

# Emerging Leadership Vistas

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## Charismatic Leadership: A Phenomenological and Structural Approach

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"Some men see things as they are and say, why? I dream things that never were and say, why not?"

—Robert F. Kennedy as quoted by Ted Kennedy in Ted's eulogy for Robert<sup>1</sup>

"There are no great men. There are only great challenges which ordinary men are forced by circumstances to meet."

—Attributed to Admiral W.F. "Bull" Halsey, U.S.N.<sup>2</sup>

Leadership has been one of the most researched topics in management, yet the research results have also been among the most disappointing. Some researchers, in fact, have gone so far as to suggest that the concept of leadership has outlived its usefulness (Miner 1975). Others argue that leadership has become a dumping ground for unexplained variance (Pfeffer 1977), or a "romantic" illusion that allows us to believe someone is in charge when in fact no one is (Meindl, Ehrlich, and Dukerich 1985).

Part of the difficulty lies in the controversy surrounding the appropriate definitions, measurements, units of analysis, and methods for studying leadership. Yet, in all the confusion, most people agree that some people appear to make a big difference in the unfolding of events—so big that they are referred to as *charismatic* leaders. Weber (1947) suggested that these leaders have a gift of exceptional or even supernatural qualities—a "charisma"—that helps them lift ordinary people to extraordinary heights. We would agree such leaders do exist, and describe them as *visionary* charismatic leaders. We argue, however, that there is another, *crisis-produced*, form of leadership in which it is extraordinary *circumstances* and *not* extraordinary individuals that create charismatic effects. The opening quotes capture the difference between these two types of leadership.

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Although we believe that the starting points for these two types of charismatic leaders differ, we also believe there is a common thread. The common thread is our belief that the essential function of charismatic leadership is to help create a new or different world that is *phenomenologically valid* (Brickman 1978)—that is, “real”—to the followers. Conditions existing in the larger organizational environment and within the psychological profiles of the followers help to differentiate the two forms of charisma.

The remainder of the chapter is divided into four sections. Phenomenological validity—an individual level concept—is discussed in the first section, including its two aspects, intrinsic and extrinsic validity. The group analog of phenomenological validity—consensually validated interpretive schemes—also is discussed in the first section, along with its two aspects, co-orientation and system effectiveness. The second section focuses on the difference between visionary and crisis-produced charismatic leadership. The two forms of leadership may be distinguished based on their differing starting points and effects on the phenomenological world of the followers. A model of charismatic leadership is proposed in the third section. Particular attention is given in the model to follower characteristics and situational (i.e., task and environmental) variables that are hypothesized to affect phenomenological validity.

### Phenomenological Validity

House (1977) suggests that charismatic leadership should be defined in terms of its effects. In other words, *charismatic leaders are those who have “charismatic effects” on their followers to an unusually high degree.* Based on a review of the literature, House suggests the following effects of charismatics as a starting point for development of a more parsimonious scale or set of scales: follower trust in the correctness of the leader’s beliefs, similarity of followers’ beliefs to those of the leader, unquestioning acceptance of the leader, affection for the leader, willing obedience to the leader, identification with and emulation of the leader, emotional involvement of the follower in the mission, heightened goals of the follower, and the feeling on the part of followers that they will be able to accomplish or contribute to the accomplishment of the mission. What is interesting about these effects is that charismatics appear to be intimately and unusually involved in the creation of a new or different “world”—or interpretive scheme(s)—for their followers that is cognitively, emotionally, behaviorally, and consequentially “real” for them. In other words, charismatic leaders appear to play a crucial role in helping create a phenomenologically valid (real) world for their followers that is new or different from their previous world. This world, the actor’s *Lebenswelt*, consists of all the sensory, affective, and cognitive events subjectively

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experienced by the actor. What we argue is that charismatic leaders help bring order, meaning, purpose, and consequence to these events, and are viewed by their followers as playing a central, “causal” role in the creation of this order, meaning, purpose, and consequence.

Phenomenological validity is concerned with the conditions under which people decide a situation is real.<sup>3</sup> Brickman argues that for a person to decide that a situation is real two correspondences must occur. First, there must be an *internal* correspondence between a person’s feelings (we would argue cognitions as well) and their behavior. “This means that a person’s behavior expresses feelings that are both substantial and appropriate to the behavior” (Brickman 1978, 11). If this correspondence is high, then the linkage may be called *intrinsically valid*.<sup>4</sup> Second, there must be an external correspondence between a person’s behavior and the consequences of that behavior. “This means that a person’s behavior elicits responses that are both substantial and appropriate to the behavior” (Brickman 1978, 11). If the correspondence is high, then the linkage is *extrinsically valid*. Situations must be both intrinsically and extrinsically valid for them to be phenomenologically valid for the actors in them.

