

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURAL ORIENTATION AND POWER MOTIVE ON LEADERSHIP PERCEPTION

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SUMMARY

Despite the recognized importance of leadership perception and individual differences in various cultures, our understanding of each of these variables is limited. The influence of fundamental cognitive styles (context dependent vs. independent) in different cultures and individual differences within culture has rarely been discussed. Current leadership perception research typically depends on surveys which cannot capture spontaneous responses that reflect both automatic and controlled processes. To better understand cross-cultural leadership perception, this study recruited two cultural groups (e.g., Americans and East Asians) and employed both qualitative (e.g., picture recognition tasks) and quantitative (Conditional Reasoning Tests) methods to examine the effect of culture and individual differences (power motive) on leadership perception.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Leadership Perception

Leader categorization theory

Students of human evolution have argued that leadership is a universal feature of human societies. It is also one of the most important topics in social science. Humans evolved as group-residing animals; this collective life-style entails both "leadership" and "followership" (i.e. dominance hierarchies). Leadership and followership are, therefore, inseparable. However, most early social scientists did not consider leadership and followership dynamics but concentrated on leaders' traits, skills, behaviors, and so forth (Bass, 1990; Collinson, 2006; Hollander & Offermann, 1990; Holmberg & Akerblom, 2006; Smith, 2012; Van Vugt, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2008).

In a departure from leader-centric research, Lord and others focused on followers' perception, studying the attribution of "leadership" (e.g., Lord, Foti, De Vader, 1984; Smith & Foti, 1998; Stogdill, 1948). Based on social cognition, this approach asks 'How do people perceive others as leaders?' The fundamental assumption of this question is that leadership is the outcome of social cognitive processes, and therefore an important ingredient of leadership perception is in the follower's knowledge structure, their implicit leadership theories (ILTs). This follower-centric perspective was named leadership categorization theory or implicit leadership theory. Observed leadership behaviors are taken to be inputs to categorization. Through matching of people's implicit representations and others' observed behaviors, people distinguish leaders from

nonleaders (Lord et al., 1984; Kono, Ehrhart, Ehrhart, & Schultze, 2012). People tend to have a natural preference for individuals who fit their implicitly desired characteristics, attend to indicators that match those characteristics, and they are able to easily recognize them as leaders. These matching processes engage both automatic and controlled thinking (Ensari & Murphy, 2003; Foti, Fraser, & Lord, 1982; Lord & Emrich, 2001; Lord & Maher, 1990; 1991; Lord & Shondrick, 2011; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985; Popper & Druryan, 2001; Shondrick, Dinh, & Lord, 2010; Shondrick & Lord, 2010; Van Vugt et al., 2008).

Numerous studies have shown that categorization processes are used to understand and interpret leaders' behavior. Following Rosch's (1978) categorization theory, Lord et al. (1984) assumed that leadership categories are represented by a set of prototypes that are arranged into three hierarchical levels: superordinate (the most inclusive leader level), basic (different types of leaders, e.g., business leaders or political leaders) and subordinate (the least inclusive leader level, e.g., Liberal vs. Conservative). These leadership categories have vertical and horizontal dimensions. Lord et al. (1984) stated that "the vertical dimension concerns the degree of inclusiveness, defined as the number of different kinds of stimuli that can be classified into the same category. The horizontal dimension differentiates categories at the same vertical level of inclusiveness." (Rosch, 1978, as cited in Lord et al., 1984). Lord et al. (1984) conducted a series of studies to identify leadership categories. They asked participants to generate as many leadership attributes as they could, and had independent samples rate how prototypical those attributes were for a leader or non-leader. Lord et al. (1984) found 59 leader attributes (e.g., dedicated, intelligent, and charismatic) and 26 non-leader attributes (e.g.,

distant, sports minded, and violent) that contrasted leaders with non-leaders. They also found that the more prototypical leadership attributes were more accessible to perceivers by measuring participants' reaction times for prototypicality ratings (Study 2).

Additional studies have examined leadership categories and representations. For example, Kenney, Blascovich, and Shaver (1994) found that people use a categorization process to form their expectations of leadership behavior. They also found 87 behavioral exemplars fitting four categories (e.g., learning the group's goals, taking charge, being a nice person, and being nervous) that reflected good examples of the new leaders' behavior. Offermann, Kennedy, and Wirtz (1994) came to similar conclusions. They found the more the similarity between the observed individual's behavior and the implicit leadership prototypes, the more likely that person will be perceived as a leader. They also identified a six factor structure of leader behaviors: sensitivity, dedication, tyranny, charisma, attractiveness, and intelligence. They found that most strongly endorsed leadership factor is "dedication". Epitropaki and Martin (2004) attempted to validate Offermann et al. (1994)'s six factor structure. They used employees from several organizations to cross validate and explored the stability of the factor structure over one year. The results supported not only Offermann et al. (1994)'s findings but generalized them to different group members and positions in different organizations. Epitropaki and Martin (2004) also showed that the ILTs six factors structure is consistent over time.

Without exception, leadership categorization researchers agree that these representations are influenced by several elements. Some suggest that individual difference variables such as personality can shape leadership perceptions; others claim

that situational factors and cultural differences also influence them (Kellr, 1999; Kono et al., 2012). Thus, since effective leadership is a key factor in organizational success, it is crucial to understand the influence of these elements (Foti, Knee, & Backert, 2008; Kono et al., 2012; Lord et al., 1984; Phillips & Lord, 1981).

Foti and Luch (1992) investigated two elements that affect perceptions of leadership: expertise and familiarity. According to them, an expert (compared to a novice) tends to represent information at a deeper level and takes less time to recognize relevant information, with higher accuracy. For example, experts tend to give more evaluatively extreme ratings to political candidates than low knowledge people and mention more attributes describing the candidates. Foti and Luch (1992) also argued that familiarity influences the processing of information about a given object; people organize, recall and make judgments better if stimuli are familiar. People have richer, more distinctive and more accessible categorizations to process familiar stimuli; as a result, familiarity allows people can make faster inferences about them.

In sum, it is clear that people have implicit representations of leadership behaviors and traits. Therefore, understanding followers' leadership perceptions is important regardless of leaders' traits and skills. To understand this phenomenon in more depth, I turn to the social cognitive processes underlying leadership perception.

Automatic and Controlled Processes of Leadership

In Bargh's (1984) model of social information processing, he assumes that perception is influenced by automatic and conscious controlled processes (i.e., a dual process). At the simplest level, we can distinguish fully automatic and controlled processing. Bargh summarized: "Conscious or controlled processes were described as

flexible and easily adapted to the particular features...., automatic, on the other hand, were said to be effortless and not restrained by capacity limitations” (1984, p.3). A large body of theoretical work describes automatic and controlled processing of social cognition. The majority of research agrees that automaticity of social information processing that is unconscious, effortless, spontaneous, resistant to change, hard to control, and relatively independent of short-term memory capacity. In contrast, controlled processes are conscious, effortful, adjustable and extremely dependent on short-term memory resources (Bargh, 1990; Barsalou, 2008; Depret & Fiske, 1999; Foti & Luch, 1992; Schubert, Waldzus, & Giessner, 2009). However, Bargh noted that there may be automatic and nonconscious inputs to controlled processing.

This process duality of social cognition is echoed by leadership research. Hall and Lord (1995) and Foti et al. (2008) stated that both kinds of processes can be observed when people make judgments about leaders. That is, when an individual must judge if some behaviors are leader prototypical or not prototypical, which requires substantial effort and attention, he or she will engage in controlled processing. However, if one of his or her categories matches observed leader behaviors, then the process requires small amounts of effort and attention, and is much faster.

Although researchers agree that leadership perceptions involve both automatic and controlled processes, many use methodologies based on conscious and controlled verbal reports, possibly failing to capture the automatic and unconscious components of leadership perceptions. Early leadership category theories focused on disembodied and symbolic responses (Lord & Shondrick, 2011; Naidoo, Kohari, Lord, & DuBois, 2010; Dorfman, Javidan, Hanges, Dastmalchian, & House, 2012). However, researchers also

learned about other aspects of leadership that are more automatic and unconscious such as affect and physical movement. As automaticity research reveals, our daily impressions, interpretations, and judgments about others and external environments occur rapidly but remarkably accurately. That is, people have evolved to detect subtle signals that are associated with adaptive functions. People do not devote much, if any, effort into detecting such signals (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1993; Barsalou, 2008; Gunns, Johnston, & Hudson, 2002; Smith & Galinsky, 2010).

In sum, more recent cognitive research argues that social cognitions are not only rationale phenomena but also involve multi-format (e.g., cognitive, affective, and behavioral) tendencies to detect, store, represent, and react to events in the world (Smith & Galinsky, 2010).

Leadership embodiment

Recently, researchers have learned that as with other social cognitive concepts, leadership may be not only be associated with psychological states but also modal content including emotions (Dinh & Lord, 2012; Lord & Shondrick, 2011; Schubert et al., 2009). That is, embodiment cognition researchers argue that the perceiver's cognitive, motor, sensory, and affective experiences are involved in the processes of leadership perception (Niedenthal, Barsalou, Winkielman, Krauth-Gruber, & Ric, 2005).

Embodiment is not a new concept. In fact, researchers in different areas have long investigated how our body is tied to social cognitions, attitudes, and emotions (e.g., Guinote, 2010; Aguinis, Simonsen, & Pierce, 1998). However, leadership embodiment research is still in its infancy and, as such, there is little research guidance available. There is, however, ample evidence for the embodiment of social power dynamics and,

since social power is closely linked to leadership, social power research can offer substantial insights into studies of leadership embodiment.

Perceived social power is connected to body size, height, and facial expression, exemplifying the evolutionary origin of power-related stimuli. Physical movements, size, and posture (e.g., expanding your chest and standing tall) can modulate the experience of internal states such as feeling powerful or influential. The reverse can also occur. If people are exposed to representation information such as “big size” or “expanding pose” that are related to power, they tend to judge the person as being more powerful. (e.g., Carney, Hall, LeBeau, 2005; Guillory & Gruenfeld, 2010; Guinote, 2010; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Mignault & Chaudhuri, 2003; Schubert et al. 2009; Schubert, Walz, & Seibt, 2008; Shondrick et al., 2010). Niedenthal et al. (2005) and Barsalou (2008) argued that people can read power information easily even if they are merely exposed to that information. Furthermore, people can make accurate judgments and inferences about a power holder’s intentions and motivations and behave accordingly.

The majority of early social power embodiment studies focused on the universal aspects of basic human cognitions, behaviors, and affections, based on biological and evolutionary perspectives. However, Elfenbein and Ambady (2002) have begun to investigate the role experiential information plays in embodiment, and they have found that in-group members have advantages in reading familiar attributes faster and more accurately, as experts do.

Although there has been very little research on leadership embodiment, researchers suggested that embodied and symbolic, emotional, motor and visual

information can be integrated in forming leadership perceptions. Further, Lord & Shondrick (2011, p. 214) stated that “in the real world, leader’s appearance would create an important embodied perception structure as well”. Thus, studying cultural influences on power and leadership embodiment will advance the understanding of human behavior. In this research, I aim to combine both approaches (culture and embodiment) to advance knowledge about leadership perception.

Culture

The concept of “culture” has no universally accepted definition. However, Kitayama (2010) identified three common elements of culture in psychology. (a) Culture emerges in adaptive interactions between humans and environments within a population, (b) culture consists of shared elements, (c) culture is transmitted across time periods and generations (Kitayama, 2010, p.64).

Culture: Classical approaches

Hofstede (1980) defined culture as “mental programs”, “the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes one group or category of people from another” (p. 4, 2001). He described five dimensions of culture and demonstrated how each is revealed in people’s social perceptions and behavior: (a) Power distance, which refers to what one culture expects and accepts in the realm of human inequality, (b) Uncertainty avoidance, what one culture expects and accepts in the level of stress associated with uncertainty. (c) Individualism vs. Collectivism, the extent that a culture relies on the primacy of self or the integration of individuals into groups, (d) Femininity vs. Masculinity, the degree that a culture expects different roles for men and women, (e) Long term vs. Short term oriented, the degree to which a culture puts more weight on the

future or the present. Hofstede's dimensions are not independent. For example, power distance and collectivism are correlated. That is, if a culture has high power distance, it tends to be collectivist, whereas low power distance cultures tend to be individualist. Moreover, power may be conceptualized in personal terms in individual cultures, while collectivist cultures may conceptualize power in group terms (Torelli & Shavitt, 2010).

