

Journal of Management Sciences

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Manuscript Information

Submission Date: January 11, 2021

Reviews Completed: April 15, 2021

Acceptance Date: April 24, 2021

Publication Date: May 20, 2021

Citation in APA Style:

Noghani, F. (2021). “Your Cognition, My Territory”: Charismatic Leaders’ Management of Follower Cognitive Dissonance, *Journal of Management Sciences*, 8(1), 1-21.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20547/jms.2014.2108101>





“Your Cognition, My Territory”: Charismatic Leaders’ Management of Follower Cognitive Dissonance

Farzaneh Noghani *

Abstract: *In their role as a leader and in the process of achieving their goals, charismatic leaders incorporate various strategies to utilize certain capabilities of their followers. One form of such strategies is to manage followers’ cognitive dissonance. To manage others’ dissonance could be interpreted as acting to either reduce or induce it. In this paper, we propose that charismatic leaders may seek to, through various mechanisms, facilitate either cognitive discrepancy reduction or induction in followers. Drawing on the self-standards and the action-based models of cognitive dissonance theory, we explain how charismatic leaders are empowered to do so by the interaction of situational opportunities and their own motivations and abilities. Specifically, we focus on the relevant impression management techniques (i.e., amplifying, scripting, promotion, and exemplification) that charismatic leaders utilize in the process of managing followers’ dissonance. We also propose that the type of the charismatic relationship, i.e., personalized or socialized, formed between leaders and followers of certain characteristics, moderate this process.*

Keywords: Cognitive dissonance; cognition impression; charismatic leadership.

Introduction

The idea of world as a stage and people as actors managing the impressions that others form of them has long been recognized by social philosophers, sociologists, and management scholars. While there have been some theoretical and empirical studies on the underlying motives of engaging in impression management (Barsness, Diekmann, & Seidel, 2005), research on applications of this concept within organizational contexts has mostly been devoted to its consequences (M. Bolino, Long, & Turnley, 2016). Therefore, often the real interest behind actions involved in the “inevitably interested relations imposed by kinship, neighborhood, or work” (Bourdieu, 1972) remains unrecognized and even more so when the actions are initiated by people of high status and prestige, such as organizational leaders (Harvey, Maclean, Gordon, & Shaw, 2011; Sanks, 2007; Shaw, Gordon, Harvey, & Maclean, 2013). This paper presents an initial attempt to shed more light on one of the potential motives behind the impression management actions of leaders, namely their attempt to manage others’ cognitive dissonances.

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Cognitive dissonance theory, introduced first by Festinger (1962), explains the uncomfortable state of mind induced in people when they hold discrepant cognitions. This theory has been modified since its early inception to encompass the various underlying mechanisms which are at work in the process of dissonance initiation and reduction. Some of the recent modifications of cognitive dissonance theory (CDT) include the self-standards (Stone & Cooper, 2001) and action-based models. CDT has long received the attention of organizational behavior scholars in their attempts to explain cognitive discrepancies of individuals in organizational contexts (Kammeyer-Mueller, Simon, & Rich, 2012). However, a recent review of this theory in management literature found that the recent extensions of CDT haven't been incorporated in this literature adequately (Hinojosa, Gardner, Walker, Coglisier, & Gullifor, 2017).

Although experimental studies of CDT in social psychology have been mainly based on manipulating participants' cognitive dissonance through the induction of inconsistent cognitions, the possibility of managing others' dissonance for the attainment of one's goals has been largely underdeveloped in both social psychology and organizational research (Hinojosa et al., 2017). While the leadership field has always been challenged by definitional problems (Coglisier & Brigham, 2004), one common element of established definitions is the leaders' ability to influence others in the pursuit of common goals. This influence encompasses followers' shared knowledge as well as their beliefs, attitudes, and identities. We assert that this characteristic of leaders' relationships with followers, along with environmental and organizational factors, provide them with a great opportunity for managing followers' cognitive dissonance for various motivational reasons, such as increasing their efforts on tasks; this opportunity which is enhanced for charismatic leaders who "are capable of having profound and extraordinary effects on followers". One of the major distinguishing characteristics of charismatic from non-charismatic leaders is their extensive use of impression management (IM) techniques to convey their goals to followers, consolidate their vision and image of competence, and enhance the compliance of followers.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the possibility that the motive for certain IM behaviors incorporated by charismatic leaders is to manage their followers' dissonance in a way that facilitates the attainment of their goals. Our model accounts for the differential effects of the different types of charismatic relationships, which are formed between followers and leaders each with certain characteristics, on cognitive dissonance induction and reduction processes in organizations. The model also considers the effects of situational attributes in these processes. In doing so, we draw on the self-standards (Stone & Cooper, 2001) and action-based (Harmon-Jones, Amodio, & Harmon-Jones, 2009) models of CDT, personalized and socialized models of charismatic leadership theory, and IM concepts applied in the organizational literature (M. C. Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008). We build on personalized and socialized models of charismatic leadership because the differential effects of these two leadership types on the management of followers' cognitive dissonance, specifically either facilitating cognitive discrepancy reduction or induction in followers, lie at the core of our model.

Our paper contributes to several organizational literatures. First, we further develop the application of CDT in management research by investigating the possibility of inten-

tionally managing others' cognitive dissonance in organizational contexts. Second, our analysis contributes to the charismatic leadership literature by exploring two different routes taken by the two widely accepted types of charismatic leaders in the process of achieving their goals. Furthermore, we expand consideration of the use of IM behaviors in leadership roles and as means to manage followers' cognitive dissonance.

We begin by briefly reviewing the processes of cognitive dissonance arousal, reduction, and management. Our model, depicted in Figure 1, holds that charismatic leaders' motivation interacts with their abilities and situational opportunity and leads their efforts to manage followers' cognitive dissonance. This management process, although can be undertaken along two different routes of facilitating cognitive dissonance reduction or induction based on the moderating role of charismatic relationship type, will result in followers' efforts to reduce their cognitive dissonance. Finally, we discuss implications of our model for several organizational research areas with recommendations for future research.