What happens when one of the correspondences is weak or nonexistent? Table 2-1 outlines four situations based on different possible combinations of internal and external correspondence. As already noted, *real* situations are those in which actions express cognitions and feelings that are both substantial and appropriate to the behavior, *and* the actions elicit responses that are both substantial and appropriate to the actions. In situations where actions elicit consequences, but the actions do not express a person’s cognitions and feelings, we have *alienation*, as when a person is “just doing their job.” Alienated people, in other words, are those who “just put in time,” but whose “hearts are not in the job.” In situations where people act based on their feelings, but where the consequences are not substantial—as in the game of Monopoly—we have *fantasy*. We also have fantasy when people avoid doing or saying what they might wish to because they fear the consequences or because the consequences seem impossible to achieve. Walter Mitty, in other words, lived in an intrinsically valid, but extrinsically invalid, fantasy world. Finally, situations in which there is neither internal nor external correspondence involve *role plays*, where people “go through the motions” without affect, reward, or punishment. Of course, effective *educational* role plays strive to create a world that is at least for a time phenomenologically valid for the players. What we have in mind here are not educational role plays, but people who in “real life” play a role with no corresponding affect or effect—people surely well-suited to undergo psychotherapy!

Charismatic leaders appear to have the effect of helping create—at least for a time—unusually powerful degrees of correspondence between a person’s cognitions, feelings, behavior, and the consequences of that behavior.

**Table 2-1**  
**Phenomenological Validity: Elements of Internal and External Correspondence**

		<i>Internal Correspondence</i>	
		Actions express substantial and appropriate perceptions and feelings.	
		Yes	No
<i>External Correspondence</i>	Yes	1. Real <sup>a</sup> Ordinary interaction	2. Unreal Alienation
	No	3. Unreal Fantasy	4. Unreal Role play
Actions elicit substantial and appropriate consequences.			

Source: Adapted from Brickman, P. (1978). Is it real? In J.H. Harvey, W. Ickes, and R.F. Kidd (eds.) *New directions in attribution research* (13). Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum Associates.

<sup>a</sup>Phenomenologically valid situation.

Charismatic leaders, in other words, either help create powerful correspondences where they did not exist before, or else help heighten correspondences where they previously existed in weak form.

Of course there are dangers when either internal or external correspondence becomes very high—to say nothing of the risks when both are high (Brickman 1978, 15):

If internal correspondence is perfect, actions are unambiguous indicators of feelings and can never be excused. If external correspondence is perfect, actions have irredeemable consequences and [one] can never afford a mistake.

Situations of very high internal and external correspondence thus would appear to be inherently unstable. They would appear to require either that those who cannot handle the high correspondences leave, or else that psychological and structural supports be established to maintain the correspondences in the face of threats to their disestablishment.

Although intrinsic and extrinsic validity are *within-subject* constructs, we believe there is a *between-subjects* analog. We suggest that group behavior can reflect a common *co-orientation* (Newcomb 1953) that is the group analog of intrinsic validity. In this situation, we would argue that the behavior of group members, both individually and collectively, reflects shared

interpretative schemes, values, and understanding of the appropriate theories of action (Argyris and Schon 1978).<sup>5</sup> But more than this, not only do individuals share this common belief system, they are *aware* each other shares it (cf., Scheff 1967).

The between-subjects analog of extrinsic validity is *system effectiveness*. Effective systems would be ones where the group's behavior elicits intended consequences. When both co-orientation and system effectiveness are high, we would have a condition of *consensually validated interpretive schemes*, the collective analog of phenomenological validity.

Table 2-2 outlines four situations based on different possible combinations of co-orientation and system effectiveness. In cell 1, the group or organization is co-oriented and is effective in bringing about intended consequences. A successful family-owned business or a company such as Celestial Seasonings might be an example. In cell 2, where actions elicit consequences but do not reflect shared values or understanding, we have alienation. Such a situation would be classified as working, but alienated. The situation in a company prior to a strike might be an example. Cell 3 represents a situation where there is high value congruence and shared understanding, but the system is failing. To the extent the group clings to its beliefs despite their ineffectiveness, it is deluded. A failing family business might be an example at the organization level. Finally, in cell 4 there are situations where there are neither shared interpretive schemes, values, and theories of action nor system effectiveness; anomie or chaos is a likely result.

**Table 2-2**  
Consensually Validated Interpretive Schemes: Elements of Co-Orientation and System Effectiveness

		Co-Orientation	
		Yes	No
System Effectiveness	Yes	1. Consensually validated interpretive schemes	2. Working, but alienated
	No	3. Delusion	4. Anomie or chaos

Source: Adapted from Brickman, P. (1978). Is it real? In J.H. Harvey, W. Ickes, and R.F. Kidd (eds.) *New directions in attribution research* (13). Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum Associates.

## Visionary and Crisis-Produced Charismatic Leadership

We have argued that there are two types of charismatic leaders—visionary and crisis-produced—and the common thread to both is that each tries to create a new or different world that is phenomenologically valid for his or her followers. In this section, however, we would like to clarify the differences between the two types of charismatic leadership. We argue that the two types of leaders start by emphasizing different aspects of phenomenological validity.