Triandis offered another definition and somewhat different dimensions: "Elements of culture are shared standard operating procedures, unstated assumptions, tools, norms, values, habits about sampling the environment, and the like. Because perception and cognition depend on the information that is sampled from the environment and are fundamental psychological processes, ..., cultures develop conventions for sampling information and determine how much to weigh the sampled elements from the environment." (Triandis & Suh, p. 136, 2002)

Based on the idea that both individualism (I) and collectivism (C) may exist in all cultures, Triandis and his colleagues formulated four dimensions by combining individualism (I) and collectivism (C) in terms of the vertical (V) and horizontal (H) organization. That is, both individualism and collectivism can be horizontal (endorsing equality) or vertical (endorsing hierarchy and authority) (e.g., Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998; Triandis & Suh, 2002). These combined dimensions are: (a) *Horizontal Individualism*, emphasizing self-reliance, independence, uniqueness, and social equality. (b) *Vertical Individualism*, not only endorsing uniqueness but striving for competitive success and personal prominence. (c) *Horizontal Collectivism*, valuing social harmony, empathy, sociability, and cooperation. (d) *Vertical Collectivism*, emphasizing in-group cohesion as well as respect for in-group norms and authority.

These dimensions have been applied in many cultural studies, providing a valuable foundation for understanding both general differences among cultures and

explore cultural specifics (Vargas & Kemmelmeier, 2013). Yet, they are limited in their ability to explain fundamental differences among cultures; thus, a new way of looking at cultural dynamics was needed.

Cultural variations in cognition: Modern approaches

Recent cultural research adds to studies of cognition by directing attention to systematic cultural differences. Much evidence suggests that beyond those classical cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998), the fundamental cognitive style of East Asians tends to be more context-dependent (holistic), while Westerners tend to have more context-independent (analytic) styles. These are powerful determinants of how people represent and perceive the world (e.g., Blais, Jack, Scheepers, Fiset, & Caldara, 2008; Boduroglu, Shah, & Nisbett, 2009; Doherty, Tsuji, & Phillips, 2008; Ito, Masuda, & Hioki, 2012; Masuda & Nisbett, 2001, 2006; Miyamoto, Nisbett, & Masuda, 2006; Nisbett & Masuda, 2003; Yoon, 2010, 2013).

Patterns of attention and judgment of others in context

Several lines of research support the idea of context-dependent vs. independent cultural variations in representations and perceptions. Nisbett and colleagues have demonstrated an effect of context on East Asian and Western attentional patterns (e.g., Chua, Boland, & Nisbett, 2005; Masuda & Nisbett, 2006). For example, East Asians tend to attend to contextual (background) features first when they are shown pictures of a large fish in a tank with other objects. Conversely, Americans mention only the large focal fish.

Similarly, Chua et al. (2005) examined the eye movements and fixations of Americans and Chinese when viewing pictures of both focal animals and nonliving

entities against different backgrounds. Americans looked at objects in the foreground faster and relatively longer than Chinese, while Chinese made more background eye fixations. Blais et al. (2008) also concluded that East Asians use relatively holistic representations to learn, recognize, and categorize faces, whereas Westerners use analytic styles. Westerners looked at the eye area (upper part) and East Asians looked at the nose area (central part) of the face, suggesting that East Asians focused on the facial region optimal for holistic integration.

Masuda and Nisbett (2006) and Miyamoto et al. (2006), using detection tasks, demonstrated that East Asians attended more to contexts than Westerners. Japanese people were better at detecting changes in backgrounds or in relationships among objects, whereas Americans were better at detecting changes in the focal area or objects. Boduroglu et al. (2009) later confirmed Masuda and Nisbett (2006)'s results using simpler geometric stimuli. East Asians were faster and more accurate in detecting color changes when they saw the changes in the backgrounds. Westerners were faster and more accurate in detecting color changes when changes occurred in a central area. That is, East Asians have a wider attentional focus and are more sensitive to contextual information than Westerners.

Similarly, visual size detection also appears to be influenced by cultural and gender variations in cognition (Doherty et al., 2008). Using illusions as stimuli, Doherty et al. (2008) found that Japanese female participants have much greater context sensitivity than Westerners; as a result, they were less accurate at all size discrimination tasks. Kitayama, Duffy, Kawamura, and Larsen (2003) demonstrated attentional differences between cultures by showing participants a line in a square frame, then asking

them to generate the identical line in a new square frame. The task was either relative requiring a proportional line in a different-sized frame, or absolute, requiring the same sized line in an identical frame. Japanese paid more attention to the frame size than Americans, thus, Japanese performed better in the relative task while Americans were better in the absolute task.

Kuwabara and Smith (2012) observed these cultural variations in attentional and cognitive processes among preschoolers as well. Comparing Japanese and American children, they found that Japanese preschoolers outperformed American preschoolers in a “rich condition” in which children are exposed to richly detailed objects. Since American preschoolers tended to focus on single objects, it limited their performance in a relational matching task. But when children were asked to find a specific target in a cluttered scene, requiring more analytic, context-independent cognitive skills, American preschoolers performed better and reported their answer faster than Japanese preschoolers.

Masuda, Gonzalez, Kwan, and Nisbett (2008) observed that these cultural differences exist in artistic expressions, using masterpieces from ancient Greece/Rome and China. They found that Eastern paintings tend to emphasize field information, whereas Western paintings focused on key figures. Portraiture styles in the two broad cultural groups were also compared. The ratio of the size of the face to the entire visual field was significantly bigger in Western portraits, meaning that the model took major space in the drawings. Masuda et al. (2008) replicated the findings from the study of masterpieces by asking people to draw landscapes and take portrait photographs (Study 2). Researchers analyzed the ratio of the horizon location to the frame and the number of additional

objects in the drawing to see if East Asians use context-dependent styles. For the portrait photograph task, researchers compared the ratio of focal figure size to the background of the pictures. The results confirmed the previous results. East Asians drew 19% higher in the picture plane than Americans and had more additional contextual objects in their drawings. Similarly, the size of the model in East Asian's photographic portraits was significantly smaller than those taken by Americans.

Extending this idea to leadership, Yoon (2010) showed that South Koreans generate holistic leadership representations, whereas Americans display analytic leadership representations. Using Masuda et al.'s (2008) methods, participants drew pictures of three "professionals," a leader, a banker, and an athlete, allowing three minutes for each picture. These non-leader professionals were chosen from Lord's superordinate category of professionals (Lord et al., 1984). The order of the three drawings was completely counterbalanced. Participants were told to draw 'what comes to mind' when they see or hear about those professionals. They were also told to feel free to draw additional objects. After completing the drawing task, they were asked to describe the pictures. Results revealed cultural variation in contextual sensitivity. South Koreans drew more additional objects and mentioned more contextual and relational information in all three conditions compared to Americans. Yoon (2013) replicated these results with a different East Asian cultural group, Taiwanese. Consistent with earlier results, Taiwanese showed a holistic leadership representation style similar to South Koreans but different from Americans.

Other cultural studies find analytic and holistic cognitive differences when people make judgments about others. For example, emotion recognition experiments by Masuda,

Ellsworth, et al. (2008) showed evidence that Japanese participants use social context information when judging a target individual's facial emotion to a greater extent than Americans. When participants were presented with five cartoon figures, the focal individual's smiling face was judged differently if four other smiling faces appeared in the background (match condition) than if four frowning faces appeared in the background (mismatch condition). Japanese showed a higher discrepancy between conditions compared to Americans.

Contradictory findings were presented by Ito et al. (2012), who provided evidence of universal patterns of emotional perception and contextual impact. Modifying previous methods (Masuda, Ellsworth, et al., 2008; Masuda, Wang, Ishii, & Ito, 2008), Ito et al. (2012) compared Japanese and Canadian participants' judgments of the focal figures' facial expression. Participants were presented with happy or sad focal figures against a background of either match or mismatch in affective tone (e.g., a match condition was the target's happy facial expression against a beautiful beach vs. mismatch, the same facial expression shown with a dirty toilet). They found that all participants recognized facial expressions faster when the landscapes and the expressions were of congruent valence than when they were incongruent. In study 2, the manipulation was identical to the Masuda, Ellsworth, et al. (2008) study in that focal figure facial expressions were presented with other people in the background, except the researchers used real human faces instead of cartoon figures. Unlike previous findings, no cultural differences occurred. They concluded that people recognize the focal figure's facial expressions based on contextual information regardless of culture because that is how it happens in real life.

A few studies have offered “casual explanations” of these cultural variations, referencing due to self-concept, parenting styles, and social structures (e.g., Nisbett & Masuda, 2003; Nisbett & Miyamoto, 2005). However, Miyamoto et al. (2006) shifted attention toward the physical environment. They compared pictures of small, medium, and large cities from the United States and Japan and asked participants to rate how ambiguous and complex they were. City scenes from Japan were rated more complex and ambiguous than city scenes from the United States even if the city sizes and populations were equivalent. They found that Japanese scenery contained more objects than the American. Since the physical environment in East Asia was judged to be more complex and ambiguous, it is possible that people from cities in East Asia are accustomed to contextual information, thus, they develop more context dependent styles of cognition and attention.

Given the consistent evidence, cultural psychologists concluded that culture has a significant influence on cognition. However, there are also universal aspects of psychological processes. For example, people in general use context factors to make judgments if those factors are available and accessible (Ito et al., 2012). In the next section, I turn to a more specific topic, how cultural factors influence leadership perception.

Leadership perceptions and cultural influences

The importance of understanding the relationship between leadership perceptions and culture has been widely discussed (e.g., Bass, 1990; Den Hartog, House, Hange, Ruiz-Quintanilla, & Dorfman, 1999; Ensari & Murphy, 2003; Hanges, Lord, & Dickson, 2000; Hofstede, 1993; Silverthorne, 2000; Walumbwa, Lawler, & Avolio, 2007; Yan

&Hunt, 2005). A substantial body of evidence indicates that culture is important in shaping leadership perceptions (Shafer, Vieregge, & Choi, 2005; Stoeberl, Kwon, &Bae, 1998). For instance, Gerstner and Day (1994) and Brodbeck, Frese, Akerblom, Audia, ..., Wunderer (2000) extended the Lord et al.(1984) study to various cultures, finding that different leadership attributes were mentioned in different cultures.

More recently, the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) project identified both universal and culturally specific aspects of leadership (Ensari& Murphy, 2003; Hanges et al., 2000; Javidan, Dorfman, De Luque, & House; 2006; Paris, Howell, Dorfman, &Hanges, 2009; Dorfman et al., 2012). The main goal of the GLOBE project was to develop a culturally-endorsed implicit leadership theory across 62 countries. However, research found 21 culturally specific leadership dimensions in addition to six universally-endorsed leadership dimensions: charismatic/ value based, team oriented, humane-oriented, participative, autonomous, and self-protectiveleadership.

A number of studies replicated the GLOBE findings (e.g., Dorfman, Howell, Hibino, Lee, Tate, & Bautista, 1997). Both Hanges et al. (2000) and Javidan et al. (2006) explained the theoretical link between leadership perception and culture based on GLOBE research. Hanges et al. (2000) noted that the relationship between leadership perceptions and culture can be understood in terms ofself-concept (i.e., the culturally mandated independent vs. interdependent self-concept; Markus & Kitayama, 2003) influence onleadership representations. Hanges et al. (2000) also argued that people use schemas that are sensitive to context to make judgments of leadership.

Javidan et al. (2006) also investigated cultural differences in leadership perceptions across five countries; Brazil, France, Egypt, China, and the United States. They found both universally-and culturally-desirable and undesirable leadership attributes. Kono et al. (2012) supported this view. Comparing Japanese leadership perceptions to Americans' on the 15 GLOBE dimensions, Kono et al. (2012) showed that Japanese and Americans differed not only on Hofstede's cultural dimensions, but also on self-concept and cultural tightness, as Hanges et al. (2000) argued. American participants scored higher on autonomous, procedural, status consciousness, charismatic, and performance-oriented dimensions than did the Japanese. However, Japanese participants had higher scores on a face saver and an autocratic dimension than Americans.

Holmberg and Akerblom (2006) examined culture specific aspects of "outstanding leadership" among Swedish middle-managers. Three leadership dimensions, Team-oriented, Participative, and Autonomous, are perceived to constitute outstanding leadership in Sweden. Compared to norms based on other cultures, Swedish respondents gave extremely low scores on the self-protective dimension, suggesting strong cultural uniqueness in Sweden. In sum, Holmberg and Akerblom (2006) found that an outstanding leader in Sweden inspires and involves members to achieve a vision but does not pursue his or her own self-interest. This recalls Triandis' horizontal collectivism.

Sanchez-Runde, Nardon, and Steers (2011) argued that in order to understand cultural variations in leadership perception, researchers need to understand the cultural foundations of leadership. They illustrated the differences between Chinese and Western traditions and proposed possible differences in leadership "beliefs, goals, logic, and bias". For instance, based on the Greek, a concept of an ideal human, a leadership belief in

Western cultures is “seeking to achieve high standards”. In comparison, Chinese “balance” or “yin and yang” traditions lead to leadership beliefs which put a leader in a more passive role. Ling, Chia, and Fang (2000) found that leadership attributes in China are significantly different from Offermann et al.’s (1994) factors. The Chinese factors are Personal Morality, Goal Effectiveness, Interpersonal Competence, and Versatility.

