will potentially act in a way that is characterized by mutual trust, respect, and high regard for his or her followers' feelings—actions closely related to consideration. If this leader is female, she will potentially show an even higher level of consideration than will a male counterpart, perhaps as a distancing mechanism or as a point of differentiation from a previous leader. In fact, research results indeed show that women tend to use more democratic and collaborative styles and less autocratic or directive styles than do men (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). Other possibilities include an agreeable female leader's attempt to alter negative attitudes toward her (Eagly & Johnson, 1990) or to improve low morale (O'Leary, 1974) by being more considerate than a man would be.

Follower Individual Differences

There are also reasons to expect follower individual differences to moderate the relationship in Figure 6.1. Research on social identification has shown that when the self is defined in collective terms (collective self-construal), collective interest is experienced as self-interest, and individuals experience intrinsic motivation when contributing toward collective goals and tasks (van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, De Cremer, & Hogg, 2004). Moreover, collective self-construal has been proposed to be an important aspect in research on leader outcomes (Lord & Brown, 2004); and research by Conger, Kanungo, & Menon (2000) suggests that charismatic leadership and empowerment are both related to collective self-construal. Based on these predictions and findings and the assertion by Bass (1985) and others that a follower's conversion of interests from the self to the group is at the essence of transformational and charismatic leadership, we argue that collective self-construal moderates the relationship between leader behaviors and leader outcomes. Specifically, we posit that the benefits of transformational behaviors, from an effectiveness perspective, will be amplified for followers who identify with the

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group. Other followers high in collective self-construal will acknowledge this leader's effort as attending to group needs, because these followers identify more strongly with the group than with individuals. Leaders who attend to collective needs are therefore perceived to be more effective in group and team settings (Jung & Sosik, 2002).

Another follower individual difference that potentially moderates the relationship between leader states and styles and leader outcomes is follower job knowledge. Follower job knowledge varies in level, based on the individual or the complexity of the task (Kerr, Schriesheim, Murphy, & Stodgill, 1974). Kerr et al. summarized research that found that individuals with low job knowledge perceived structure as more important than consideration. Furthermore, these researchers highlighted other studies that showed that when job knowledge was at least adequate, followers preferred low structure (i.e., higher consideration). Additionally, House (1971) predicted that when a task is self-evident, structure is redundant and thus ineffective. Based on the research reported by Kerr and his colleagues and the speculation by House, we predict that the relationship between leader behavior and leader outcomes is neutralized by a higher level of individual job knowledge. To highlight an example, leaders high in conscientiousness should typically demonstrate a style that closely mirrors structure. If follower job knowledge level is high, then leader structuring decreases follower job satisfaction, thus weakening the relationship between leader behavior and the perceived effectiveness of that leader.

Contextual Differences

There are compelling and theoretical reasons to believe that culture can play a moderating role on the links in our model. As part of the GLOBE research program (see House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004), researchers investigated how national cultures differ on nine dimensions. One of these culture dimensions, uncertainty avoidance, describes the extent to which a society's members feel threatened by uncertain and unambiguous situations and try to avoid them. We argue that uncertainty avoidance potentially moderates the links to leader behaviors and outcomes. As an example, intelligent leaders are likely to understand that followers who belong to a culture high in uncertainty avoidance will potentially have high regard for morality. Therefore, these leaders may demonstrate higher levels of moral behavior as a signal of risk reduction to their followers. Furthermore, moral leaders will potentially be seen as more leader-like and thus have high levels of leader emergence and perceived effectiveness.

Research on a second GLOBE dimension, collectivism, suggests that it too plays an important moderating role in the relationship between leader traits and leader outcomes. Collectivism is a national culture attribute that describes a tightly knit social framework in which individuals in a group expect other

group members to protect them and to look after them (House et al., 2004). As an example, agreeable leaders will potentially appear more transformational in a collective society. This occurs because collective group members are likely more inspired by leaders who are trusting, cooperative, and kind. Collectivism also potentially amplifies the relationship between transformational behavior and leader effectiveness. For instance, lab research has indicated that transformational leaders in a collective society stimulate higher levels of long-term planning and idea generation from their followers (Jung & Avolio, 1999). Additionally, Schaubroeck, Lam, and Cha (2007) conducted a field study and showed that collectivism strengthened the relationship between transformational leadership and team potency (i.e., collective efficacy).