We believe that *visionary* charismatic leaders are those who produce charismatic effects primarily through helping to heighten *internal correspondence* for individual followers or *co-orientation* within a group of followers. As Berlew (1974, 269) argues, “The first requirement for . . . charismatic leadership is a common or shared vision of what the future *could be*.” Thus visionary charismatics link individuals’ needs to important values, purposes, or meanings through articulation of a vision and goals—inspiring interpretative schemes—and also through pointing out how individuals’ behavior can contribute to fulfillment of those values, purposes, or meanings. We think that visionary charismatic effects are most likely to develop in cells 2 and 4 of tables 2–1 and 2–2—the cells characterized by the absence of internal correspondence and co-orientation.

We believe, however, that visionary charismatics do more than simply provide new schemata, values, or theories of action. The organizational change literature suggests that in addition: (1) potential followers need to be dissatisfied with the current situation (March and Simon 1958), perhaps through the unselling of old “truths” (Wildavsky 1972); (2) the new vision must provide for a stronger linkage between values, attitudes, and behaviors; and (3) followers must have a chance to successfully practice part(s) of the vision before they will attribute charisma to the leader (Argyris and Schon 1978).

*Crisis-produced* charismatic leaders create charismatic effects primarily through helping to heighten *external correspondence* for individual followers and *system effectiveness* for groups of followers. Crises exist when a system is required or expected to handle a situation for which existing resources, procedures, policies, structures or mechanisms, and so forth, are inadequate (Bryson 1981). In other words, crises sever the linkage between behavior and the consequences of that behavior—the external correspondence necessary to add “reality” to actions. Continued severance of this linkage would result in a condition of “learned helplessness” (Seligman 1975). Crisis-produced charismatic leaders handle a crisis situation through detailing the actions to be taken and the expected consequences of those actions.

Crises enable leaders to do so in at least two ways. First, as Korten (1968)

has pointed out, under conditions of stress and ambiguity, group members give power to individuals who promise to remove the ambiguity and stress. Thus, crises empower a leader to act in ways that would otherwise be constrained, and allow the leader to base his or her own behavior on his or her own ideologies and values. Charismatic effects, however, will be short-lived in crisis situations unless the crisis is favorably resolved from the standpoint of the followers. Furthermore, charismatic attributions will be short-term unless the leader remains in a prime focal position and can relate to handling of the crisis to a higher purpose that has intrinsic validity for the actors. Focal position allows the leader to continually influence the feelings and behaviors of followers (Roberts 1985). As Beyer (1981, 187) points out, "People behave in accordance . . . with the ideologies and values of powerful superiors." Tapping higher purposes will improve the favorable perceptions of the leader by the followers, arouse follower needs, and improve follower acceptance of challenging goals. Crisis-produced charismatics, in other words, can be expected not to stop with efforts to reestablish external validity, but also can be expected to work for the establishment of the psychological supports necessary to maintain high degrees of internal correspondence in their followers as well. For as Kaufman (1960, 222-23) points out, "all influences on . . . behavior are filtered through a screen of individual values, concepts, and images. . . . To the extent the leaders of an organization can manipulate the screen, they can increase the receptivity of personnel to organization directives and decrease their receptivity to outside influences."

A second way that crises help leaders detail new actions and consequences is by promoting unlearning and the search for new actions by followers (Hedberg 1981). Hewitt and Hall (1973, 370) note that in disorderly situations, "people evoke quasitheories that first postulate a cure, which is followed by an analysis of the cause and effect that supports the cure." This suggests, as Hedberg (1981, 196) states, "If ambiguity is high, solutions are chosen before the value and ideological commitments they represent become clear." Thus crisis-produced charismatic leaders differ from visionary charismatic leaders in one important respect. Crisis leaders start with action and *then* move to interpretative schemes, values, or theories of action, to support or justify the action. Visionaries, on the other hand, start with "theory" and move to action.

We believe, in other words, that crisis-produced charismatic effects are most likely to be produced in cells 3 and 4 of tables 2-1 and 2-2—the cells characterized by the absence of external correspondence and system failure. Cell 3 is thus the sole province of the crisis-produced charismatic, whereas cell 2 is the sole province of the visionary charismatic. *Either* type of charismatic, on the other hand, might be expected to emerge in cell 4; whereas *neither* might be expected to emerge in cell 1, as conditions favoring the production of charismatic effects would not exist (although a leader who



had helped move a situation from cells 2, 3, or 4 to cell 1 might be able to maintain charismatic effects in cell 1).

## A Model of Charismatic Leadership

In this section we propose a model of charismatic leadership that represents a synthesis of House's (1977) work, Brickman's (1978) development of the concept of phenomenological validity, Giddens's (1979) attempt to link phenomenological and structural approaches, and our own efforts to adapt these writers' efforts to the question of how charismatic leadership develops in organizational settings. The model is summarized in figure 2-1. Several propositions will be presented in this section that summarize the relationships that constitute the model. Due to a lack of prior theory and empirical research, only a few speculative propositions primarily at the individual level of analysis will be offered.