Charismatic Leaders' Motivation, Ability, and Opportunity for Initiating Cognitive Dissonance Management

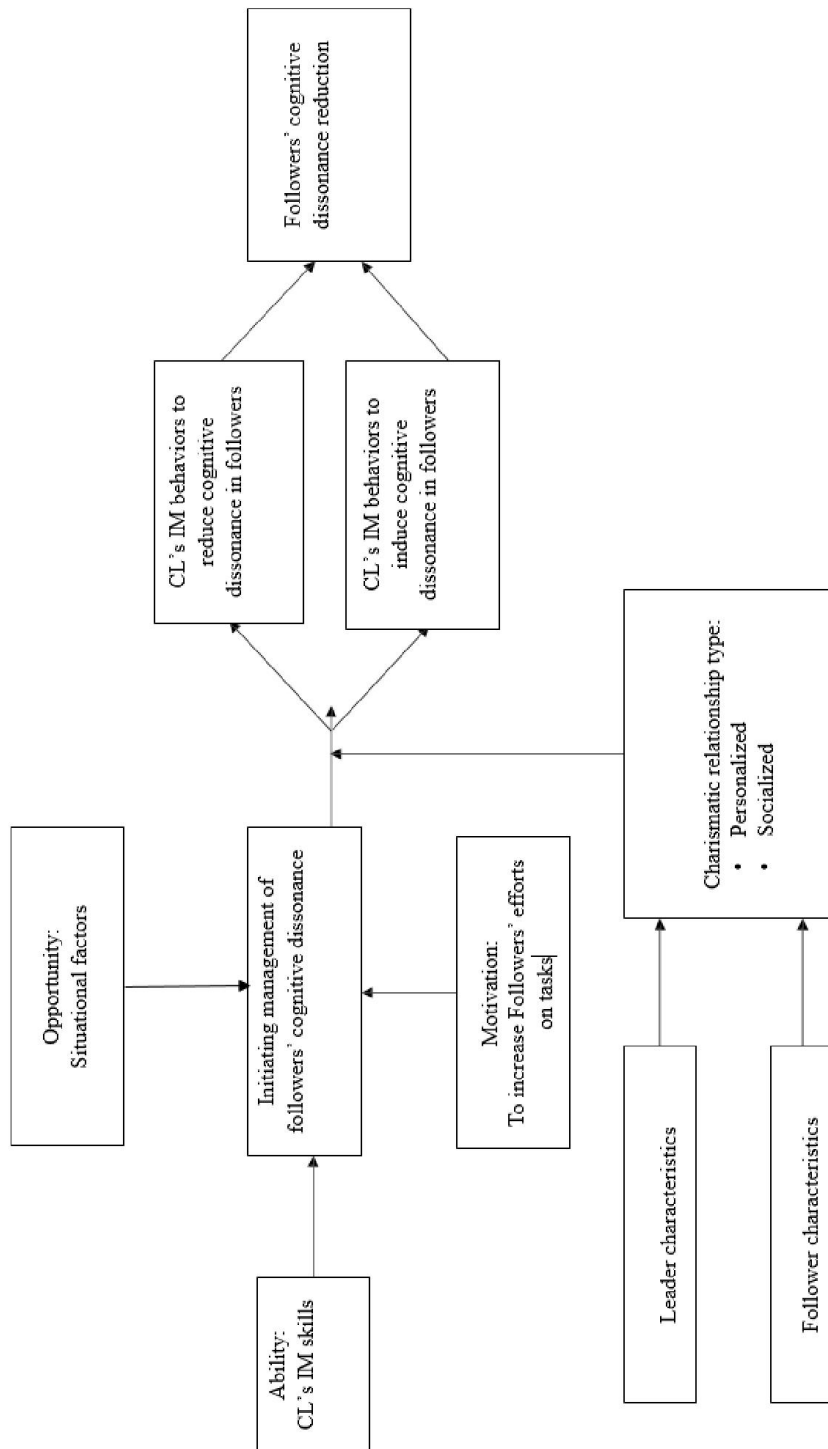
Review of the Cognitive Dissonance Process

CDT emerged in the field of social psychology as one of the first theories of social cognition accounting for the roles of cognition and motivation in social interactions and decisions. In so doing, CDT explains people's behaviors in terms of their need for consistency; if people perceive discrepancies among their cognitions, they feel an uncomfortable state of mind, i.e., cognitive dissonance. This induced cognitive dissonance will in turn motivate them to change their attitudes or beliefs. This theory has been modified since its early inception to encompass the various underlying mechanisms which are at work in the process of dissonance initiation and reduction.

Cognitive Dissonance Arousal and Reduction Processes. Three main cognitive discrepancy inducers have been suggested and investigated in the social psychology and organizational literatures (Harmon-Jones et al., 2009). The first, free choice, refers to the notion that dissonance is aroused by the inconsistent cognitions caused by a choice, since after a choice has been made, all of the cognitions that favored the alternative choices are seen as inconsistent with the cognitions that favored the choice made. The dissonance then is reduced by selective information processing, escalation of commitment to the decision made, or changing the attitude to be more favorable towards the chosen alternative, i.e., by spreading the alternatives. Furthermore, it has been shown that this dissonance and the efforts to reduce it are greater when the person has been given more personal responsibility for the choice and in the case of more difficult decisions, in other words, when the alternatives are more similar.

The second, counterattitudinal behavior, refers to the notion that when people act in ways contrary to their attitudes they will experience dissonance. They then will try to reduce this dissonance by changing their inconsistent attitude to align it with the behavior.

Figure 1
Charismatic Leaders' Management of Followers' Cognitive Dissonance



However, initial experimental tests of this prediction found that people won't change their attitude if they are given high justification for their counterattitudinal behavior. The third, effort justification, explains that dissonance is caused when people invest efforts in an activity, e.g., studying hard, in order to achieve a desirable outcome, (e.g., gaining admission for a university), and don't perceive the outcome to be as desirable as they had in mind. The more effort is invested in the action, the more dissonance is aroused and the more people engage in cognitive discrepancy reduction. The aroused dissonance then can be reduced through changing the attitude to be more favorable toward the outcome or less favorable towards the activity. Also, escalation of commitment to the initial action can occur in order to justify one's capability in decision making and reduce cognitive dissonance.