In addition to culture, there are inter- and intraorganizational variables that also have the potential to moderate the linkages in our model. One example is organizational structure, as described by T. Burns and Stalker (1961). Mechanistic structures are centralized and machine-like, and are characterized by rigidity and procedural standardization. On the other extreme are organic structures, which are analogous to living organisms in that they are characterized by flexibility and adaptability to situations. These structure types have the potential to influence the relationships between traits and behaviors. For instance, open leaders, who have a natural tendency to be adaptable, may seem even more visionary in organic organizations, as their personalities mesh with their followers' desires for adaptability. Conversely, leaders high in Machiavellianism might appear somewhat transformational in mechanistic organizations as they use political skill to win over followers who are susceptible to cunning tactics.

Another likely contextual moderator is leader hierarchical level. For example, extraverted organizational leaders who are top managers might appear as less trustworthy and authentic to followers who perceive them as purely talkative or ingratiatory. Extraverted immediate supervisors, however, have the potential to be seen as more authentic and trustworthy. Research by Dirks and Ferrin (2002) has suggested that direct supervisors are important referents for follower trust and that trust is higher when leader–member exchange (LMX) is high.

Measurement Issues and Assumptions of Individual Differences in Leadership

Criticism of leadership research is certainly not a new phenomenon. Recent critics of leadership studies have focused attention not only on how leadership variables are measured but also on overall assumptions that are made about leaders and their environment. These critics, by suggesting remedies to their points, have ultimately strengthened the research on leadership. The following section elaborates on three of these critical points and touches on the possible remedies. The first criticism, measurement issues of traits, highlights points by some who feel that leadership is often

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undeservedly glorified in both research and the popular press. The second criticism, measurement issues of behaviors, discusses points raised by critics who feel that scholars are sometimes misguided in their efforts to capture valid leadership behavioral constructs. The third criticism, measurement issues of outcomes, touches on criticism that argues that leadership studies are weighted too heavily toward subjective or less important outcomes and not enough toward objective or more important outcomes.

Measurement Issues of Traits

Our first issue highlights an argument by some that researchers are typically influenced to measure leader traits to positive outcomes only, and they often forgo opportunities to study traits that might result in negative outcomes. This influence, we argue, is partially fueled by society's romanticism of leadership, which has channeled the views of many toward a perspective that leans in the direction of seeing leaders mostly as heroes (Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985). This "rosy" view has likely led many to become enchanted with books and articles written by popular press authors who typify leaders as "extraordinary" or "inherent to us all" (Intrator & Scribner, 2007; Zenger & Folkman, 2002). These efforts, though enjoyable to read and arguably important, have left a void in our understanding of "other traits" that may have an impact on leaders, followers, and organizations. These "other traits" that should be included in studies are the narrow traits, dark side traits, and the trait paradox included in Figure 6.1. Additionally, further development of scales to capture the paradox and measure these other traits will allow us to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the influence of inherited traits (Arvey et al., 2006).

Measurement Issues of Behaviors

Critics of leadership studies have pointed to the typical study in leadership as one in which followers are asked to fill out surveys to assess the effectiveness of leader behaviors. These critics argue that this poses two potential problems. First, researchers often assume that the followers sampled in a study need or even desire leadership (Hunter, Bedell-Avers, & Mumford, 2007). To their point, it is not difficult to imagine (a) a scenario in which highly skilled or highly autonomous employees would be aloof or oblivious to a considerate leader or (b) another scenario in which employees in a high-justice climate might not need a leader who consistently reiterates his or her ethicality because all leaders in this climate are by association assumed ethical. Second, critics have pointed out that researchers assume leader behavior is always observed. This is not always the case. In some professions, such as outside sales or telecommuting, leader–follower interaction is rare. Furthermore, it is not difficult to imagine a scenario in which a leader spends an inordinate amount of time developing plans or crafting budgets, both of

which potentially occur in isolation or behind closed doors and unobserved by followers. As a basic remedy to these two issues, critics argue that researchers should not rely too much on follower perception of behaviors (Hunter et al., 2007) and we should corroborate follower perceptions with other more pertinent performance measures. Additionally, we argue that studies should control for interaction time by measuring how often followers actually observe their leaders performing work tasks.