Blunt and Jones (1997) also explored how Western values differ from East Asian. Western values include: (a) relative equality of power between leaders and followers, (b) high tolerance of ambiguity, (c) a desire to share feelings and emotions, and (d) emphasis on performance. East Asian values are: (a) higher power distance (hierarchy is taken as the proper, natural way to maintain social relations), with little involvement of followers, and (b) an emphasis on maintaining harmony.

Further, Shafer et al. (2005) suggested that postmodern society produces more common concepts of leadership across cultures. They asked students from five different countries (four Asian and one Western) about five leadership dimensions: physical attributes, personality traits, transformational leadership skills, interpersonal skills, and administrative skills. They found small cultural differences (i.e., East Asians emphasized a leader’s ‘appearance’ and Westerners emphasized ‘having courage’) leading them to conclude that there were more similarities than differences in leadership perceptions. However, since all the participants were students who enrolled in English-speaking hospitality programs in Switzerland and shared similar interests, it is problematic to generalize this finding to other cultural groups.

Scandura and Dorfman (2004) made suggestions about the future of cultural research on leadership. These fall into five categories: (a) Sampling issues: Consensus

among cross-cultural leadership researchers is that a study should include a larger sample of countries. However, there ought to be a theoretical rationale for the sampling process. They suggested that it would be useful to investigate only one country with national diversity including nations with diverse populations (e.g., the United States, China and Russia).

(b) Cultural dimension issues: The majority of cross-cultural leadership research has used Hofstede's cultural dimensions without testing the relevance of these dimensions for their specific research interests. Scandura and Dorfman argued that researchers should find additional ways to validate Hofstede's results before incorporating the dimensions.

(c) Research component issues: Cross-cultural leadership research should combine qualitative and quantitative strategies so that the results can reflect fundamental cultural concepts.

(d) Methodological issues: Scandura and Dorfman encouraged researchers to use more than one method. They point out that researchers typically depend on surveys, and recommend they create more innovative methods. (Unfortunately, they did not make any suggestions).

(e) Within-cultural variation issues: Researchers should not only focus on between- but also within-cultural similarities and differences. They recognize that individuals constitute cultures. Learning about these individuals can help researchers understand the different layers of cultural meaning. Triandis made the same point (Triandis, 2004; Triandis & Suh, 2002). He argues that cultural research needs to consider both cultural and individual differences (i.e., within cultural variations).

Therefore, it seems reasonable to consider the implications of individual differences for leadership in different cultures.

Power motive

There is much evidence that perception is influenced by the culture in which the individual is raised. However, there is no doubt that within-culture variations exist (Maruyama, 1992; Scandura & Dorfman, 2004). The same external stimuli can be experienced various ways by individuals with different motives, attitudes, personalities, and life experiences (Ehrhart & Klein, 2001). According to Maruyama (1992), individuals organize and interpret their thoughts, values, or behaviors in distinctive ways. This process is called “mindscape”. However, some mindscapes are more frequently observed within one society than others, and those constitute culture. It is as important to recognize individual differences within a culture as it is to recognize cultural differences.

One aspect shaping how people fundamentally perceive and represent their world is motivation. Based on motives, people selectively attend to motivationally-relevant stimuli, while ignoring irrelevant dimensions, then perceive and interpret the meaning of stimuli (Balcetis & Dunning, 2006; Dunning, 2001; Sacco & Hugenberg, 2012).

Dunning (2001) described three main motives underlying social cognition: desire for knowledge, desire to affirm, and desire for coherence. He argues that humans are motivated to learn about the external environment, self, and others. Under these three broad motives, Dunning recalls “*the new look in perception*”, a movement of the 1940s in which researchers argued that “the representations of the social world were fundamentally shaped by needs, wants, and desires (Dunning, 2001; p.355).” For instance, the classic study by Bruner and Goodman (1947) showed evidence of the impact of needs

on perceptual accentuation. Poor children estimated coins to be larger in size than did rich children, presumably due to different needs for money.

Similarly, Perugini and Prestwich (2007) examined how a simple concept can elicit different perceptions, meanings, and evaluations for individuals who have different needs, desires, and motives. For example, if a person who likes meat happens to see someone eating a hamburger while hungry, it will likely stimulate the mental representation of a good tasting hamburger. This mental representation can lead to behaviors such as buying hamburgers. In contrast, a person who does not like meat who sees someone eating a hamburger, even if hungry, experiences a different mental representation. Perugini and Prestwich (2007) also argued that these differences are systematic across individuals but generally consistent within the same person even in different situations. They called individual differences the “gatekeeper to action theory”. Expanding this idea, they showed how these motives are key links between implicit perception, automatic evaluation, and behavior.

Sacco and Hugenberg (2012) tested how motives (cooperative and competitive) not only shape perceptions but also sharpen perceptual acuity for motivationally- relevant stimuli. Researchers activated cooperative and competitive motives by priming some participants with a motive-relevant Scrambled Sentence Task (e.g., cooperate, collaborate, coalition vs. compete, win, rivalry). In the control group, Scrambled Sentence Task items were unrelated to cooperative and competitive motives. Participants were then presented with facial expression stimuli, “fake” and “real” smiles. Both cooperative and competitive motives would attune perceivers to the nuanced differences between genuine and fake smiles compared to those in the control

condition. The results revealed that motives can enhance accuracy of perceptions for emotion and ability to discriminate between genuine and fake facial emotions.

Furthermore, people's emotions or motives can also shape their visual preferences. Baumann and Desteno (2010) explored the influence of emotions, which have both informational and motivational components, on threat assessments. Participants were in anger evoking vs. control condition and researchers measured their accuracy in detecting either a threatening (i.e., gun) or a non-threatening (i.e., soda can) object. Angry people made more false positive errors, claiming neutral targets to be threatening.

Employing priming and a binocular rivalry task, Dunning and Balci (2013) also showed that people categorize ambiguous visual stimuli and represent external environments in terms of "wishful seeing". This wishful seeing can be observed when people perceive ambiguous visual information. Using a font in which the letter B or the number 13 could easily be confused, Dunning and Balci found that the associations of each stimulus with desirable or undesirable outcomes produced the expected identifications.

While these studies suggest that individual differences can influence leadership perception within a culture, their use of explicit survey measurement can only reflect conscious aspects of motives and preferences. (Bing, LeBreton, Davison, Migetz, & James, 2007). In order to understand relationship between leadership perception and implicit motives, especially if these motives are less socially acceptable, we need to find a proper way to investigate these relations (e.g., Balci & Dunning, 2006; Gerstner & Day, 1994; Hofer, Chasiotis, Friedlmeier, Busch, & Campos, 2005).

Implicit motives are described as the ‘needs and aversions’ that are unconscious and inaccessible to introspection but which affect an individual’s behaviors (Hofer et al., 2005; James & LeBreton, 2012; Smith, 2012). People develop biased reasoning to justify strong implicit motives, particularly if those motives are not socially desirable.

According to James and LeBreton (2012), the power motive is defined as one’s desire to influence or pursue and maintain reputation, prestige, and power for group or personal purposes. Thus, individuals who have an implicit power motive would develop biased reasoning to justify their controlling behavior (Hofer et al., 2005; James & LeBreton, 2012; Smith, 2012, Winter, 1973). Because leadership perception and power motives are likely to be closely linked (James & LeBreton, 2012; Smith, 2012), understanding their relationship can help us to understand the joint role of cultural and individual differences in the leadership perception processes.

Research Questions

This study investigated influence of culture and the power motive on leadership perception, employing a multicultural recognition task and the Conditional Reasoning Test. The research questions included:

1. Is there a cultural influence on leadership perception? Do Westerners recognize leader figures more accurately when they look at pictures generated by Westerners than by East Asians? Do East Asians recognize leader figures more accurately when they look at the pictures generated by East Asians rather than by Westerners?
2. Does contextual information help people recognize the drawings? Do East Asians use contextual information in addition to focal figures when they perceive leadership? Do Westerners pay more attention to a focal figure than to contextual information when they perceive a leader?
3. Do implicit power motives, as measured by the Conditional Reasoning Test-Leadership (CRT-L) predict individual differences in leadership perception within and between cultures?

Hypotheses

1. Westerners are expected to recognize leader figures more accurately when they are portrayed in Westerners' drawings. East Asians are expected to recognize leader figures more accurately when portrayed by East Asians' drawings.
2. Both Westerners and East Asians are expected to recognize leader figures better with contextual information than without it. However, Westerners are expected to outperform Asians in the absence of contextual cues because they tend to have a more analytic cognitive style.
3. Following Foti and Luch (1992), if individuals generate more extreme evaluations when they have expertise in and familiarity with a domain, individuals with high scores on the CRT-L are expected to show more extreme rating differences between leader and non-leader drawings than low scorers.
4. Individual differences in power motive are expected to exist regardless of culture and to influence leadership perception.
5. Cultural orientation is expected to influence leadership perception. Those with high scores on the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ, Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) are expected to show more American patterns of leadership perception whereas those with low scores on GEQ are expected to show more East Asian patterns of leadership perception.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Design & Participants

Leadership perception was studied via a 2 (Culture: East Asians, Westerners) X 2 (Contextual information: Contexts vs. Noncontexts) X 3 (Power motive: High power motive vs. Moderate vs. Low power motive) X 2 (Drawing type: East Asian vs. Western drawing) mixed design. Participants were presented drawings from both East Asian and westerner sources.

Three hundred twenty four college students were given course credit for participation in the experiment. They also provided demographic information and answered three surveys. Participants were randomly assigned to groups of two to six people. Six participants were deleted from the data set: two skipped items on the CRT-L and four others arrived late. Since I defined East Asians as people from countries that are rooted in Confucianism, Buddhism, and collectivism (e.g., China, Hong Kong, Japan, Korean, Taiwan, and Vietnam) and Westerners as Americans (e.g., Blunt & Jones, 1997; Hofstede, 1994), 32 participants from other regions are not included in the data analysis¹).

Among the remaining 285 participants, 97 were East Asians and 188 were Americans. 139 were female and 146 were male, ranging in age from 17 to 42 ($M = 19.9$, $SD = 2.54$; see Table 1).

Table 1. Sample Demographic Information (N=285)

¹African (N = 1), Indian (N = 23), and South American (N = 6)

Race	Nationality	Percent	<i>N</i>
American	The United States	65.9	188
Asian	Korea	11.9	34
	China	9.5	27
	Vietnam	2.1	6
	Taiwan	1.8	5
	Japan	1.1	3
	Other countries in Asia	7.7	22
Total		100	285

Materials & Procedure

The experiment consisted of three parts, a leadership recognition task, the CRT-L for power motive (see Table 2), and GEQ for self-reported cultural orientation (see Appendix C). One hundred forty eight (148) of the participants responded to six drawings containing contextual information. One hundred thirty seven (137) of the participants responded to six drawings with no contextual information.

Half the participants took the drawing recognition task first, while half took the CRT-L first to minimize order effects. However, all participants completed the self-report GEQ at the end of each experimental session. For the leadership recognition task, I used drawings that were generated by different cultural groups (Americans, Koreans, and Taiwanese) from an earlier leadership representation study (Yoon, 2010, 2013).

Participants were told that researchers were interested in participants' responses to drawings and their task was to provide their thoughts about the drawings. Participants

received six drawings with or without contextual information² (see Appendix A). The order of images was counterbalanced across participants. Participants were given 15 seconds to look at each drawing and were asked to describe the drawings for 90 seconds. After participants completed the descriptive task, they were asked to rate the extent to which each of the drawings represented a leader using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = Most likely, 5 = Most unlikely. The questions were based on Lord et al.'s (1984) list of leadership attributes, non-leadership attributes, and low-leadership attributes (see Appendix B). Total experimental session time was approximately 90 minutes.

²Two leader drawings from East Asians, two leader drawings from Westerners, and two distractions, banker and athlete, from both cultures.

Table 2. Sample Conditional Reasoning Problem Designed to Measure Power and Toxic Leadership

Participative leadership involves inviting subordinates to share in discussions and decision making with their leader. Together, the leader and subordinates generate and evaluate ideas, and then attempt to reach a consensus about what should be done. Subordinates are often more committed to a course of action when they have had a chance to participate in deciding what it will be.

Based on the above, which one of the following provides the most logical inference regarding participative leadership?

- A. It works well when subordinates are independent and prefer to work alone.
- B. It is useful to leaders with visions who want their subordinates' support.
- C. It works best when subordinates are well informed about the problem at hand.
- D. It is a strategy used by weak leaders who need to tap into their subordinates' ideas.

Sources: James and LeBrenton (2012). Assessing the implicit personality through conditional reasoning.