Underlying mechanisms of cognitive dissonance processes. Some of the recent modifications of CDT include the self-standards (Stone & Cooper, 2001) and action-based models. The self-standards model posits that the processes of cognitive dissonance arousal and reduction are a function of the standards against which people judge their behaviors and the cognitions related to those behaviors. The accessibility of these standards, which can be normative or personal, is itself a function of people's perspective, whether it is towards one's own interpretations or others, and determines the role of self and self-esteem in cognitive dissonance arousal and reduction. The action-based model posits that cognitions have action implications and if people hold discrepant cognitions they will experience dissonance because these discrepant cognitions impede the progress of their effective action; as a result, they are motivated to change this negative affective state in order to be able to act effectively. Therefore, the functionality of cognitive dissonance processes (i.e., the reasoning that dissonance processes increase the efforts on tasks as a result of the increased action tendencies for reducing dissonance), lies at the core of this model. This possibly positive function of cognitive dissonance hasn't been studied in social psychology or organizational research (Hinojosa et al., 2017).

Antecedents of Charismatic Leaders' Management of Followers' Cognitive Dissonance

In analyzing the initiation of cognitive dissonance management behaviors by charismatic leaders, we draw on the ability-motivation-opportunity (AMO) schema that has been utilized in several areas of organizational studies, such as in predicting employees work performance. The AMO framework states that these three dimensions interact with each other to increase or decrease the probability of an action; however, none of the dimensions alone are sufficient for the behavior to occur. This model is particularly useful here because it depicts the specific potential of charismatic leaders for engaging in such a behavior while also accounting for the role of environmental variables that are not under the control of the leader. Before we can describe this potential of charismatic leaders, we need to first define charismatic leadership.

Charismatic leadership. The construct of charisma, brought to the attention of social scientists with the works of Weber (1968), has been expanded from its original meaning of "gift" and applied to the leadership research to explain the leadership style of leaders

who signal, (i.e., communicate information), using “values-based, symbolic, and emotion-laden leader signaling”. Charismatic leadership can have distinguishable effects on followers, in comparison with the effects of traditional forms of leadership, when they are accepted by the followers. When the acceptance occurs, through the leader’s use of the signaling mechanisms mentioned in the definition, such effects as enhanced followers’ trust in the visions and righteous of the leader, strong identification with and affection for the leader by followers, and willing, unquestioning acceptance of and obedience to the leader, are achieved.

One of the most effective strategies that charismatic leaders build on throughout their course of leadership, from expressing their motivation to lead, to inspiring followers to pursue the depicted goals, is impression management, or what is often called in leadership research image building. Impression management, or the act of conveying desired impressions by a social actor in a given social setting, has such a central role in the leadership of charismatic leaders that it can be used to distinguish charismatic from non-charismatic leaders.

Ability. In the AMO framework, ability is defined as “the competencies and resources” (Adler & Kwon, 2002) possessed by the focal actor. Here we conceptualize ability as IM ability; i.e., IM competencies and resources possessed by charismatic leaders which enable them to manage followers’ cognitive dissonance. We posit that charismatic leaders’ skills in performing several IM techniques, which will be discussed in more details in the following sections, provides them with the ability to manage cognitive dissonance of their followers.

Motivation. In our AMO framework, motivation refers to charismatic leaders’ “readiness or desire” (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) to engage in cognitive dissonance management behaviors. As suggested by the action-based model of CDT, discrepant cognitions interfere with the effective action of the person (Harmon-Jones et al., 2009); therefore, the processes of cognitive dissonance arousal and reduction can be functional and result in increased efforts on tasks as a means to reduce this negative affective state. In our context, these uncomfortable affective states will motivate followers to engage in discrepancy reduction strategies and increase their efforts on job tasks. Therefore, it is our assertion that charismatic leaders are motivated to engage in several behaviors to manage followers’ dissonance because they want to increase their efforts on job tasks that they have set for them.

Opportunity. In addition to one’s ability and motivation, one’s engagement in a behavior depends on “the uncontrollable events and actors in one’s environment”. These variables that are not under the control of the individual are called opportunities. In our context, opportunities to perform leadership activities encompass both internal and external environmental factors (DeCelles & Pfarrer, 2004).

Several environmental and organizational conditions have been considered as fostering both the formation of a charismatic relationship and its effectiveness, such as crisis, instability, and an adaptive organizational culture. However, to our knowledge, there has not been research on their effects on the management of cognitive dissonance in organizations. Here we discuss some of the established situational factors that influence the emergence and effectiveness of charismatic leadership which have the potential to give

rise to management of follower cognitive dissonance by charismatic leaders.

External environment. When followers experience ambiguity, confusion, and tension, resulting from environmental instability, uncertainty, and threat, they are more likely to seek the direction of a leader who appears to be powerful and have a clear sense of the path ahead. In these situations, such as crisis situations, leaders have a greater opportunity to take developmental actions since followers' long held beliefs and attitudes are shattered and their future seems threatening to them. Therefore, they will be more susceptible to charismatic leaders' attempts to persuade them and manipulate their attitudes. From this discussion, we propose that environmental conditions characterized by uncertainty, instability, and threat increase the probability that charismatic leaders engage in cognitive dissonance management processes and the effectiveness of these behaviors.

Organizational environment. Certain types of organizational cultures can also influence the inception of the cognitive dissonance management actions of leaders more positively than others. Leadership scholars have considered several dimensions of organizational culture as providing the context for the emergence and effectiveness of charismatic leadership, such as adaptivity. Here we focus on the mechanisms of control in the organizations.