Measurement Issues of Outcomes

Many critics point out that leadership research often places too much emphasis on how leaders are perceived by followers and peers, and not enough emphasis on how organizations actually perform. In fact, many studies have used subjective measures of both effectiveness and emergence as criteria and have given little focus to objective measures (see Judge et al., 2002). These subjective measures, critics argue, are essentially another way of capturing how leaders "stand out in a crowd" (i.e., effectiveness) or how much "approval" (i.e., emergence) leaders warrant (Kaiser et al., 2008). Furthermore, these measures are susceptible to influence by rater affect because variables measured subjectively are often influenced by interpersonal liking (Tsui & Barry, 1986). The end result is that politics and socializing are potentially more influential of leader outcomes than is the actual impact that leaders have on group or organizational performance. Kaiser and his colleagues (2008) acknowledge that understanding the characteristics associated with how leaders are perceived is useful but typically more relevant to the careers of individual managers. Therefore, a more useful approach would be to study the actual impact that leaders have on group processes, team results, and ultimately the success of the organization. In fact, Figure 6.1 does include both subjective and objective leader outcomes to support this recommendation.

A second issue to which critics have pointed is that researchers who do measure leader effects on performance outcomes often fail to differentiate between group processes and goal accomplishment (Kaiser et al., 2008). Kaiser et al. define process outcomes as "how did the team play?" and goal achievement outcomes as "did the team win?" The majority of studies that include process and performance measures place more focus on how leaders influence individual followers (Bass, 1990) and less focus on actual performance. Three suggestions have been offered to researchers to alleviate the "play versus win" debate. First, they should investigate and incorporate comprehensive measures used by organizations (e.g., a balanced scorecard) to capture multiple leader outcomes (Kaiser et al., 2008). Second, utilizing external resources and perspectives, such as benchmarking, to measure performance offers a mechanism to mitigate an inward-looking focus that plagues many research studies. Finally, they should ensure proper time lags in studies as a best practice to measure objective leader outcomes.

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Conclusion

Over time, scholarly focus has shifted between styles and traits of leaders and from surmising that leadership is malleable and teachable to concluding that it is hardwired into our genetic makeup. This ebb and flow has been fruitful, yielding rich and important theories, as researchers have incrementally advanced our understanding of leaders, their followers, and the surrounding context. As we move toward new understanding, it is important for us to keep three things in perspective, as we have argued in this chapter. First, individual differences do matter, and they provide a useful starting point to develop new models to test both subjective and objective outcomes in leadership research. Individual differences that matter include not only typical and expected leadership scenarios (i.e., positive trait equals positive action) but also paradoxical relationships (i.e., bad trait equals positive action). Second, leaders do demonstrate different states and styles based on their dispositions. These behaviors are affected not only by the leaders' traits but also by the individual differences of their followers. Third, leaders do not operate in silos. They must work with multiple personalities and with varying groups in diverse and complex organizations. Therefore, context matters and can play a significant role in leadership outcomes.

Future Research

As shown in Figure 6.1, our model includes multiple constructs. These constructs offer researchers several options for studies that link traits to behaviors to outcomes. The intentional broadness of our model should not be perceived as indeterminate, but instead should be viewed as flexible and therefore unconstrained by specificity. Our model should be used as a reference or a starting point to guide predictions in future studies. In addition to our model, we organize our suggestions for future research on leader individual differences around two themes. For the first theme, the saliency of different leader traits at different times, we suggest that the prominence of different traits that enhance (or compromise) leaders' emergence and effectiveness might vary over time and situation. For the second theme, leader–follower trait alignment, we recommend that researchers test scenarios in which there is a match (or mismatch) between leaders' and followers' traits.[3]