Measures

Leadership perception (Drawing recognition task)

To examine each participant's leadership perception accuracy, I measured differences between averagescores on the totalof leadership attribute ratings (e.g., "how likely this person to be charismatic?") and the total of non-leadership attribute ratings (e.g., "how likely this person to be blue collar?"). Item order was randomized for each survey. Leadership perception accuracy scores for East Asian drawings and Western drawings were compared to assess any cultural influence on leadership perception.

Power motive and extreme evaluation tendency (CRT-L)

Participants' power motive scores were obtained from the CRT-L, using Smith's (2012) classification rules. If the CRT-L score was greater than or equal to 4, I classified that individual as a high power motive person. If the CRT-L score was less than or equal to -1, I categorized that individual as a low power motive person. If the CRT-L score was between 0 and 3, I considered that individual as a moderate power motive person.

To assess any extreme evaluation tendency among high power motive people, I measured differences between average scores on leadership attribute ratings from leader drawings and average scores of leadership attribute ratings from distraction drawings (i.e., a banker and an athlete) and compared high, moderate and low power motive participants' scores.

Cultural orientation (GEQ)

Although I categorized cultural groups as "East Asian" and "Western" in this study, it was also important to see how people define and categorize themselves. Therefore, a self-report of cultural orientation and experiences were used. Participants' cultural orientation was obtained by scoring self-reports to the GEQ using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree (e.g., "I celebrate American holidays.", "I am embarrassed/ashamed of American culture." see: http://www-psych.stanford.edu/~tsailab/GEQ_Score.html).

Analysis

Hypothesis 1 and 2, the influence of culture and contextual information, were tested using repeated measures analysis of variance. To evaluate Hypothesis 3 and 4, power motive and extreme evaluation tendency, a one-way ANOVA was employed to

compare between-group variances, focusing on power motive (i.e., high power motive, average power motive, and low power motive) and cultural groups (i.e., East Asian vs. American) by evaluation tendency. Correlations were computed to examine hypothesis 5, self-reports on the GEQ and leadership judgment patterns.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Results

The effects of cultural group on leadership perception

There was no main effect of cultural group, $F(1, 281) = 1.02, p = .31$ indicating that no cultural differences were found in leadership recognition accuracy (see Table 3). However, there was a significant Culture \times Drawing type (East Asian's drawings vs. Westerner's drawings) interaction, $F(1, 281) = 118.95, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .30$ (see Table 4 and Table 5). As shown in Figure 1, participants showed superior accuracy, recognizing leadership better in their own culture's drawings. There was also a significant difference in leadership recognition accuracy between East Asian ($M = .79, SD = .56$) and Western drawings ($M = .55, SD = .63$) among East Asian participants; $t(192) = 2.77, p < .01$. Similarly, there was a significant difference in leadership recognition accuracy for East Asian ($M = .34, SD = .56$) and Western drawings ($M = 1.12, SD = .59$) among American participants; $t(374) = -13.56, p < .01$.

Table 3. Between-subjects ANOVA Summary for Culture & Context

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Culture	.30	1	.30	1.02	.312
Context	.37	1	.37	1.27	.261
Culture \times Context	11.88	1	11.88	41.31	.000
Error	80.81	281	.288		

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics for Leadership recognition task

	Culture	Contextual cue	M	SD	N
East Asian Drawing	East Asian	Context	.87	.437	50
		No context	.69	.674	47
		Total	.79	.60	97
	American	Context	.35	.575	98
		No context	.32	.475	90
		Total	.34	.528	188
	Total	Context	.53	.586	148
		No context	.45	.577	137
		Total	.49	.583	285
Western Drawing	East Asian	Context	.11	.397	50
		No context	1.01	.481	47
		Total	.54	.630	97
	American	Context	1.34	.545	98
		No context	.87	.539	90
		Total	1.11	.590	188
	Total	Context	.93	.768	148
		No context	.92	.523	137
		Total	.925	.660	285

Table 5. Within –subjects ANOVA Summary for Culture, Drawing type, & Context

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Drawing type	9.76	1	9.76	36.66	.000
Drawing type × Culture	31.68	1	31.68	118.95	.000
Drawing type × Context	3.42	1	3.42	12.85	.000
Drawing type × Culture × Context	18.61	1	18.61	69.86	.000
Error	74.85	281	.266		

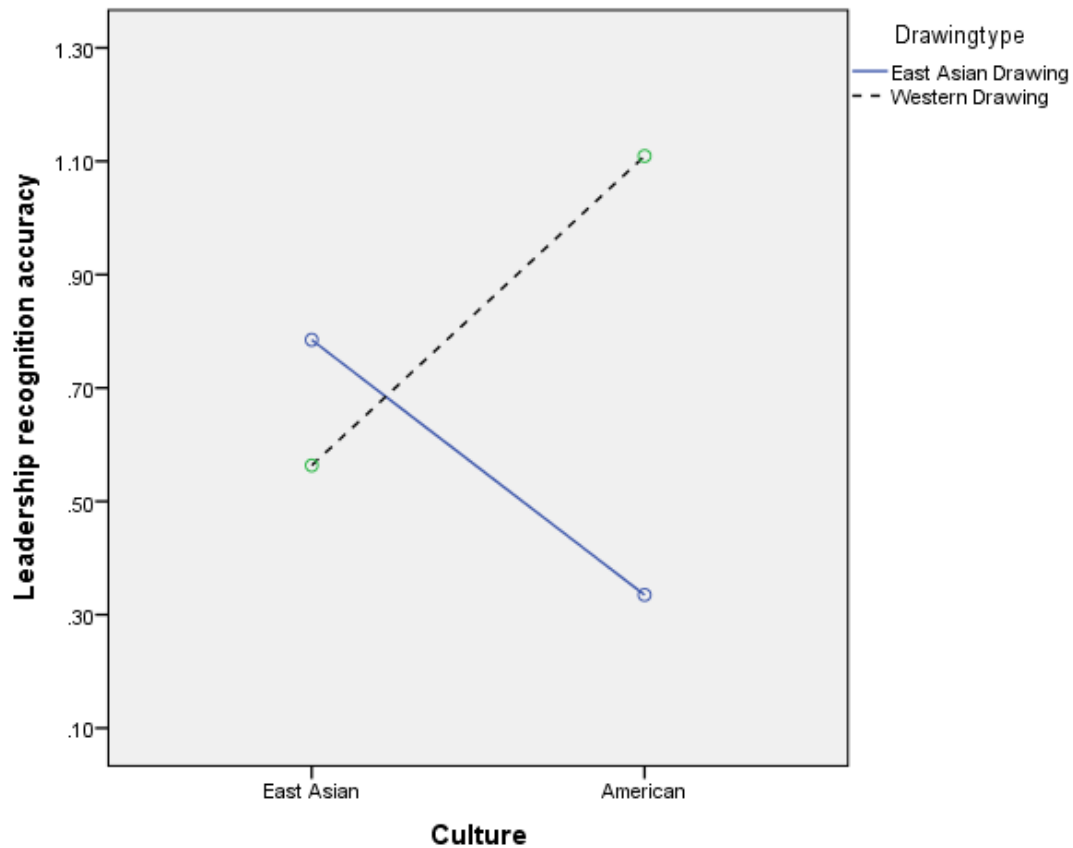


Figure 1: Leadership recognition accuracy by drawing types and culture

The effects of contextual information on leadership perception

In contrast to prediction, there was no main effect of contextual information, $F(1, 281) = 1.27, p = .26$ (see Table 3). However, there was a significant Context \times Drawing type interaction, $F(1, 281) = 12.85, p < .01$ (see Table 4 and Table 5). As shown in Figure 2, participants viewing East Asian drawings performed slightly better in the contextual information condition, while participants viewing Western drawings performed better without contextual information. There was also a significant difference in leadership recognition accuracy for East Asian ($M = .54, SD = .61$) and Western drawings ($M = .82,$

SD = .74) in context conditions; $t(294) = -3.23, p < .01$. Similarly, there was a significant difference in leadership recognition accuracy for East Asian drawings ($M = .45, SD = .58$) and Western drawings ($M = .92, SD = .52$) in no-context conditions; $t(272) = -7.16, p < .01$.

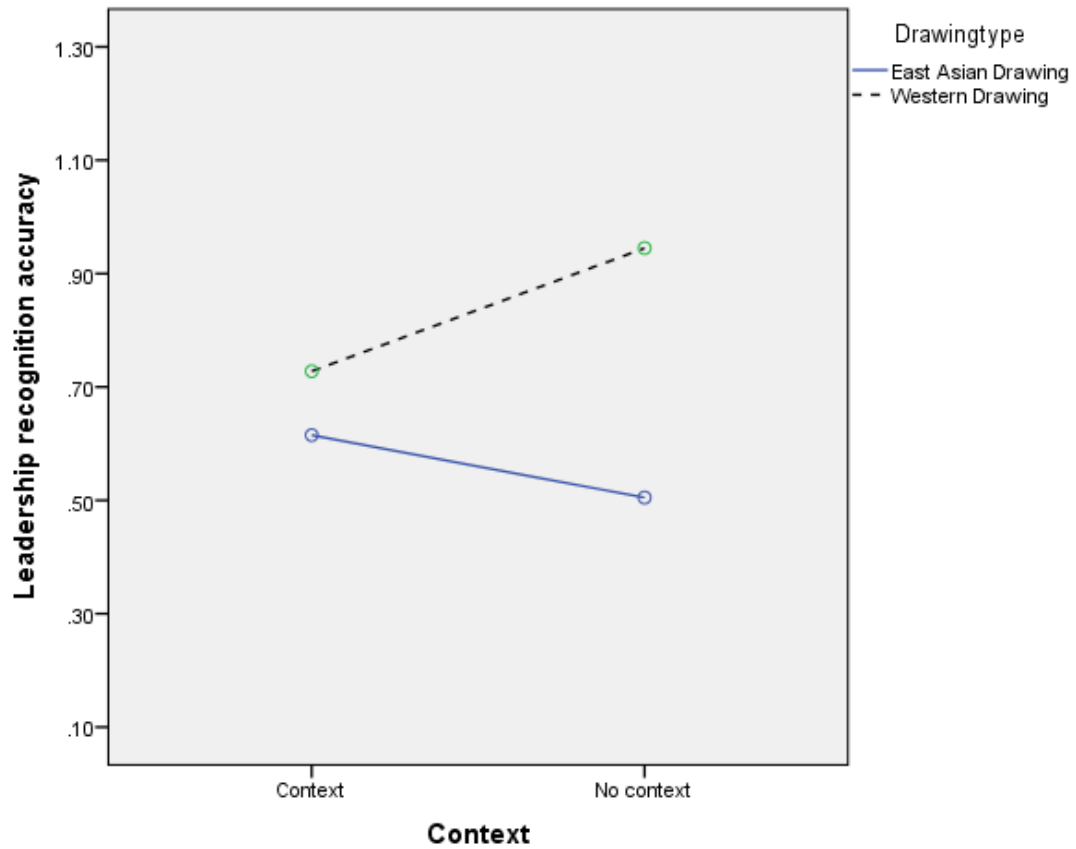


Figure 2: Leadership recognition accuracy by drawing types and context

Moreover, there was a significant Culture \times Context interaction, $F(1,281) = 41.31, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .128$; the effects of cultural group on leadership recognition accuracy were

influenced by the presence of contextual cues (see Table 3). As shown in Figure 3, East Asian participants outperformed Western participants in the absence of contextual cues whereas Western participants outperformed East Asian participants in their presence. I probed the three way interaction.