According to Ouchi (1980) the dominant mode of control in organizations refers to the mechanism which "mediates transactions between individuals most efficiently." The three different modes of control distinguished by Ouchi, are namely market, bureaucracy, and clan; they vary along two dimensions of normative and informational requirement. A clan mode of control refers to a control mechanism primarily based on normative requirements of reciprocity, legitimate authority, and common values and beliefs; the required information for this mode of control are traditions, defined as implicit rules that govern behavior. In an organization controlled by shared values, beliefs, and commitments, the leader has greater opportunity to define reality (i.e., frame the meaning of tasks and outcomes), and is not limited to the established rules and principles characterizing market and bureaucratic forms of control. Furthermore, in clan controlled organizations the emphasis is not on the self-interest of the followers, but rather on the alignment of the collective and organizational goals with those of the followers; this will create a fertile context for charismatic leaders to control the attitudes and beliefs of followers towards the organizational tasks. Given these arguments, we propose that charismatic leaders are more likely to initiate cognitive dissonance management, and be successful in these behaviors, in organizations with a clan, rather than a market or bureaucratic, mode of control.

Given the previous arguments on the antecedents of initiating cognitive dissonance by charismatic leaders, we propose the following:

Proposition 1a: Charismatic leaders are more likely than non-charismatic leaders to engage and be effective in the management of follower cognitive dissonance due to their greater ability to utilize IM behaviors.

Proposition 1b: The greater the charismatic leaders' motivation to increase followers' efforts on tasks, the more probable their engagement in the management of follower cognitive dissonance.

Proposition 1c: Charismatic leaders are more likely to initiate and be effective in the management of follower cognitive dissonance under the environmental conditions characterized by uncertainty, instability, and threat, than under conditions of certainty, stability, and continuity.

Proposition 1d: Charismatic leaders are more likely to initiate and be effective in the management of follower cognitive dissonance in organizations with a clan, rather than a market or bureaucratic, mode of control.

Cognitive Dissonance Management Processes and Outcomes

We now discuss the two different paths through which charismatic leaders manage followers' cognitive dissonance, along with the predicted outcome, which is followers' efforts to reduce their cognitive dissonance.

The essence of our model is that charismatic leaders, incited by the interaction of ability, motivation, and opportunity, may engage in various IM behaviors to manage followers' cognitive dissonance along two different routes of facilitating cognitive dissonance reduction or induction. Specifically, we posit that the former is done by increasing followers' self-esteem, providing them with a leading alternative, and/or reframing their tasks and goals in order to increase followers' favorable perceptions of them. The latter is undertaken by reinforcing the importance of counterattitudinal tasks for the followers' relationship with the leader, emphasizing their responsibility for the choices that they make, and/or expressing great expectations for effort and behavioral commitment from followers. We suggest that charismatic leaders utilize several IM techniques for operationalizing these behaviors.

Impression Management Techniques

Impression management, defined as "any behavior by a person that has the purpose of controlling or manipulating the attributions and impressions formed of that person by others", entered the field of management only after experimental studies of the concept in social psychology. Since then, theoretical and empirical studies on IM in organizational context have investigated the nature of IM, motivations to engage in IM behaviors (M. C. Bolino et al., 2008; Rioux & Penner, 2001), several IM techniques, and the outcomes of these techniques on individuals, groups, and organizations (Higgins, Judge, & Ferris, 2003).

Most of the IM techniques explored in the organizational literature, such as ingratiation, intimidation, and exemplification, involve the actual performance of behaviors intended to convey a desired image of one's self or one's values to others. Still, the stages undergone before a behavior is performed, such as, framing and scripting, have been identified as undertaken in organizations specifically by leaders as well. In this paper we focus on IM behaviors for first preparing and then performing the strategies aimed at management of followers' cognitive dissonance, which include beliefs and values amplification, verbal and nonverbal scripting, self, vision, and organizational promotion, and

exemplification.

Amplification of Beliefs and Values

In an organizational context, beliefs and values have an intertwined relationship such that “while values refer to the goals that the leader or organization wishes to attain or promote, beliefs are the ideas about which factors support or impede actions taken to achieve those desired values” (Conger, 1991). Amplifying (i.e., identifying and elevating) beliefs and values involves the set of techniques used to “frame” an organization’s activities and mission. Here framing refers to “a quality of communication that causes others to accept one meaning over another”. By emphasizing the importance of those beliefs and values that reinforce commitment to the organizational and/or leaders’ goals, charismatic leaders are able to influence followers’ interpretation of reality and strengthen the emotional attachment and excitement of followers about the goals.

Verbal and Nonverbal Scripting

Scripts are defined as “interactionally emergent guides for collective consciousness and action”. The act of scripting refers to the development of these guidelines for an integrated and coordinated collective action. Through various verbal and nonverbal IM strategies, charismatic leaders shape the charismatic relationship, reinforce the impact of their words, strengthen the emotional commitment of followers, and provide direction for the acts of followers. These strategies include rhetorical techniques such as metaphors and organizational stories, facial expressions, and tone of voice. Metaphors help charismatic leaders instill in followers a vocabulary that is symbolic of their efforts. This vocabulary empowers them to think differently about themselves and the counterattitudinal tasks that they are asked to perform. Charismatic leaders’ loud, warm, and determined tone of voice can reinforce the emotional attachment and sense of responsibility of followers.

Self, Vision, and Organizational Promotion

Promotion refers to the communications aimed at persuading others to develop a positive image of ideas or things. In this context, we follow the Gardner and Avolio’s (1998: 45) approach in extending promotion activities of charismatic leaders to encompass “leaders’ efforts to communicate favorable and persuasive information about their selves, vision, and/or organization”.

Exemplification

Exemplification or role modeling is one of the most acknowledged IM behavior of charismatic leaders; it refers to the notion that charismatic leaders provide “an ideal, a point of reference and focus for followers’ emulation and vicarious learning.”. Applied to our context, exemplification involves charismatic leaders performing job tasks that they have set for followers. As it is one of the basic qualities of charismatic relationship, followers

emulate leaders' task performance and change their attitude towards the job task since they have chosen leaders as their role model.