The model consists of six basic components. The first component consists of leader characteristics and behaviors and is based on House (1977). The second component is the perceptions and feelings of the followers. The third component is the behavior of the followers, and the fourth component is the consequences of the behavior of the followers. The fifth and sixth components of the model are follower characteristics and task and environmental variables that are hypothesized to affect internal and external correspondence.

At this point we must address directly the question of whether phenomenological and structural approaches are compatible. We argue that they are—that they represent two sides of the same coin of social life (cf., Sanders 1982). Giddens (1979) provides persuasive support for this position. The key to his argument is his concept of *structuration*, based on what he asserts to be the three fundamental elements of social life, and three necessary levels of analysis. He argues that all social life involves three essential elements: the creation and communication of meaning (in this case between leader and followers), the exercise of power (in this case the power of a charismatic leader to get followers to do what they otherwise would not), and the evaluation of conduct as measured against normative standards (in this case the sanctioning and reinforcement of leader and follower behavior based on normative criteria). He goes on to differentiate three levels of analysis. He argues that interaction (the primary province of phenomenologists, ethnomethodologists, and hermeneutic specialists) is linked to structure (the primary province of structuralists and logical positivists) through the concept of modality. The modality level consists of all the modes, media, or methods through which structure is drawn upon to create interactions, and through which structure is recreated by those interactions.

Acceptance of Giddens's approach allows one to do three things: (1) bracket structure and focus on patterned regularities in interaction as the phenomenologists do, (2) bracket interaction and focus on structure—seen as impersonal properties of social systems—as the structuralists do, or (3) attend to interaction, modalities, and structure in a structurational analysis. The model presented in figure 2-1 may appear to bracket interaction and present a structural and positivist approach, but the model clearly invites—even requires—phenomenologically based understanding and methods to apply it in any given setting. That is, *our model provokes attention as much to patterned regularities in interaction as it does to impersonal properties of social systems*. Thus we argue that our model represents a step toward the reconciliation of phenomenological and structural approaches.<sup>6</sup>

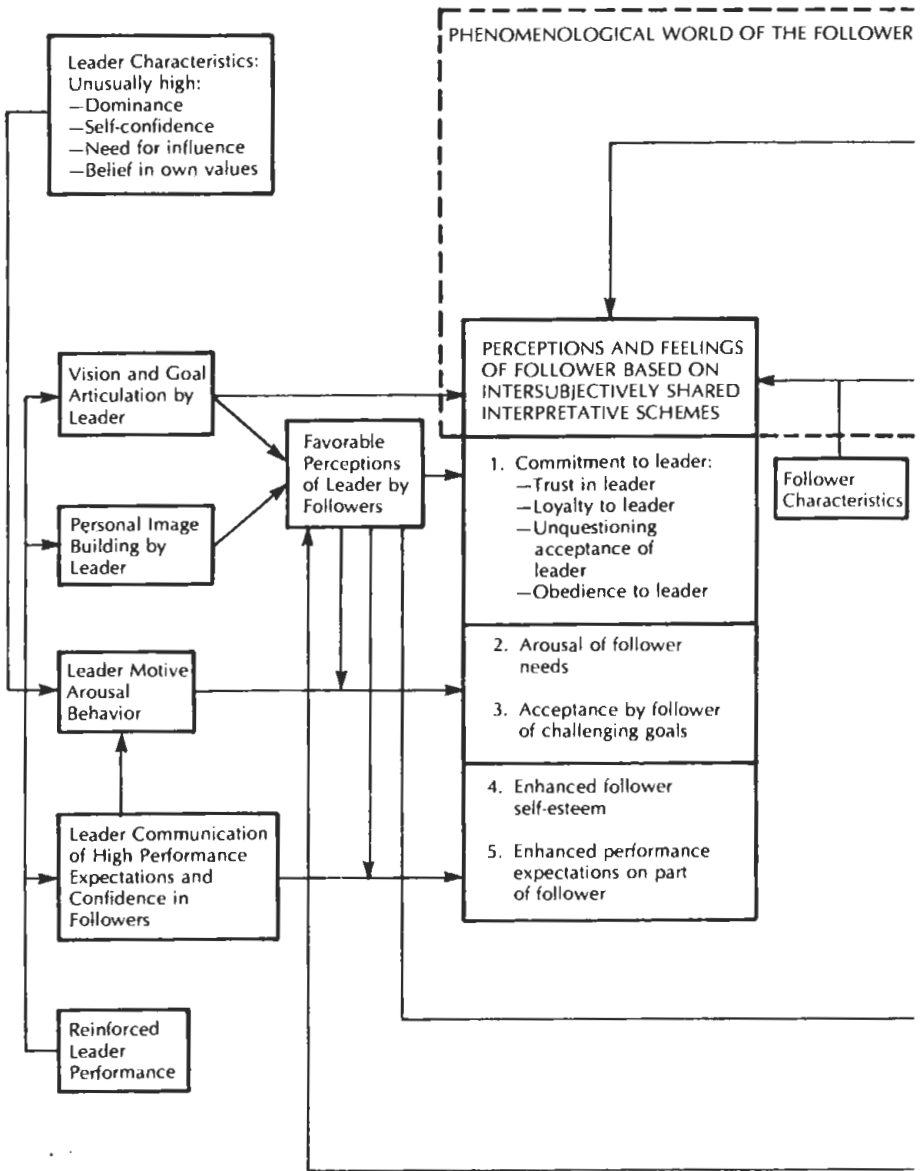
Now we return to the model. We have argued that the primary impact of charismatic leadership is through facilitation of the creation of a new or different world that is phenomenologically valid to the follower. We propose that the most direct impact of the visionary charismatic's characteristics and behaviors is on the perceptions and feelings of the follower—their interpretative schemes and what flows from them purposefully, emotionally, and motivationally. In this line of reasoning affect is viewed as an antecedent to behavior. We argue further that the most direct impact of the crisis-produced charismatic's characteristics and behaviors is on the follower's behaviors and the consequences of those behaviors. In this line of reasoning, behavior is an antecedent to affect (Staw 1980).<sup>7</sup>