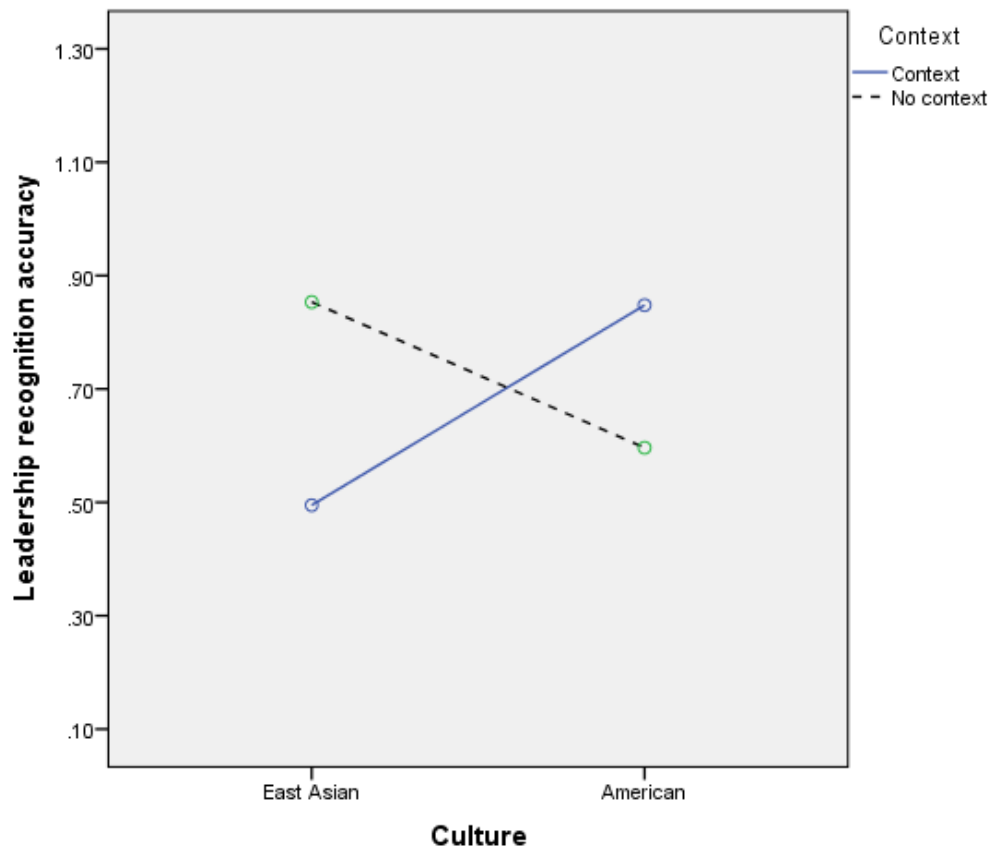


Figure 3: Leadership recognition accuracy by context and culture

There was a significant Culture \times Context \times Drawingtype interaction, $F(1,281) = 69.86, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .199$ (see Table 5). As shown in Figure 4, when Westerners were shown East Asian drawings, they did not show differences in leadership recognition

accuracy regardless of whether they were in the absence or presence of contextual cues. In contrast, East Asians performed better in the presence of contextual cues than in their absence. However, the difference between the presence and absence of contextual cues among East Asians was not significant, $t(95) = 1.63$, $p = .107$.

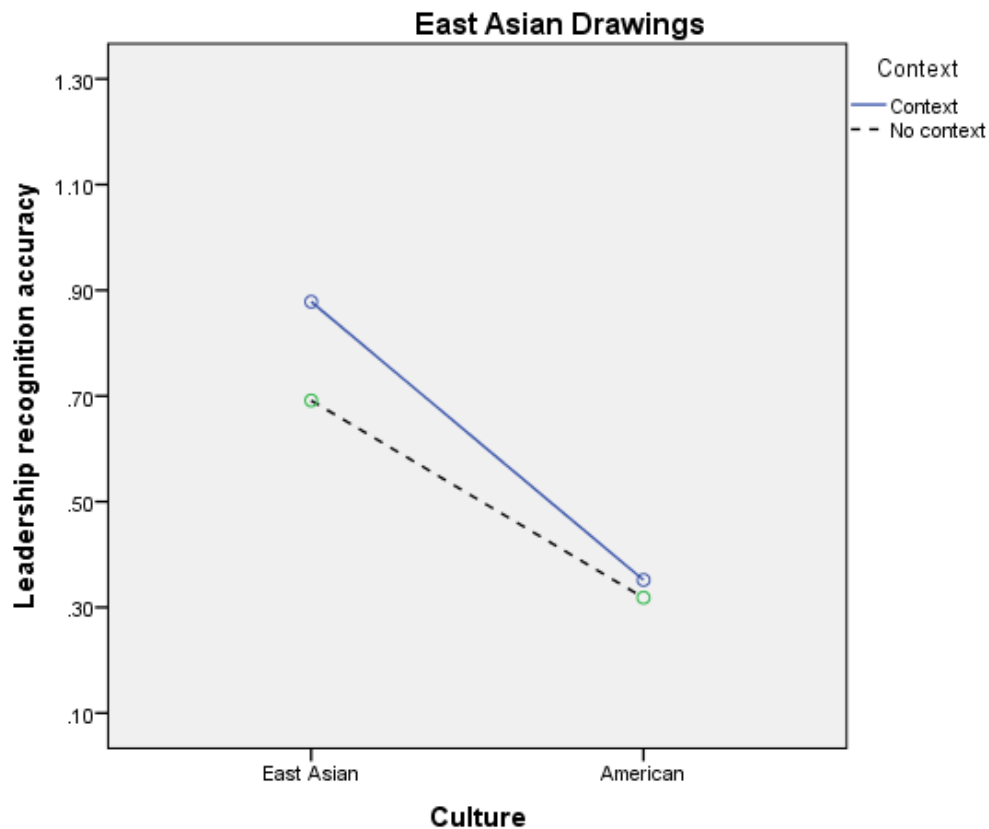


Figure 4: Leadership recognition accuracy by context and culture with East Asian drawings

As shown in Figure 5, for Western drawings, East Asians performed better in the no contextual cue condition than in the contextual cue condition. The difference between

two conditions was also significant, $t(95) = -10.19, p < .01$. However, Westerners performed better in the contextual cue condition than the no contextual cue condition. The difference between two conditions was also significant, $t(186) = 5.93, p < .01$.

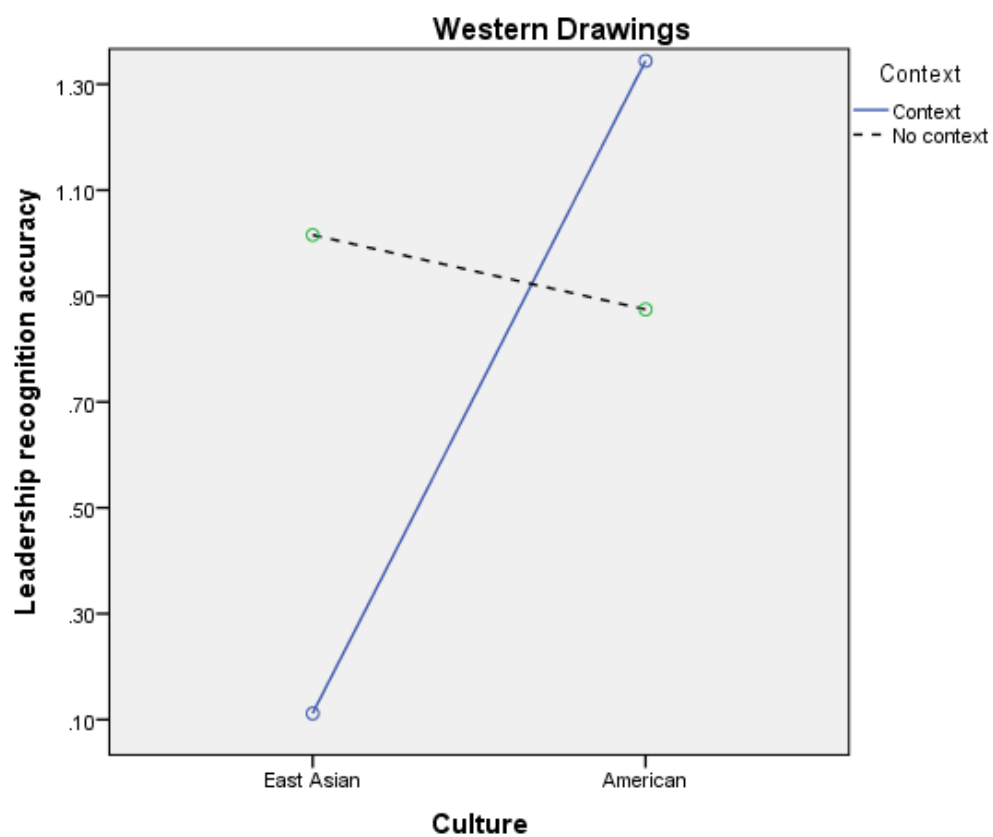


Figure 5: Leadership recognition accuracy by context and culture with Western drawings

The effects of power motive on leadership perception

The analysis produced a main effect for power motive, $F(2, 279) = 17.64, p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .112$. As predicted, high power motive participants' ratings were more extreme than others' (see Table 6 and Table 7). As shown in Figure 6, high power motive participants' ratings for leader and non-leader drawings showed bigger differences than those of moderate and low power motive individuals. Post hoc analysis showed significant differences between the high power motive group and all others. Moderate and low power motive groups did not differ significantly.

Table 6. Descriptive Statistics for extreme rating differences

	Culture	M	SD	N
High	East Asian	.31	.552	26
	American	.51	.576	40
	Total	.43	.571	66
Moderate	East Asian	.07	.471	38
	American	-.05	.373	91
	Total	-.02	.407	129
Low	East Asian	.04	.472	33
	American	-.01	.459	47
	Total	.01	.473	90
Total	East Asian	.12	.503	97
	American	.08	.500	188
	Total	.09	.501	285

Table 7. ANOVA Summary for Power motive & Culture

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Power motive	7.64	2	3.82	17.64	.000
Culture	.007	1	.007	0.30	.862
Power motive \times Culture	1.04	2	.521	2.40	.092

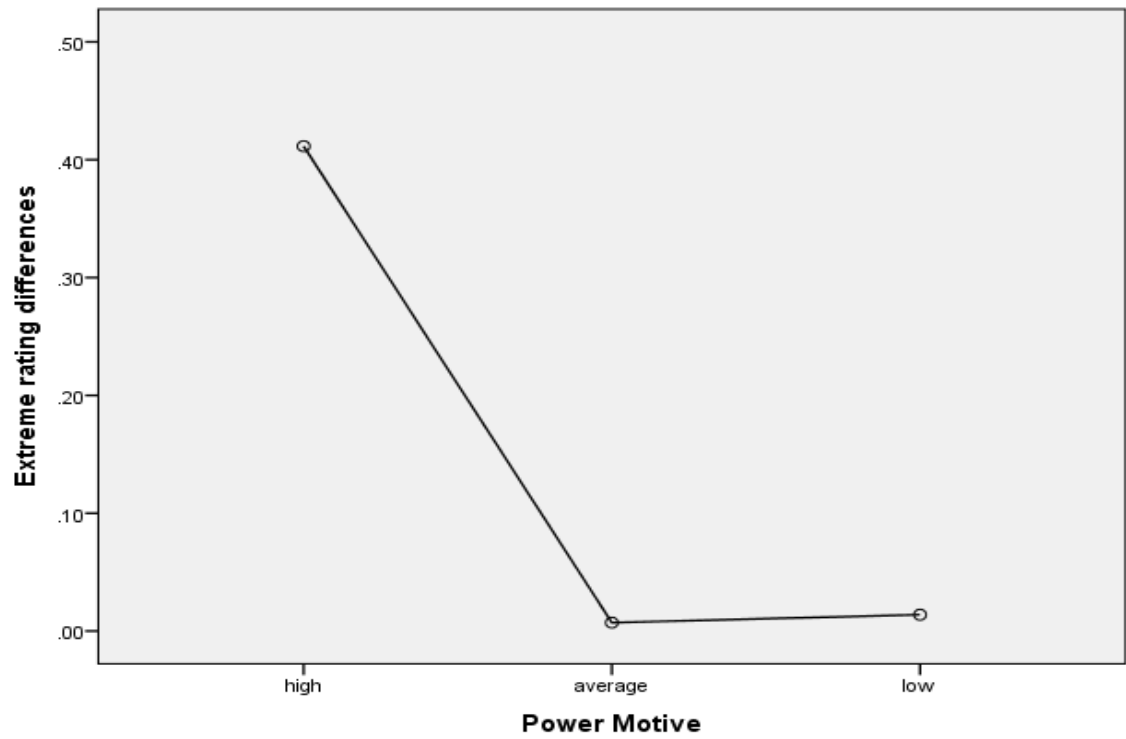


Figure 6: Extreme rating differences by power motive

Furthermore, there was no effect of Culture, $F(1, 279) = .30, p = .86$, nor a Power motive \times Culture interaction, $F(2, 279) = 2.40, p = .09$ (see Table 7). Power motive had the same effect in both cultural groups (see Figure 7).