Facilitating Followers' Cognitive Dissonance Reduction

Increasing followers' self-esteem. One of the main strategies charismatic leaders rely on to enhance follower's self-esteem is by communicating great expectations to followers and, at the same time, expressing their confidence in their ability to meet those expectations. When followers perceive that they are competent, their level of self-esteem will be enhanced. According to the self-standards model of CDT, increasing self-esteem is positively related to an increase in cognitive dissonance reduction in those situations where personal standards of followers have been primed by leaders (Stone & Cooper, 2001). Therefore, it is our assertion that scripting strategies can be utilized for expediting the reduction of cognitive dissonance in followers.

Furthermore, IM behaviors to promote a competent image of the organization include reinforcing the sense of collective identity among followers and emphasizing the responsibility and positive role of followers for organizational success; consequently, followers' beliefs in the competence of themselves (i.e., their self-esteem), and the efficacy of the leader to achieve collective goals will be enhanced, contributing to their cognitive dissonance reduction. Through exemplification leaders can have great effects on followers' beliefs, with one of them being self-esteem; if a competent and esteemed leader is modeled by followers, the self-esteem of followers will be enhanced also. The enhanced self-esteem will in turn facilitate the process of cognitive dissonance reduction for followers, according to the self-standards model of CDT.

Providing followers with a leading alternative. When individuals face a choice with a preferable alternative, they will selectively process the information in favor of that alternative, so as to reduce their cognitive discrepancies. Therefore, we posit that amplifying beliefs and values consonant with the collective goals, will facilitate the process of cognitive dissonance reduction because it provides a leading alternative for followers in their decision-making processes. When encountering a free choice, the emphasis of leaders on the importance of certain values and beliefs will prime followers to engage in selective information processing in favor of the alternative closest to the amplified values and beliefs, therefore reducing their cognitive dissonance. For example, when Cesar Chavez, a labor union leader and co-founder of the National Farm Workers Association which soon became the United Farm Workers, was trying to promote non-violent means to bring attention to and improve work conditions of farm workers, selected and amplified values that were most cherished by and, at the same time, most deprived from farm workers. Such emphasis on the closeness of these values to the alternative that the Chavez was seeking, powered the acceptance of non-violent means over their violent alternative: "The first principle of non-violent action is that of non-cooperation with everything humiliating."

Reframing followers' tasks and goals. We established earlier that one of the main behaviors charismatic leaders utilize to affect followers' motivations and behaviors is frame alignment through amplifying values. We posit that these behaviors will help followers

to justify their efforts by framing their tasks in such a way that highlights its positivity and importance to collective goals. When justifying the “cause” of their labor union and framing such followers’ tasks as march, strike, protest, and picket, Chavez emphasized on the importance of such tasks for the collective good of future generation farm workers: “Now we will suffer for the purpose of ending the poverty, the misery, and the injustice, with the hope that our children will not be exploited as we have been. They have imposed hungers on us, and now we hunger for justice”

Scripting furthers the outcomes of framing by charismatic leaders, which are collective interpretations of the reality, closer to enactment; therefore, it further facilitates the process of forming a positive image of the outcome of their efforts for followers and highlights the preferable alternative, contributing positively to their cognitive dissonance reduction progress. To further instill a positive image of their newly born organization and its goals, Chavez used a metaphor of a spreading fire “Across the San Joaquin valley, across California, across the entire nation, wherever there are injustices against men and women and children who work in the fields – there you will see our flags – with the black eagle with the white and red background, flying. Our movement is spreading like flames across a dry plain.” This metaphor resembles both the nationwide signal that their union sent to all Hispanics to start fighting for their rights and the spreading of their efforts to other states and other fundamental problems of Hispanic workers, such as education.

Additionally, charismatic leaders contribute to followers’ sense of collective identity in their organizational promotion behaviors; the sense of shared identity in turn helps followers to reduce their cognitive dissonance through building a more favorable image of their tasks’ goals. Role modeling has been experimentally shown to bring about changes in attitudes and valences of outcomes and to develop generalized orientations such as moral justification. Charismatic leaders generally represent themselves as maintaining high moral standards and trustworthiness. We posit that these enhancements of followers’ trust in leaders facilitate efforts of followers in reducing their cognitive dissonance by developing a more favorable cognition towards their tasks and changing their attitudes when performing counterattitudinal behaviors.

Proposition 2a: In order to facilitate cognitive dissonance reduction in followers, charismatic leaders use the IM technique of values and beliefs amplification to provide followers with a leading alternative and re-frame their goals and tasks.

Proposition 2b: In order to facilitate cognitive dissonance reduction in followers, charismatic leaders use the IM technique of scripting to increase followers’ self-esteem and re-frame their goals and tasks.

Proposition 2c: In order to facilitate cognitive dissonance reduction in followers, charismatic leaders use the IM technique of organizational promotion to increase followers’ self-esteem and re-frame their goals and tasks.

Proposition 2d: In order to facilitate cognitive dissonance reduction in followers, charismatic leaders use the IM technique of exemplification to increase followers’ self-esteem and re-frame their

goals and tasks.

Facilitating Followers' Cognitive Dissonance Induction

Reinforcing the importance of counterattitudinal tasks for the followers' relationships with the leader. We argue that scripts, or guidelines for collective action, can be used to facilitate cognitive dissonance induction in followers by emphasizing the importance of followers' actions for the relationship with the leader, therefore contributing to their dissonant cognition of effort on unpleasant tasks. As discussed before, this will result in greater dissonance reduction by followers through changing their attitudes to be more positive towards the leader's goals and the tasks and escalation of commitment to them. Self-promotion by charismatic leaders can result in an enhanced image of their competence, power, and self-esteem. Therefore, if for any reason a follower disobeys the leader's commands, he/she will be likely to perceive harsh negative consequences because the leader has established his/her competence and power through self-promotion behaviors. We posit that in such situations, followers will be less inclined to disobey the leader and more inclined to engage in tasks that are in the direction of leaders' goals even if these tasks are counter to their attitudes, since they fear the consequences.

In their exemplification attempts, charismatic leaders may engage in the same tasks and behaviors that they expect their followers to exhibit in the hope that they will model their behaviors. These attempts are based on the well accepted quality of charismatic relationship, which is the emergence followers' personal identification with leaders. This personal identification is the basis of role modeling behaviors of charismatic followers towards their leaders. We suggest that followers are likely to engage in the behaviors exhibited by their leaders even if those are counter to their attitudes, since they hope to be alike their leaders.