Intrinsic and extrinsic validity, however, are experienced whenever perceptions and feelings are congruent with behavior and behavior is congruent with consequences. Changes in follower perceptions, feelings, or behavior, or in the consequences of that behavior therefore could establish the necessary conditions for phenomenological validity to be experienced. The linkages between perceptions and feelings and behaviors, and behaviors and consequences, thus should be viewed as reciprocal or interactive in terms of creating conditions for internal and external correspondence.

In addition to the direct impact of leader behavior on the feelings of followers, we believe that leaders may also have an indirect impact on phenomenological validity through fostering conditions that enhance internal and external correspondence. This impact could occur when leaders change task or environmental variables that are hypothesized to affect internal and external correspondence, such as task design, reward systems, and organizational structure (Kerr and Slocum 1981, 122).

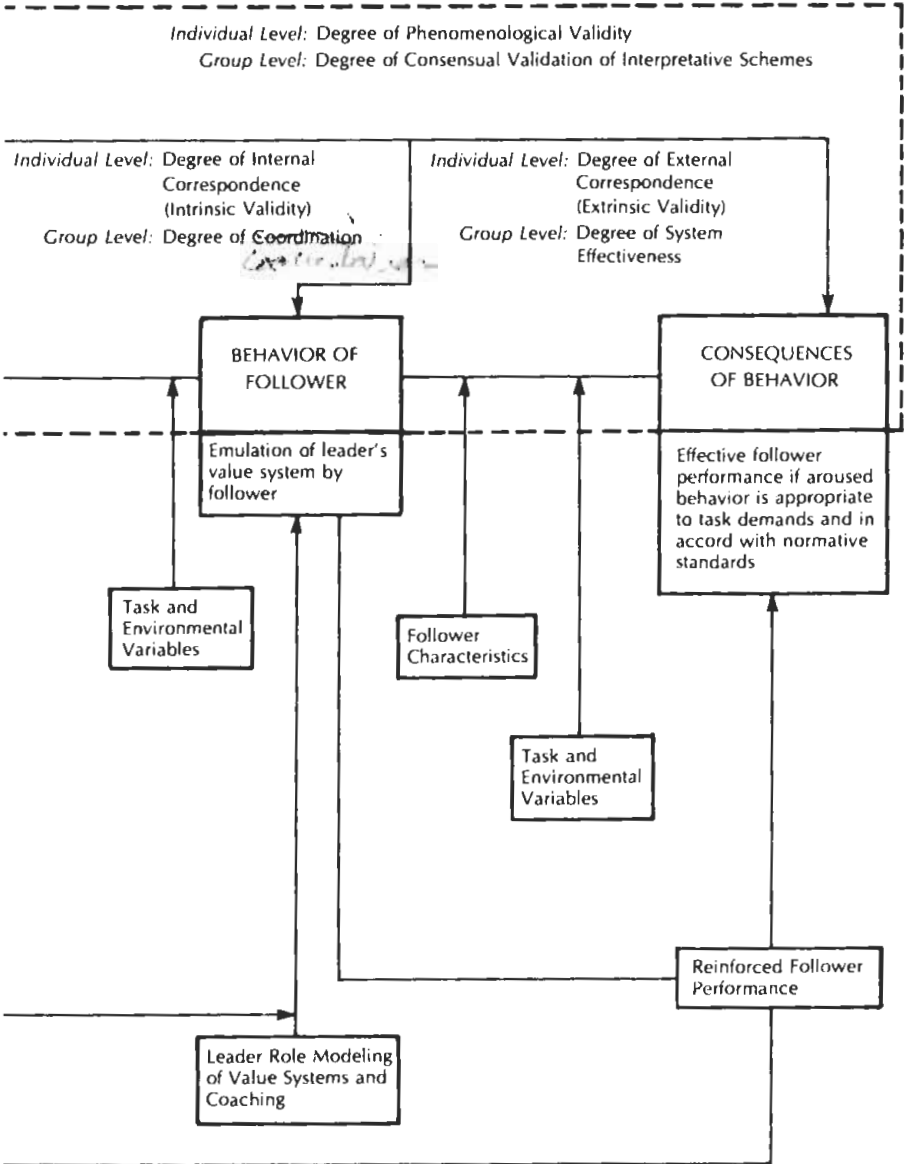
The rest of this section consists of propositions based on the model. The propositions are summarized in table 2-3.