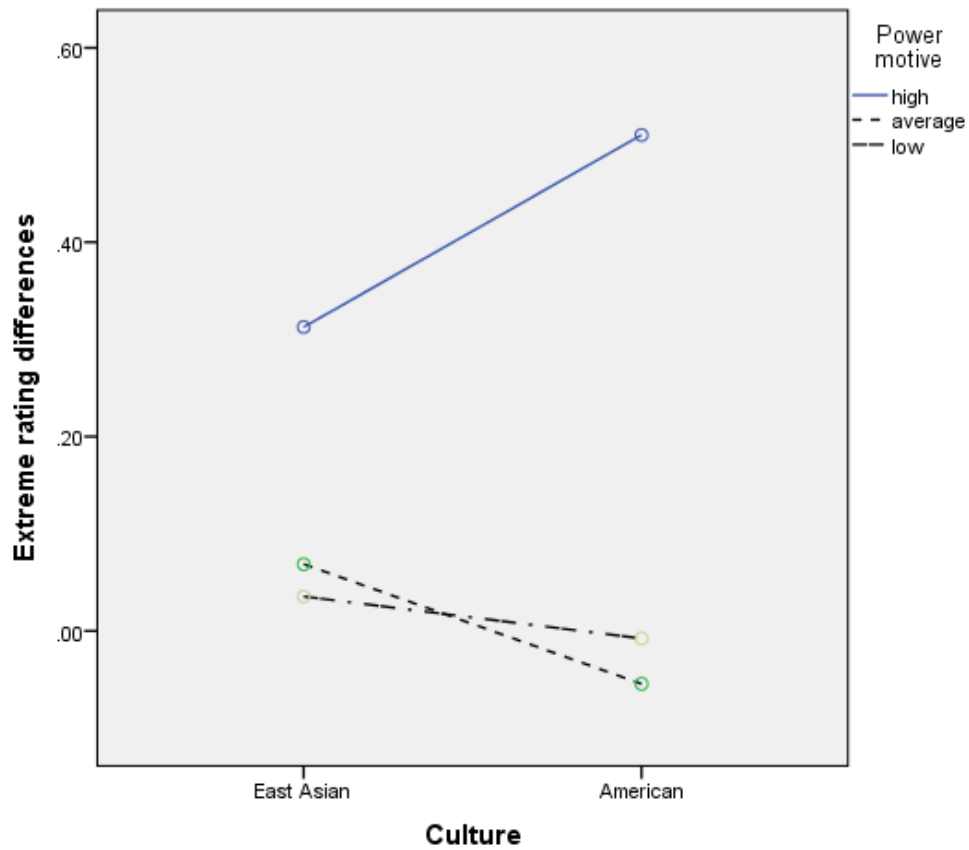


Figure 7: Extreme rating differences by power motive and culture

GEQ and leadership perception

Table 8 provides the descriptive statistics and correlations for GEQ, cultural group, and leadership recognition accuracy. Over all participants, GEQ scores were positively associated with leadership recognition accuracy scores for Western drawings ($r=.38, p< .01$) but negatively associated with leadership recognition accuracy scores for East Asian drawings ($r= -.29, p< .01$). The correlation between GEQ and

leadership recognition accuracy was computed and graphed for both the East Asian and Western participants (see Figure 8a and 8b, respectively).

Table 8a. Descriptive Statistics for GEQ and leadership perception

	M	SD	N
GEQ	3.83	.673	285
East Asian drawing	.49	.583	285
Western drawing	.93	.661	285

Table 8b. Correlations for GEQ and leadership perception

Measure	1	2	3
1. GEQ	-	-.290**	.381**
2. East Asian Drawing	-.290**	-	-.154**
3. Western Drawing	.381**	-.154**	-

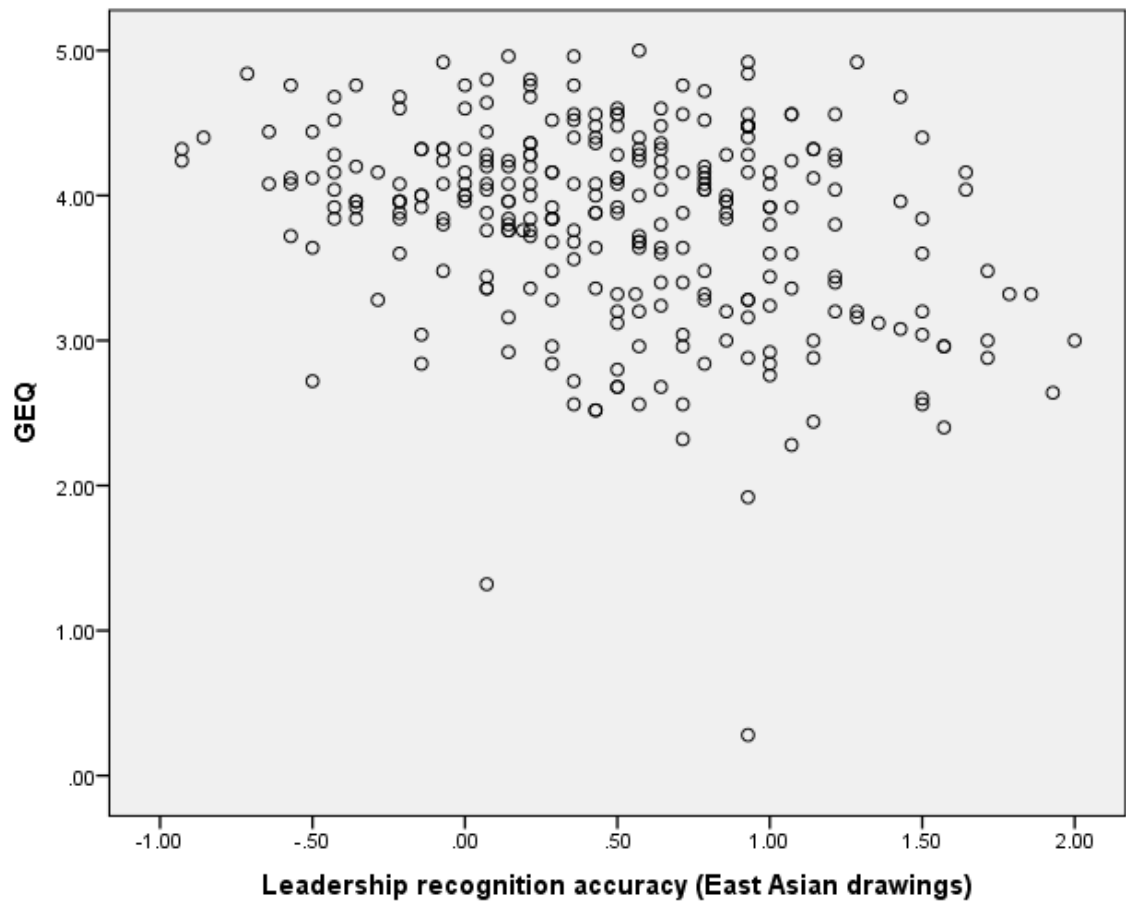


Figure 8a: Correlation between GEQ and leadership recognition accuracy for East Asian drawings

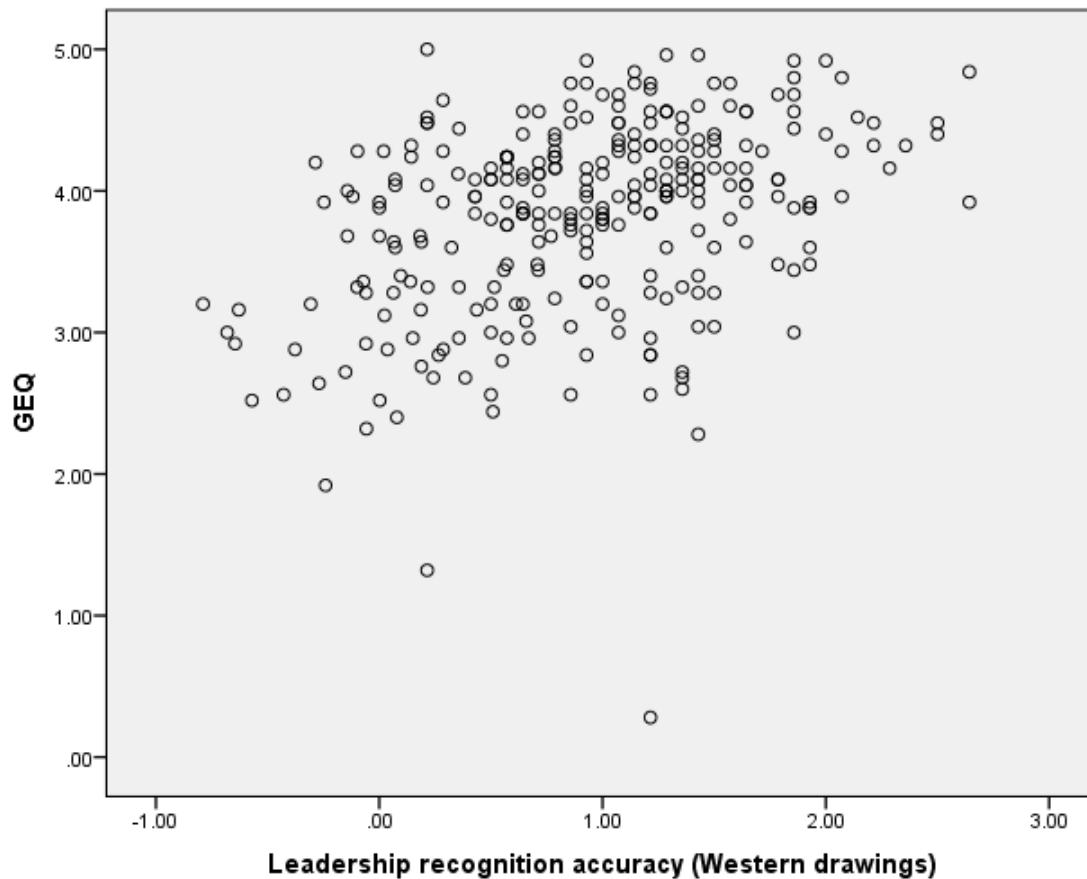


Figure 8b: Correlation between GEQ and leadership recognition accuracy for Western drawings

I also computed correlations for each cultural group. No significant correlation was found between GEQ and leadership recognition accuracy for either East Asian and Western drawings in the East Asian sample ($r = .06$, $p = .58$ and $r = -.08$, $p = .43$, see Table and Figure 9a and 9b respectively).

Table 9a. Descriptive Statistics for GEQ and leadership perception (only East Asian participants)

	M	SD	N
GEQ	3.14	.596	97
East Asian drawing	.78	.569	97
Western drawing	.55	.630	97

Table 9b. Correlations for GEQ and leadership perception (only East Asian participants)

Measure	1	2	3
1. GEQ	-	-.081	.057
2. East Asian Drawing	-.081	-	-.087
3. Western Drawing	.057	-.087	-

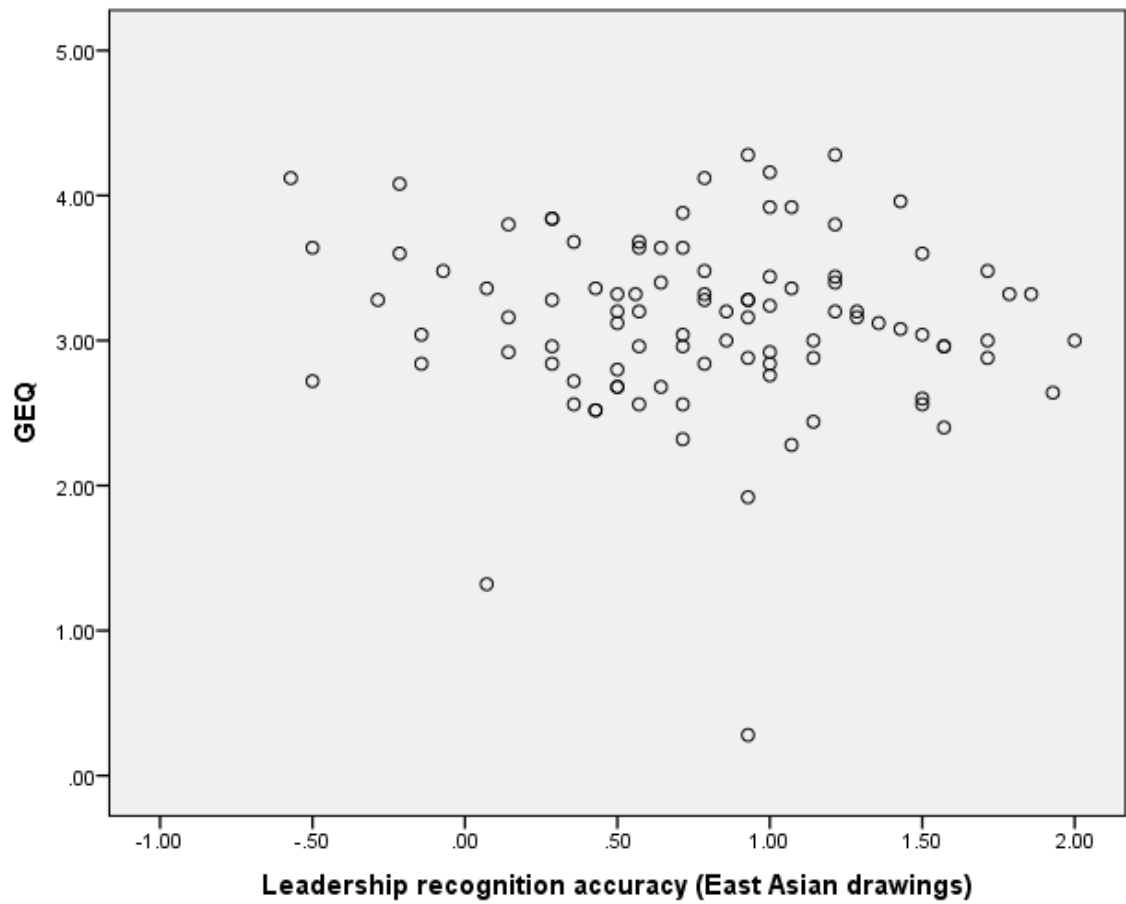


Figure 9a: Correlation between GEQ and leadership recognition accuracy for East Asian drawings among East Asians