Trait Saliency Over Time

Researchers have suggested that over time and tenure, a leader's behavior and actions can change (Hambrick & Fukutomi, 1991). Based on this theorizing, we argue that the saliency of a leader's traits potentially changes over time and situation. We loosely argue that both leader and follower typically

agree on which traits are most salient, although we do maintain that occa-sionally leaders might assume that they are demonstrating one trait (e.g., extraversion) while followers perceive another (e.g., dominance). This point aside and as an illustration of our main argument, a leader who is high in both extraversion and conscientiousness might show high exuberance to gain notice as he or she attempts to emerge as a leader. Over time, and after the leader is established in the role, conscientiousness might assume a more cen-tral position as he or she sets goals and structures tasks. Or, rather than being conscientious, this same extraverted leader might be Machiavellian as well. After emerging, this leader might use manipulation and cunning tactics for personal gain—a proverbial wolf in sheep's clothing.

Additionally, and also from a saliency and time perspective, we argue that researchers should consider trait clusters or configurations of multiple traits in predicting outcomes. In fact, longitudinal research by Foti and Hauenstein (2007) suggested that the same patterns of leader individual differences that were associated with emergence were also associated with effectiveness over time. Because many measures of emergence and effectives are subjective, perhaps the saliency of trait configurations could influence follower percep-tions and ratings of leader outcomes.

Trait Alignment

We also suggest that researchers incorporate two different scenarios involving leader and follower traits into their studies. In the first scenario, trait matching, studies should be conducted in which a leader's traits coincide with the traits of his or her followers. For example, does placing an agreeable follower with an agreeable leader result in incremental performance gains in performance because of low conflict, or does this situation create an overly congenial and possibly detrimental work relationship? In the second scenario, trait mismatching, studies should be conducted in which a leader's traits do not match the traits of his or her followers. For example, what happens when hubristic followers low in conscientiousness work for leaders who are highly conscientious and who place great emphasis on details and task accuracy? Does this nonredundancy of traits actually enhance team performance, or does the trait mismatch create stressors that detract from team performance? Studies similar to these and others should be conducted to further our under-standing of trait alignment and misalignment in work settings.

Discussion Questions

1. Make a compelling case for paths or variables that could be added (or deleted) from the model in Figure 6.1. What theory, previous finding, or speculation supports your case?

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2. Why are certain traits perceived by some as "dark side," and others as "bright side?" In this context, how do you perceive leader hubris?

3. Do you think, as some (Robert Hogan) argue, that the dark side is simply an extreme score on a bright side trait? (In other words, conscientiousness is good in a leader, unless it is to the degree that the leader is excessively conscientiousness [exacting, punctilious, controlling].) Why or why not?

4. Do you agree that organizational or industry stability could be considered a "context" that might moderate the relationships between the variables in Figure 6.1? What other contexts could play a role in determining the strength of the relationships between a leader's traits, styles, behaviors, and outcomes?

5. Note—See Liden & Antonakis (2009) for a discussion of context and leadership.

6. Can you think of other mediating mechanisms that could potentially link transformational leaders to both subjective and objective outcomes?

Notes

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1. House and Aditya (1997) themselves did not espouse this viewpoint. Rather, they were summarizing what they perceived to be the prevailing sentiment in the leadership community.

2. Figure 6.1 indicates that mediation could also occur for the trait paradox (e.g., bright side of dark traits). For example, research has shown that the dark side trait of narcissism leads to bold actions by leaders (Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007). One could argue that this relationship is mediated by structure, because a narcissistic leader carries an intense need to have his or her superiority reaffirmed (Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007), which can often be accomplished by asserting and defining roles or organizing tasks and goals for followers. For parsimony, we chose to leave out speculations of this trait paradox in this and subsequent sections.

3. We also refer readers to Roya Ayman's chapter in this book. Dr. Ayman offers a detailed exposition regarding the interactionist perspective, and our chapter can be viewed as complementary to her discussion on the influences of the relationships in leadership studies.

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