Proposition 1 is true by definition if our model is valid. House (1977) argues that most writers on charisma—including himself—believe it must be based on the articulation of an ideological goal. We do not fully agree,



Source: Based in part on House (1977) and Brickman (1978).

Figure 2-1. A Model of Charismatic Leadership in Organizations



**Table 2-3**  
**Propositions on Charismatic Leadership**

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*Proposition 1.* There must be a high degree of internal correspondence between the perceptions and feelings of the follower and the behavior of the follower, and a high degree of external correspondence between the behavior of the follower and the consequences of that behavior for the "charismatic situation" to be real to the follower and for charismatic effects to be produced.

*Proposition 2.* For long-lasting charismatic effects to be produced, effective follower and leader performance (that is, behavior appropriate to task demands and in accord with normative standards) must be reinforced; successful performance is probably especially important in the case of maintaining crisis-produced effects.

*Follower characteristics and situational task or environmental variables that affect intrinsic validity (that is, the correspondence between internal states and behavior)*

*Proposition 3.* Individuals with high job involvement will experience their jobs as more intrinsically valid.

*Proposition 4.* Individuals who are high in organizational commitment, especially in successfully handled crises, will experience their roles as more intrinsically valid.

*Proposition 5.* Long-linked technologies and tasks low in job scope, that is, variety, autonomy, identity, significance, and feedback, will decrease internal correspondence.

*Proposition 6.* Individuals with strong growth need strength will experience tasks high in job scope as more intrinsically valid than individuals with low growth need strength.

*Proposition 7.* Mediating technologies with pooled interdependence and intensive technologies with reciprocal interdependence will enhance internal correspondence.

*Proposition 8.* Bureaucratic structure decreases intrinsic validity.

*Follower characteristics and situational task or environmental variables that affect extrinsic validity (that is, the correspondence between behavior and consequences)*

*Proposition 9.* Individuals high in job involvement will experience their jobs as more extrinsically valid.

*Proposition 10.* Individuals early in their role involvement will emphasize external correspondence more than individuals late in their role involvement.

*Proposition 11.* Tasks low in job scope will diminish external correspondence.

*Proposition 12.* Bureaucratic structures enhance extrinsic validity.

*Proposition 13.* Individuals with an internal locus of control will experience greater intrinsic validity than individuals with an external locus of control.

*Proposition 14.* Individuals characterized by a condition of learned helplessness will experience reduced extrinsic validity when compared with those not so characterized.

*Proposition 15.* When task performance is a function of group cohesiveness, the greater the group cohesiveness, the greater the external correspondence for members of the group.

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because we do not think it is necessary in crisis situations, and because the concept of ideology is too restrictive unless we broaden it to include cognitions, values, and need structures (e.g., Hall 1976, Kohlberg 1969, and Rokeach 1973).

We do believe, however, that individuals must see their behavior in terms of the fulfillment of some underlying purpose, meaning, or value that transcends the particulars of the moment if they are to experience the leader as charismatic (cf., Frankl 1959). If individuals are to see their behavior as meaningful and consequential, internal and external correspondence must be established, thus allowing the person to experience his or her own behavior as "reality based."

A long tradition of theorizing and research in motivation theory suggests the importance of linking behavior to its consequences. Thorndike's "law of effect" is an example from reinforcement theory and instrumentality perceptions are an example from expectancy theory (Porter and Lawler 1968). Thus we believe, for long-lasting charismatic effects to be produced effective follower and leader performance (i.e., behavior appropriate to task demands and in accord with normative standards) must be reinforced (proposition 2). This is especially important, we think, with respect to crisis-induced charismatic leadership.

The leader in a crisis who produces no effect or negative effects will not command support over any length of time. Note also that proposition 2 does not preclude followers from vicariously experiencing the leader's and others' behavior as well as their own. Thus, extrinsic validity is experienced not only as a result of the actor's own behavior but through the behavior of others as well.

The remaining propositions focus on factors that we believe influence the creation of a charismatic *Lebenswelt*. In some cases, the factors are viewed as residing within the follower in the sense that they represent individual differences. In other cases, the factors arise in the situation and are not dependent on which actor is involved. It is our contention that the leader can enhance the likelihood of producing charismatic effects either by changing the task or environmental variables in which behavior is embedded or by selecting individuals who are more likely to prefer a particular environment.

In suggesting factors that influence the experience of intrinsic and extrinsic validity, one would normally draw upon existing theory and research. Unfortunately, there is a paucity of both. We thus must rely on our intuition and hunches derived from our knowledge of other areas. We also admit that the suggested moderating variables are not necessarily inclusive or even necessarily likely to turn out to be the most important.