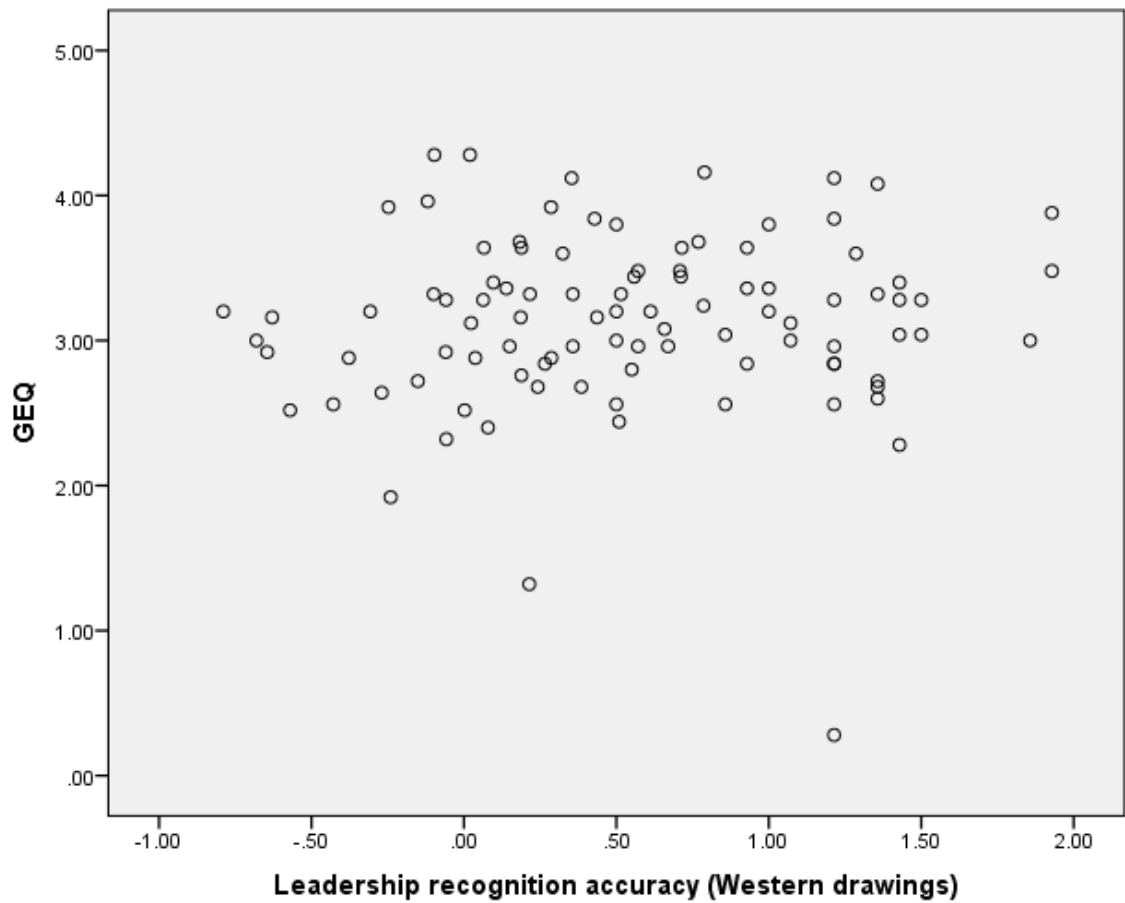


Figure 9b: Correlation between GEQ and leadership recognition accuracy for Western drawings among East Asians

No significant correlation was found between GEQ and leadership recognition accuracy for East Asian drawings in the Western group ($r = .01, p = .87$, see Table 10b and Figure 10a). However, there was a small correlation between GEQ and leadership recognition accuracy for Western drawings in the Western sample ($r = .20, p < .01$, see Table and Figure 10b).

Table 10a. Descriptive Statistics for GEQ and leadership perception (only American participants)

	M	SD	N
GEQ	4.18	.36	188
East Asian drawing	.34	.529	188
Western drawing	1.12	.590	188

Table 10b. Correlations for GEQ and leadership perception (only American participants)

Measure	1	2	3
1. GEQ	-	.012	.200**
2. East Asian Drawing	.012	-	.045
3. Western Drawing	.200**	.045	-

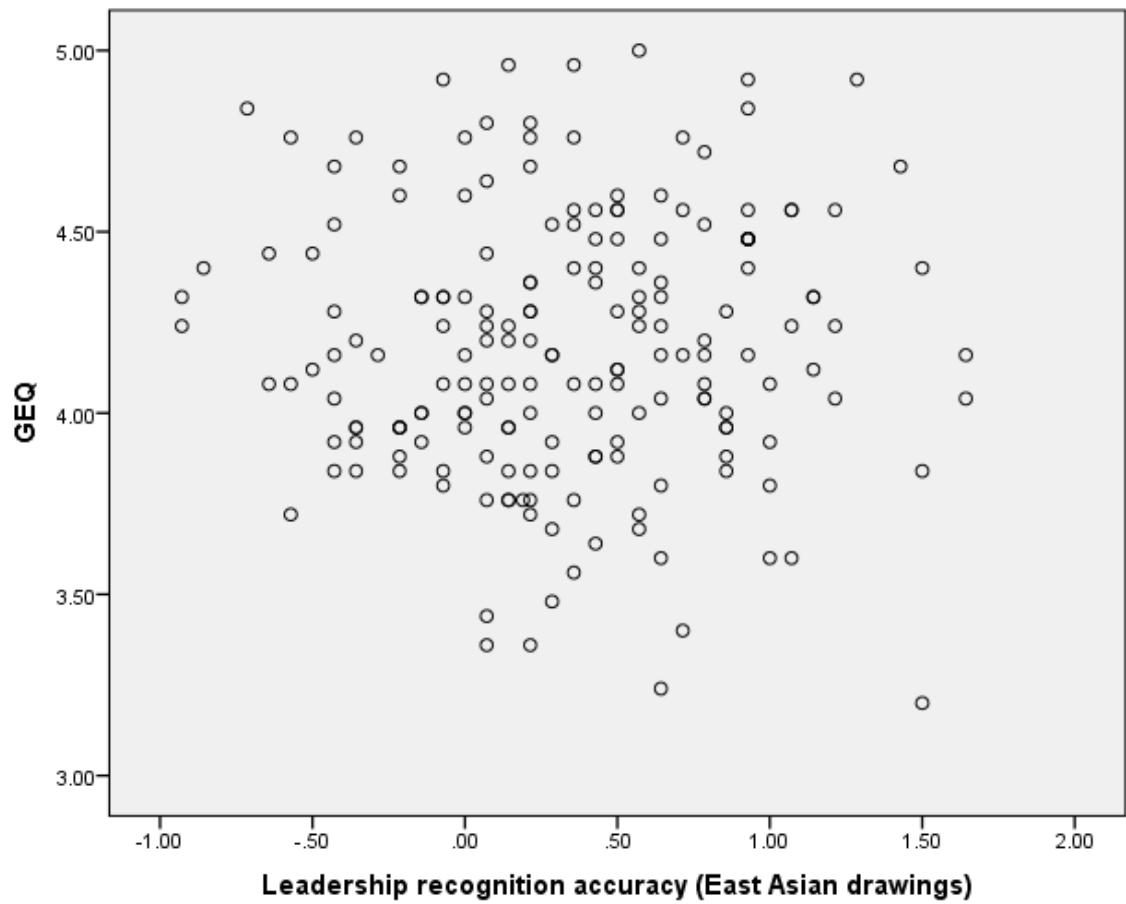


Figure 10a: Correlation between GEQ and leadership recognition accuracy for East Asian drawings among Americans

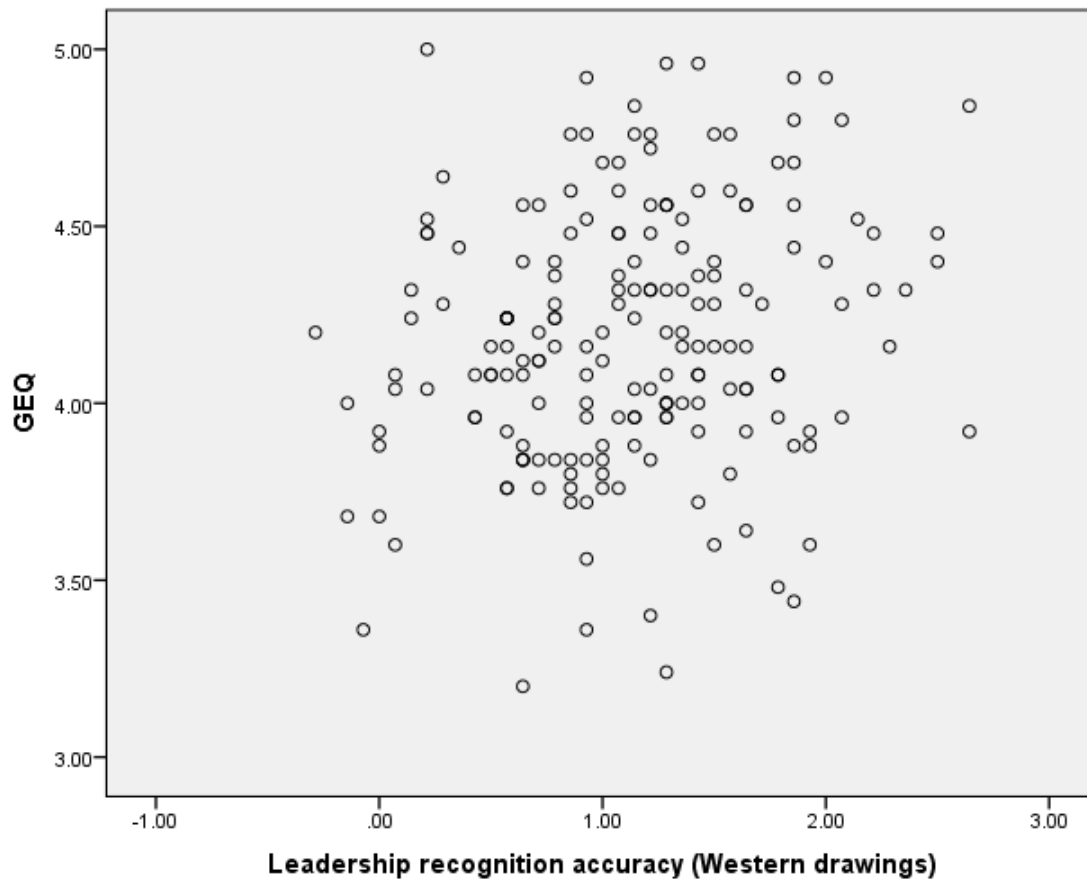


Figure 10b: Correlation for GEQ and leadership recognition accuracy for Western drawings among Americans

Discussion

This research provides support for the influence of both cultural and individual differences in leadership perception. Consistent with previous studies of culture and leadership perception, the present study provided evidence that leadership perception is, to some degree, culturally specific. This effect was found in people's responses to leader drawings from two different cultural groups. As predicted, participants showed more accurate recognition of leader drawings when viewing their own cultural groups' drawings. In other words, East Asians were better at recognizing leadership from

stimuli generated by East Asians whereas Westerners were better at recognizing leadership from stimuli generated by Westerners. Hypothesis 1 was supported.

I also found that contextual information was not always useful to participants. Contrary to my hypothesis 2, the results showed no difference between contextual-information and no contextual-information conditions. This finding contradicts previous research that suggests that people generally take context into account when they judge a focal figure's expression. This result is consistent with Ito et al. (2012) who found a stronger effect was found for both East Asians and Westerners when context appeared simultaneously with the target's facial information.