Emphasizing the responsibility of followers for their choices. One of the main strategies that can be utilized by charismatic leaders to convey the high level of followers' responsibility for the choices they make is verbal and nonverbal scripting. Such guidelines for action can be tailored to highlight the personal responsibility of followers for their choices. CDT predicts that the higher the perceived personal responsibility for choice, the greater the induced cognitive dissonance and therefore, the greater the discrepancy reduction efforts. Thus, we posit that leaders' actions aiming at emphasizing the responsibility of followers for their choices will result in greater cognitive dissonance of followers when making a free choice. This will in turn increase their discrepancy reduction efforts, such as escalation of commitment to the initial choice.

Expressing great expectations for effort and behavioral commitment from followers. Scripts can also be used to convey great expectations from followers for commitment to tasks and exerting high levels of effort. As a result of their emotional and personal attachment to the leader and sense of obligation towards achieving his/her goal, followers are likely to enhance their commitment on efforts the more the leader expresses great expectations from them. Now if these efforts result in outcomes that are not desirable for followers or are counter to their attitudes, they will experience dissonance; and according

to CDT, the more the commitment on such actions, the more dissonance is aroused and the more people engage in cognitive discrepancy reduction. Escalation of commitment to the action or attitude change can be used to reduce such dissonance.

Proposition 3a: In order to facilitate cognitive dissonance induction in followers, charismatic leaders use the IM technique of scripting to reinforce the importance of conterattitudinal tasks for the followers' relationships with the leader, highlight the responsibility of followers for their choices, and express great expectations for effort and behavioral commitment from followers.

Proposition 3b: In order to facilitate cognitive dissonance induction in followers, charismatic leaders use the IM technique of self-promotion to reinforce the importance of conterattitudinal tasks for the followers' relationships with the leader.

Proposition 3c: In order to facilitate cognitive dissonance induction in followers, charismatic leaders use the IM technique of exemplification to reinforce the importance of conterattitudinal tasks for the followers' relationships with the leader.

So far, we have discussed how charismatic leaders try to manage followers' cognitive dissonance along two different routes, in the direction of facilitating its reduction or induction. We now turn our discussion to factors that are likely to influence which route charismatic leaders will undertake.

Process Moderator

Early empirical and theoretical investigations on charismatic leadership consistently emphasized certain personality attributes that distinguish charismatic from non-charismatic leaders, such as high needs for power, consideration of followers needs, and concern for socially desirable goals. However, acknowledging numerous evidence indicative of not always "moral" and "non-exploitative" charismatic leaders, leadership scholars started to recognize and mention the notion that charisma can have both a bright and a dark side.

A theoretical differentiation of these poles of charismatic leadership was provided by (House & Howell, 1992). They further explored and conceptualized charismatic leadership into two pure types while also acknowledging that these types are not mutually exclusive. The first, personalized charismatic leadership is exploitative, authoritarian, and self-serving. In contrast, the second, socialized charismatic leadership is non-exploitative, empowering, egalitarian, and collective-serving. More specifically, they have categorized the traits associated with each of these two types in terms of the degree of activity inhibition, Machiavellianism, narcissism, and authoritarianism. For a detailed analysis of these traits and charismatic leadership refer to House and Howell (1992).

With numerous studies acknowledging and confirming the notion that charisma depends more on the perception of followers than on the characteristics and behaviors of leaders (Howell & Shamir, 2005) the initial theory has been modified and broadened to account for the role of followers and situational factors. This has resulted in the conceptu-

alization of charismatic leadership as a relationship between leaders and followers, each with certain characteristics, in certain organizational contexts. In this respect, the active role of followers' self-concepts is regarded as a mechanism underlying the effectiveness of charismatic leaders' behaviors.

Although the underlying mechanisms responsible for the formation and effectiveness of charismatic leadership are not totally different for the two different types, leadership scholars have long considered the distinguishing characteristics of personalized and socialized charismatic leaders in terms of their effects on followers, leaders' behaviors, and organizational performance. Hence, we posit that the path that a charismatic leader undergoes in managing his/her followers' dissonance varies as a function of the type of charismatic relationship. In the following sections we distinguish the two types of charismatic relationships by the respective characteristics of leaders and followers. Furthermore, we flesh out how leaders in each of these two types of leadership will be more inclined towards a certain path.

Personality Characteristics of Leaders in Personalized and Socialized Charismatic Relationships

Extant literature on the two types of charismatic leadership identifies several personality characteristics that distinguish the two forms of charismatic leadership (Waldman & Javidan, 2009). In this section we briefly discuss the role of some of them in the formation of the charismatic relationship and the subsequent management of cognitive dissonance.

Activity inhibition. House and Howell (1992) define activity inhibition as "an unconscious motive to use social influence, or to satisfy the power need, in socially desirable ways, for the betterment of the collective rather than for personal self-interest". The authors assert that charismatic leaders, who have a high need for power as an antecedent of their leadership style, will exhibit socialized behavior if they are high in activity inhibition and personalized behavior if they have low activity inhibition. Charismatic leaders with low activity inhibition put their self-interest first; and will make any effort to We propose that the desire to use the leadership power for self-serving goals is one of the main determinants of the charismatic leader's efforts to induce cognitive dissonance in followers. In contrast, the motive to achieve collective goals contributes positively to socialized charismatic leaders' motivation for facilitating cognitive dissonance reduction.

Machiavellianism. Machiavellianism refers to the personality trait that involves a tendency to use manipulation and deceit to achieve one's goals, even at the expense of others. High level of Machiavellianism has been considered as one of the antecedents of personalized charismatic leadership (Bedell, Hunter, Angie, & Vert, 2006). It is our assertion that Machiavellianism contributes to the capability of personalized charismatic leaders to induce cognitive dissonance by providing them with both the motive to use whatever means that it takes to get to their own goals and the techniques that they need to manipulate attitudes of followers, such as the ability to lie and persuade easily.