Propositions 3 to 8 primarily concern factors that influence whether cognitions and feelings and behaviors will be high on *internal* correspondence, and thus be experienced by the followers as intrinsically valid. Propo-

sitions 9 to 15, on the other hand, concern factors that are primarily thought to affect *external* correspondence.

Although job involvement and organizational commitment may be viewed as effects of charismatic leadership, we argue that they also may be viewed as preexisting conditions characterizing a group of subordinates who acquire a new leader. Individuals may be viewed as high on job involvement if at least one of three conditions exist.

First, they view their own performance as central to their self-esteem. Second, they view work as a central life interest. And third, they actively participate in and influence the way things are done (Saleh and Hosek 1976). The first two dimensions of job involvement emphasize the linkage between attitudes and behaviors (i.e., internal correspondence), whereas the third dimension emphasizes the link between behavior and its consequences (propositions 3 and 10). We think that job involvement, as active participation, would be especially important for a visionary leader. This is so because active participation may serve to bind a follower to a course of action, and change the follower's perceptions and attitudes to be in accordance with the vision put forth by the leader (cf., Staw 1980).

Organizational commitment, when conceptualized as an attitude, also is generally characterized by three factors: (1) a strong belief in and acceptance of the organization's goals and values, (2) a willingness to exert considerable effort on behalf of the organization, and (3) a strong desire to maintain membership in the organization (Mowday, Porter, and Steers 1982). All of these facets emphasize the linkage between attitudes and behavior.

We believe that organizational commitment, as an individual difference, will have special significance in times of crisis. A natural tendency is to withdraw when faced with a crisis. Thus, a leader in a crisis situation might not have the necessary support inside the organization to deal successfully with the crisis. Leaders who have subordinates high in organizational commitment, however, would have greater potential to mobilize the necessary people and resources to deal successfully with the crisis than would leaders with followers who are low in commitment. Crises provide three opportunities. First, crises make the subordinates more receptive to leader influences. Second, a crisis allows subordinates to demonstrate their commitment, which will be self-reinforcing. And third, if the crisis is handled successfully, additional external reinforcement will be provided. All will lead to enhanced internal correspondence (proposition 4).

Long-linked technologies (Thompson 1967) with serial interdependence and low job scope, that is, low degrees of task autonomy, variety, identity, significance, and feedback (Hackman and Lawler 1971, Hackman and Oldham 1976), do not allow actors to fully utilize valued skills and abilities. Research suggests that workers on these kinds of jobs experience low job satisfaction (cf., Pierce and Dunham 1976). Thus, we suggest that long-linked

technologies and jobs low in task scope decrease internal correspondence (proposition 5).

Task significance for the follower (a component of job scope) can be especially important when visionary charismatic leadership is involved. We would argue that visionary charismatics would help followers see their jobs as more meaningful—and therefore more intrinsically valid—by linking their jobs to higher purposes. These effects would be especially strong for individuals with high growth need strength (Hackman and Oldham 1976, Pierce and Dunham 1976) (proposition 6).

In addition, Blauner's (1964) research suggests that tasks low in job scope result in a sense of powerlessness, thus diminishing external correspondence as well (proposition 11). On the other hand, mediating and intensive technologies, which emphasize person, as opposed to task specialization (Thompson 1961), and which tend to be larger in job scope (Rousseau 1977), would increase internal correspondence (proposition 7).

We assume that most actors prefer states that allow control and discretion (cf., Brehm 1966, White 1959). Further, we assume that the greater the freedom an actor has, the more likely behaviors will reflect internal states and thus be experienced as intrinsically valid. Organizational factors that we believe would reduce control and discretion are high standardization, formalization, and centralization. These are characteristics commonly associated with bureaucratic organizations (Pugh, et al. 1969). Under these conditions, we think the message of the visionary may be lost. At the same time, however, we recognize that the ideas that are acted upon may be more effectively implemented (e.g., Zaltman and Duncan 1977, Bradley 1984), thus creating greater extrinsic validity (propositions 8 and 12).

Propositions 9 to 15 concern factors that are thought to primarily affect *external* correspondence. For example, Rotter (1966) suggests that individuals develop generalized expectancies regarding the linkage between their behavior and the outcomes they experience in life. Individuals who believe they control their own fate are said to have an internal locus of control. Those who believe, on the other hand, that external factors (e.g., luck, other people) are the primary determinants of their fate are said to have an external locus of control. Thus, individuals with an internal locus of control would be more likely to experience their behavior as extrinsically valid than would individuals with an external locus of control (proposition 13).

In a similar vein, Seligman (1975) has found that when individuals are unable to affect consequences they display decreased motivation, impaired learning, and increased emotionality. He refers to this state as "learned helplessness." Thus, individuals who are characterized by a state of learned helplessness would not experience external correspondence (proposition 14).

These two traits or states, external locus of control and learned helplessness, are important with respect to both visionary and crisis-produced char-



ismatic leadership. Persons characterized by either state would see visionary causes as utopian and without substance. In the case of a crisis, such persons would see the situation as impossible and without hope. Such persons thus would be unlikely to respond to either type of charismatic leadership. However, to the extent they did, we would postulate that a shift in locus of control, from external to internal, would occur.