However, the Context \times Drawing type interaction was significant. Participants performed slightly better in the contextual information condition with East Asian drawings. Participants performed better in the no-contextual information condition with Western drawings. This is likely due to differences in sampling. Unlike earlier work, the present study recruited different nationalities, East Asians and Americans, from a single country, the United States. There is no doubt that these participants were exposed to each other's culture, being fellow students, and that the East Asian students have been at least partially acculturated. That is, East Asian participants may be to some degree "Americans" despite their Asian nationality. If this is the case, East Asian participants might depend less on contextual information since they have learned a more analytic cognitive style. Although the United States is a country with diverse populations, as suggested by Scandura and Dorfman (2004), it would be useful to investigate samples from different countries to understand similarities and differences in leadership perception.

Furthermore, a Culture \times Context interaction was significant, indicating that East Asians outperformed Westerners in the absence of contextual cues and Westerners outperformed East Asians in the presence of contextual cues. This result contradicts hypothesis 2 and other culture and cognition studies. However, I found cultural group differences in the use of contextual information and focal figure information in both East Asian and Western drawings. The results indicated that participants depend on contextual cues when drawing type and culture were congruent. For example, with East Asian drawings, East Asians not only performed better than Westerners, they performed especially well in the contextual information condition. On the other hand, with Western drawings, Westerners not only performed better than East Asians, they performed especially well in the contextual information condition. It is possible that people understand contextual cues easily if they originate in their own cultural group, whereas if contextual cues are drawn by members of other cultural groups, they might be confusing and harder to understand. As a result, culturally inappropriate cues interfered with participants' judgment of leadership.

The results confirmed hypothesis 3 and Foti and Luch's (1992) argument. My findings regarding the power motive and rating tendency for leader and non-leader stimuli provide support for the idea that individuals generate more extreme evaluations when they have expertise in and familiarity with a domain. Since high motive people are sensitive to and have sharpened perceptual acuity for motive-relevant stimuli (Perugini & Prestwich, 2007; Sacco & Hugenberg, 2012), it is reasonable to consider high power motive people to be "experts" in the social power domain. The findings from the CRT-L ratings indicated that high power motive people gave higher ratings for leader figures but

lower scores for non-leader figures compared to the other power motive groups. It is also important to point out that moderate and low power motive people differed little in their ratings (see Figure 6). This finding supports the contention that motive structure is categorical rather than dimensional. That is, “high” scores on measures such as the CRT-L identify people with a highly elaborated motive central to their personalities. “Low” and “moderate” scores on these measures indicate the absence of such a motive. Thus, scores on such measures should be interpreted as proportional to the probability that an individual belongs to a certain category rather than indicating the “amount” or “strength” of a motive.

Consistent with previous cross-cultural research, I found within-cultural variation in motive scores. As shown in Figure 7, there were no group differences in power motive, indicating that people with high power scores are indeed motivated by power, regardless of culture. At least some dispositions may be culturally general.

I found a small correlation between GEQ scores and leadership recognition accuracy. This can be due to item sampling, administration, and self-presentation issues. First, the GEQ only measured and compared “being American” and “not being American”. Therefore, the instrument was limited with respect to cultural specifics. Second, as Tsai, Ying, and Lee (2000) pointed out, the GEQ was administered in English to all participants in this study. It is possible that participants respond differently if they complete the GEQ in their own languages. Third, it is also possible that being exposed to people of another culture as college students opened their minds or at least made them believe that they are supposed to be the open minded. If that is the case, their answers

may portray self-presentation bias; American participants perhaps tried to appear “culturally sensitive”.

Implications and suggestions for future research

This research has a number of implications. Theoretically, the findings extend research revealing the cultural specifics of leadership perception, suggesting that one important aspect of differences in leadership perception is cognitive style (i.e., holistic vs. analytic). The current study is unique and noteworthy in that it applied methods that engage implicit and automatic processes to measure leadership perception. I used pictorial stimuli directly generated by people from each cultural group, assuming that if people can generate leadership images reflecting their own cultural principles, independent samples of the same cultural group should be able to recognize and perceive leadership in those images. New in sampling was a concern in this study. Since all participants were college students of different nationalities within a single country, they may not truly represent populations in different cultures. Future research should focus on recruiting people who were born and raised in specific cultures. Although the method in this study is not directly related to embodiment research (Niedenthal et al., 2005), evidence for leadership cues in drawings may have important implications for the embodiment research in the future. In order to test this question, aspects of leader images (e.g., posture, height, size, etc.) drawings need to be analyzed.

The research also provides support for individual differences and the cross cultural validity of the CRT-L. The pattern of CRT-L results for East Asians and Americans was similar. The CRT-L was diagnostic of a power motive in both cultures, at least in terms of this task. Future studies should examine aspects of interpersonal

behavior as well. Moreover, the findings hint that the power motive can be regarded as categorical rather than dimensional. This idea should be pursued with the CRT-L and other motive constructs. Ongoing work to develop the CRT-L for Koreans in the Korean language is also worthwhile. I and other industrial and organizational psychologists in South Korea translated the items in South Korea by focusing on equivalence in the meaning of questions. Future research is needed to develop CRT-L items that specifically apply to Koreans. This will help establish the cultural generality or specificity of power and other motives.

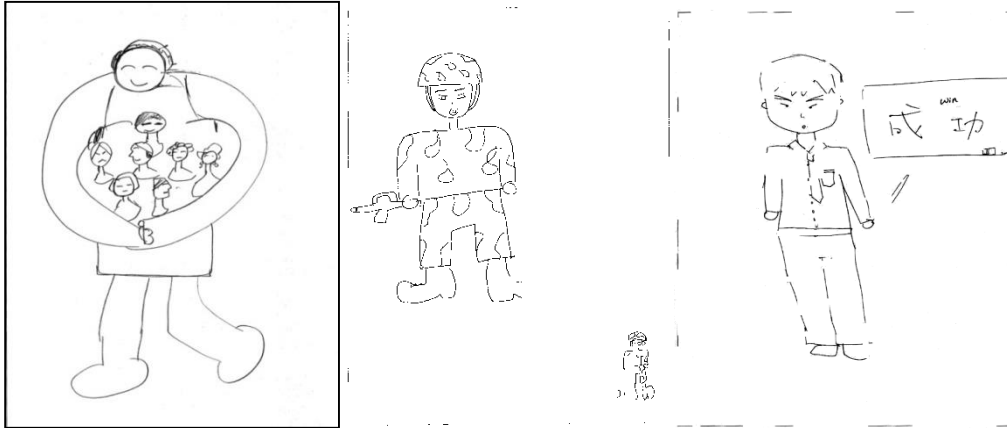
Practically, this work highlights an important issue in cultural and individual differences in organizations. For example, the findings explain why Dimension Based Assessment Centers in South Korea were not as effective as practitioners expected. According to Jackson, Ahmad, Grace, and Yoon (2010), definitions and uses of the dimensions in South Korea differed from those used in Western countries. Koreans focus more on behaviors that are situation-specific than dimensions across situations. Thus, assessors have difficulties giving dimension-based feedback and evaluations. This research provides partial evidence that the problem results from ignoring the role of the holistic cognitive style, which emphasizes context among East Asians. Thus, this research can help design selection or evaluation tools such as Assessment Centers in East Asia that better reflect contextual influences and cultural specifics. Another practical implication of the findings reported here is for evaluation of employees' or applicants' implicit motives. Many researchers have addressed the problems of self-report in organizational settings (Podsakoff & Organ, 1986). Thus, improving and validating the CRT-L and other implicit measures will be valuable in selection and placement policies.

In my suggestions above, I only address a few of the many possible avenues for future research on cultural and individual differences in leadership. I believe this study is a first step toward understanding fundamental cultural differences and the power motive in leadership perception. I hope it will help future research, extending findings about the influence of cultural orientation and power motive on leadership perception to many different cultural groups and to important aspects of leadership performance.

APPENDIX A

DRAWING STIMULI

East Asian's drawings(Leader)



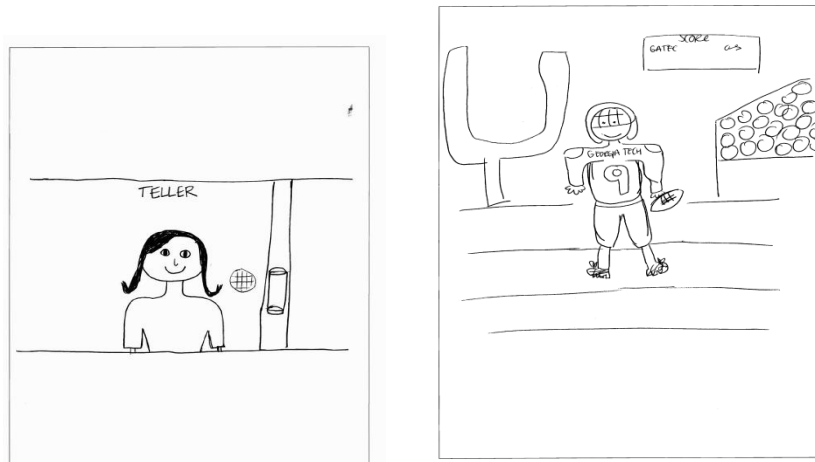
East Asian's drawings (Non-leader)



American's drawings (Leader)



American's drawings (Non-leader)



APPENDIX B

LEADERSHIP ATTRIBUTE RATING

Directions: Read each statement and determine to what degree you agree with the statement on a scale of 1 to 5. Put your number in the blank to the left of the statement:

1= Most likely

2= Likely

3= Unsure

4= Unlikely

5= Most unlikely

_____ 1. How likely is this person to be dedicated? [Leader Attributes]

_____ 2. How likely is this person to be intelligent? [Leader Attributes]

_____ 3. How likely is this person to be charismatic? [Leader Attributes]

_____ 4. How likely is this person to be decisive? [Leader Attributes]

- _____ 5. How likely is this person to be organized? [Leader Attributes]
- _____ 6. How likely is this person to be responsible? [Leader Attributes]
- _____ 7. How likely is this person to be directing? [Leader Attributes]
- _____ 8. How likely is this person to be distant? [Non leader Attributes]
- _____ 9. How likely is this person to be violent? [Non leader Attributes]
- _____ 10. How likely is this person to be sports-minded? [Non leader Attributes]
- _____ 11. How likely is this person to be blue collar? [Non leader Attributes]
- _____ 12. How likely is this person to be wealthy? [Non leader Attributes]
- _____ 13. How likely is this person to be easy going? [Non leader Attributes]
- _____ 14. How likely is this person to be religious? [Non leader Attributes]
- _____ 15. How likely is this person to be caring? [Low leader Attributes]
- _____ 16. How likely is this person to be a good administrator? [Low leader Attributes]
- _____ 17. How likely is this person to be unselfish? [Low leader Attributes]
- _____ 18. How likely is this person to be well dressed? [Low leader Attributes]

APPENDIX C

Please use the following scale to indicate how much you agree with the following statements. Circle your response.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I was raised in way that was American.					1 2 3 4 5
2. When I was growing up, I was exposed to American culture.					1 2 3 4 5
3. Now, I am exposed to American culture.					1 2 3 4 5
4. Compared to how much I negatively criticize other cultures, I criticize American culture less.					1 2 3 4 5
5. I am embarrassed/ashamed of American culture.					1 2 3 4 5
6. I am proud of American culture.					1 2 3 4 5
7. American culture has had a positive impact on my life.					1 2 3 4 5
8. I believe that my children should read, write, and speak English.					1 2 3 4 5
9. I have a strong belief that my children should have American names only.					1 2 3 4 5

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 10. I go to places where people are American. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 11. I am familiar with American cultural practices and customs. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 12. I relate to my partner or spouse in a way that is American. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 13. I admire people who are American. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 14. I would prefer to live in an American community. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 15. I listen to American music. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 16. I perform American dance. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 17. I engage in American forms of recreation. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 18. I celebrate American holidays. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 19. At home, I eat American food. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 20. At restaurants, I eat American food. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 21. When I was a child, my friends were American. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 22. Now, my friends are American. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 23. I wish to be accepted by Americans. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 24. The people I date are American. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 25. Overall, I am American. | 1 2 3 4 5 |

Please use the following scale to answer the following questions. Circle your response.

1	2	3	4	5
Very much	Much	Somewhat	A little	Not at all

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 26. How much do you speak English <i>at home</i> ? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 27. How much do you speak English <i>at school</i> ? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 28. How much do you speak English <i>at work</i> ? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 29. How much do you speak English <i>at prayer</i> ? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 30. How much do you speak English <i>with friends</i> ? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 31. How much do you view, read, or listen to English <i>on TV</i> ? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 32. How much do you view, read, or listen to English <i>in film</i> ? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 33. How much do you view, read, or listen to English <i>on the radio</i> ? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 34. How much do you view, read, or listen to English <i>in literature</i> ? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 35. How fluently do you <i>speak</i> English? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 36. How fluently do you <i>read</i> English? | 1 2 3 4 5 |

37. How fluently do you *write* English? 1 2 3 4 5
38. How fluently do you *understand* English? 1 2 3 4 5

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