Narcissism. Narcissism is "a personality trait encompassing grandiosity, arrogance, self-absorption, entitlement, fragile self-esteem, and hostility" (Rosenthal & Pittinsky,

2006). It is one of the most often associated traits of personalized charismatic leaders (Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006; Sosik, Chun, & Zhu, 2014). Narcissism provides personalized charismatic leaders with a lack of empathy towards followers' needs and well-being, great self-serving inclinations, and the ability to exploit and manipulate followers (Judge, Piccolo, & Kosalka, 2009). The self-serving inclinations contribute to them setting self-serving goals for their followers, even if the goals are counter to the norms and beliefs of followers and jeopardize the collective good. Furthermore, leaders' lack of empathy towards well-being of followers contribute to them being willing to compromise followers comfortable state of mind, i.e., induce cognitive dissonance in them, as a means to achieve their self-serving goals; as discussed earlier, the process of cognitive dissonance arousal is functional because it increases efforts on tasks, in this case, efforts on tasks that are critical for leader personal gains. Finally, leaders' ability to manipulate followers contribute to them being able to plan and execute the necessary IM techniques for cognitive dissonance induction in followers. Therefore, we propose that narcissism contribute to both ability and motivation of personalized charismatic leaders for cognitive dissonance induction in their followers.

Authoritarianism. This personality trait refers to high acceptance of established authorities, high degree of aggressiveness towards lower status persons, and high degree of adherence to societal conventions. High authoritarianism has been associated with personalized charismatic leadership (Sankar, 2003). Authoritarianism contributes to leaders' intolerance of disobedience of their subordinates, tendency to utilize aggressive and even dishonest methods to intimidate followers and gain their obedience, and firm belief in their right to manipulate subordinates into their personal objectives. We posit that this characteristic predisposes these leaders to cognitive dissonance induction in followers as a result of looking at them from a higher status.

Followers' Self-Concepts

According to Shamir, House, and Arthur (1993) charismatic leaders' behaviors motivate followers and result in cognitive, affective, and behavioral changes in them through engaging their self-concepts. However, the self-concept is a multifaceted construct of three levels: personal, relational, and collective; personal self is "the differentiated, individuated self-concept", relational self is "derived from connections and relationships with significant others", and collective self refers to the sense of self derived from memberships in social groups.

Extending the relational self-concept view of charismatic relationship with the multifaceted view of the self-concept, allowed leadership researchers to incorporate the two self-related categories of followers' characteristics into the conceptualization of the two different poles of charismatic relationship (Howell & Shamir, 2005). The first is their activated level of self-concept; individuals whose relational self-concept level is activated (i.e., individuals with relational self-identity orientation), derive their sense of satisfaction and self-validation from their relationships with significant others, such as leaders, which are based on their personal identification. In contrast, individuals whose collective self-concept level is activated, i.e., individuals with collective self-identity orientation, drive

their sense of satisfaction from the values and achievements of their group and therefore, will form a relationship based on social identification with the group which has a leader who represents the values of the group.

As the second category in these conceptualizations of charismatic leadership, the emphasis on the followers' part is on the extent to which they have a clear sense of self and set of values, which is the operationalized view of self-concept clarity. Individuals with low self-concept clarity are highly vulnerable to powerful and charismatic others because they don't have the guidance of a clear and consistent self-concept; therefore, they form a personal identification with their significant others, such as leaders, to gain a clear sense of self (Weierter, 1997). In contrast, individuals with a high level of self-concept clarity, who already have a clear set of values and sense of self, attract to charismatic leaders to the extent that this relationship will provide them the opportunity to express their values, protect their self-esteem, and follow their collective goals.

The Two Types of Charismatic Relationship

Following the above discussion on the role of both leaders and followers on the nature of the charismatic relationship formed, we briefly define the two poles of charismatic leadership as follows. The first, personalized charismatic relationship, forms between followers with low self-concept clarity, relational self-identity orientation, and personal identification with the leader and leaders with low activity inhibition, high Machiavellianism, high narcissism, and high authoritarianism. In contrast, the second, socialized charismatic relationship, is formed between followers with high self-concept clarity, collective self-identity orientation, and social identification with the group and leaders with high activity inhibition, low Machiavellianism, low narcissism, and low authoritarianism. We further assert that the type of charismatic relationship formed between leaders and followers, i.e., personalized or socialized, can influence the path to manage followers' dissonance. Specifically, we propose the following.

Proposition 4a: Leaders in a personalized charismatic relationship with followers are more inclined to utilize the previously introduced IM techniques to induce cognitive dissonance in followers.

Proposition 4b: Leaders in a socialized charismatic relationship with followers are more inclined to employ certain IM behaviors to help followers reduce their cognitive dissonance.

Discussion

Organizational scholars increasingly recognize the relevance and utility of cognitive dissonance theory and its recent developments in explaining and predicting behaviors in organizational contexts (Hinojosa et al., 2017). In parallel, research continues to acknowledge the importance of impression management techniques in the effectiveness of leaders' and followers' roles in organizational domain (M. Bolino et al., 2016). Yet, these two

streams of research have largely be separated, which has caused a number of important theoretical and practical questions to remain unanswered, such as: how can leaders manage cognitive dissonance experienced by their followers, and what effective impression management strategies can leaders utilize in this process?.

In this paper we have attempted to provide initial answers to these questions by outlining a model of charismatic leaders' management of follower cognitive dissonance, considered as either facilitating its reduction or induction. Our model proposes that cognitive dissonance management can be accomplished through utilizing various impression management techniques. The model also accounts for the differential effects of the different types of charismatic relationships on the nature of the goals to be achieved and the path and techniques undertaken. In doing so, we contribute to knowledge on applications of cognitive dissonance theory in management research, charismatic leadership, and impression management motives and behaviors in organizations, as well as offer several future research directions.

Theoretical Contributions and Practical Implications

Cognitive dissonance theory in management research. There is an increasing recognition of and investigation on the unfolding of cognitive dissonance processes in organizational settings, specifically on the individual and organizational level outcomes that arise from experience of this negative state by employees (Erdogan, Kraimer, & Liden, 2004).