Research suggests that when cohesiveness is relevant for group performance (e.g., when intensive technologies are involved), cohesive groups are more effective in achieving their goals than are noncohesive groups (Seashore 1954, Stogdill 1972). Thus, when cohesiveness is relevant to performance, individuals who are members of cohesive groups are more likely to experience high external correspondence (proposition 15). Both visionary and crisis-produced charismatics are likely to echo messages of solidarity (i.e., the need for cohesiveness). The visionary does it to build the critical mass necessary for mobilization, whereas the crisis-produced charismatic does it to maintain membership and enhance performance.

## Conclusions

We have argued that the primary function or impact of charismatic leadership is to help create a new or different world—or interpretive scheme and what flows from it purposefully, emotionally, motivationally, and consequentially—that is phenomenologically valid for the follower.

We have gone on to present a model of charismatic leadership in organizations. Although we do not present any data based on a direct test of our model, we do think that the propositions are testable and consistent with existing empirical findings. Further, an implication of our model is that charismatic effects may not be limited to a few who are endowed with exceptional gifts or supernatural qualities. Rather, our model implies that the potential for charismatic effects may be widespread. For example, leaders who successfully handle minor crises or engage in such seemingly mundane activities as job redesign may come to be seen as charismatic.

We have also argued that our efforts represent a step toward reconciliation of phenomenological and structural approaches to charismatic leadership. In other words, we feel our model invites an *understanding* of meaning, reasons, motivations, and intentions as much as it seeks *explanatory* connections between formal structural arrangements and behavior. A complete marriage between these nominally opposed approaches requires complementary methodologies, such as the use of interviews, case histories and participant observation in concert with more formal structural analyses. But consummating such a marriage also requires further theoretical development. In particular, more attention should be given to the modes, media, and methods

through which structure is drawn upon to create charismatic interaction, and through which those structures are created and recreated by those actions. We feel that our model represents a useful first step in the direction of such a reconciliation and theoretical advance.

## Notes

1. Ted Kennedy's eulogy for his brother will be found in *The New York Times*, 9 June 1968, p. 53.

2. The Halsey quote is from Beirne Lay, Jr., and Frank D. Gilroy, *The Gallant Years*, a United Artists movie, 1959.

3. The scholarly tradition of research in phenomenology is quite long, and has been influenced by symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969) and ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967), as well as seminal works within phenomenology itself (Schutz 1967). These historical-hermeneutic (Habermas 1971, 309–10) approaches have aimed at understanding meaning, reasons, motivations, and intentions. Good reviews of the application of these approaches to organizational studies may be found in Burrell and Morgan (1979) and Astley and Van de Ven (1983); see also Sanders (1982).

Obviously we are not able to draw upon the full richness of the phenomenological tradition in a chapter as short as this. Of necessity we have been forced to limit ourselves. We have chosen in particular to utilize two aspects of the phenomenological tradition. The first is the concept of *interpretive schemes*. These are abstract, cognitive frameworks of organized experiences which establish relations among specific events and entities. They serve as an initial frame of reference for perception and action (Schutz 1967, Jermier 1985). The second is the concept of *phenomenological validity*.

4. Intrinsic and extrinsic validity, as used here, are not to be confused with other concepts of validity, for example, internal, external, construct, and statistical conclusion validity, as used from a positivistic science point of view. See Cook and Campbell (1976), among others, for a discussion of these.

5. "Theories of action . . . are for organizations what cognitive structures are for individuals" (Hedberg 1981, 7).

6. An anonymous reviewer suggested that there is an inherent contradiction between a phenomenological interpretation of social reality which seeks a wholistic understanding and the epistemological assumptions of positivistic science. Thus, our attempt at understanding charismatic leadership by examining component parts or variables is at odds with a phenomenological interpretation. We do not, however, see these positions as mutually exclusive but rather as complementary. To begin with, both approaches are concerned with phenomenal experiences, both are empirical, and both bracket experience to focus attention. Further, we assume that "different" types of individuals can experience "similar" situations similarly, and that "similar" types of individuals can experience "different" situations as similar as well. Thus, we believe that common task or environmental structures promote common experiences. At the same time we recognize the influence of individual differences. Thus, the assumptions of positivistic science help us "explain" the pattern of regularities in behavior across

individuals and situations, whereas phenomenological strategies aid in “understanding” the meaning of those regularities to the individuals involved.

A fully *structuralational* approach to charismatic leadership awaits more attention to the modes, media, or methods through which action is linked to structure and vice versa in charismatic situations.

7. Recent arguments between Zajonc (1984) and Lazarus (1984) over the primacy of affect or cognition raise the issue of the independence and causal connection between affect and behavior. For us, this is not an issue. We recognize, as does our model, that the leader may have a direct or indirect impact on either perceptions or affect or behavior. Also, we agree that action produces feeling and vice versa. For us, the key issue is whether the actor's *Lebenswelt* is internally consistent and meaningful to the actor.