However, scholars have not yet considered the possibility of managing others' dissonance to attain one's goal in an organization. This gap has led to a lack of theory about what strategies could be utilized by leaders in order to either reduce or induce cognitive dissonance in followers and under what conditions this process will be more likely to be initiated. We provide initial attempts for developing this theory and suggest that charismatic leaders may seek to manage the cognitive dissonance of their followers under certain situational circumstances. In particular, we distinguish between two paths in cognitive dissonance management, namely facilitating the reduction or induction of this affective state, and provide reasoning on how the type of charismatic relationship shaped between leaders and followers with certain characteristics differentially influences the selection of the path.

Charismatic leadership. Although leadership scholars have long recognized the "dark" side of charismatic leadership, the differential mechanisms that they may undertake in their course of leadership has received little empirical attention. According to Shamir et al. (1993), the psychological mechanisms relied upon by what is referred to as personalized and socialized charismatic leaders are similar in terms of engaging followers' self-concepts and creating personal commitments. In this paper we dig more deeply into these mechanisms by identifying the different paths that each of the two types of charismatic leaders may undertake to activate the same personal commitment and achieve the same motivational outcomes described in leadership literature.

Impression management motives and behaviors in organizations. In addition, we advance research on organizational IM. By theorizing how various IM strategies can be utilized by leaders in different charismatic relationships for creating different cognitive and

affective states in followers, we expand the utility of IM in organizational settings. This integration of IM research and CDT enables researchers to identify the effective strategies that can be used, depending on the leadership relationship and goals of leaders, to manage followers' dissonance.

Practical implications. Our conceptual arguments point out to managers the specific relevance of cognitive dissonance of employees in certain environmental and organizational situations and the strategies that they may utilize to manage this negative affective state that interferes with the employees' effective work. Managers need to assess the relevant situational attributes (e.g., the state of instability or favorability of the business environment and the dominant mode of control in their organization), and act accordingly. In other words, they need to engage in effective IM strategies directed at the dominant attitudes and beliefs of employees in an attempt to reduce their confusion and increase their efforts on tasks which otherwise would seem less favorable or even counter to their attitudes. This suggests that managers may want to be more intentional when engaging in IM behaviors, specifically in situations of ambiguity, confusion, and tension.

Boundary Conditions and Future Research Directions

SPSS Version 20.0 was used for EFA, and SPSS AMOS version 21 was used for CFA through structural equation modeling (SEM). SEM is used to determine the dependency relationship between the EPMS variables simultaneously. This multivariate technique was also used for factor analysis and multiple regressions that examine a series of interrelated dependence relationships among the measured variables and latent constructs and several latent constructs.

Our analysis is bounded with several assumptions which future research should examine and consider other insightful directions to further its utility. In this section we discuss these assumptions explicitly and recognize five associated primary avenues for future research.

Charismatic relationship types. Our model is based on two pure types of charismatic relationship, either personalized or socialized, for the purpose of outlining their differentiated effects; these types of relationships influence whether the leader engages in cognitive dissonance reduction or induction and the associated IM behaviors. However, as acknowledged by House and Howell (1992), these two types are not mutually exclusive; in other words, a charismatic relationship can have some aspects of a personalized relationship and at the same time some aspects of a socialized one, depending on the characteristics of followers and leaders and situational attributes. In these cases, the path to achieve leadership goals may be altered; for instance, leaders may engage in both cognitive reduction and induction processes. Future research should explore the conditions under which these mixed forms of charismatic relationship exist and how they influence the process of managing followers' cognitive dissonance.

Situational process moderators. We assumed that situational factors, such as instability of the external environment, increase the probability of charismatic leaders engaging in cognitive dissonance management processes in organization. However, we didn't con-

sider the effects of environmental and organizational situations on the path that leaders take. This is due to the lack of a generally accepted scheme of the circumstances that give rise to a certain type of charismatic relationship rather than another one in management literature. We encourage future researchers to investigate these circumstances and integrate them with the route to cognitive dissonance management.

Alternative contexts of cognitive dissonance management. With respect to our contribution to cognitive dissonance literature, our theory is bounded to the relationships between leaders and followers. However, by shedding some light on the possibility that cognitive dissonance can be managed, we consider the exploration of cognitive dissonance management in other organizational contexts, such as management of stakeholders' cognitive dissonance by organizations' CEOs, another promising avenue (Hinojosa et al., 2017). For instance, future research could examine how peers manage cognitive dissonance of each other and to what extent these efforts are based on the self-interest or collective interest.

Other differential courses of action by charismatic leaders. Our proposed model, although pointing out the differentiated effect of charismatic relationship types on the leaders' course of actions, is limited to actions of charismatic leaders with respect to cognitive dissonance of followers. This outlined differentiated effect can be extended in the future to encompass other activities of charismatic leaders in the process of achieving their goals, to answer the general question of how different are the strategies employed by charismatic leaders based on the type of relationship they form with their followers? For instance, future research may find a difference in minority treatment and the extent and type of diversity strategies employed by personalized and socialized charismatic leaders.

Organizational outcomes. One of our major limitations is that our theorized outcomes are bounded to the individual level of analysis. Although we discussed the outcomes in terms of cognitive discrepancy reduction of followers, mainly their increased efforts on tasks, we didn't consider various differential outcomes at the organizational level. However, leadership scholars have considered the problematic outcomes of the "dark" side of leadership for the organizations. Therefore, another future direction will be to study the effects of leaders' management of followers' cognitive dissonance at the organizational level.

Conclusion

Depending on their goals and situational attributes, charismatic leaders engage in several impression management behaviors. In this paper we propose that these behaviors may be intended to either facilitate cognitive discrepancy reduction or induction in followers, based on the type of the charismatic relationship (i.e., personalized or socialized) formed between the leader and followers. This paper provides the foundation for understanding the process of how cognitive dissonance management by charismatic leaders unfolds within organizational settings. Future research on this process may reveal the potential of investigating cognitive dissonance management in other organizational contexts and multiple levels of analysis.

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