Situational determinants of leadership structure

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Leadership has long been a topic of considerable interest in the social sciences. Nearly every aspect of leadership has been the subject of some degree of study. The present paper is concerned with some of the situational factors which determine the form of leadership which will arise and be accepted in a group. Two basic questions will be considered:

1. Under what conditions will there be pressure toward centralized authoritarian leadership?
2. Under what conditions is a more participative democratic form of leadership likely to arise?

While this is certainly not a new topic, this paper attempts to develop a somewhat more systematic approach than has ordinarily been undertaken toward this subject. I feel that the "model" developed in this paper provides a framework or structure for further experimentation and theoretical development that has perhaps previously been lacking.

My initial interest in making such a study was stimulated by observations made last summer in Indonesia and Burma of a strong desire, particularly among certain high government officials, for centralized control. I observed this same trend beginning to develop in Malaya. Recent releases from Ghana suggest that this situation is not confined to Asia.

Particularly in Indonesia, which is the situation most familiar to me, there was an original attempt at developing a free society and a free enterprise economy. In each of the countries mentioned there was no revolution in depth establishing the centralized control over more democratic institutions, nor has there been any other single totally disrupting occurrence which might account for the shift toward centralization. Though stress is certainly present, the overt crisis situation which is usually used to account for the rise of dictatorship is not entirely relevant. A more refined approach is needed.

Although each of these countries is unique in its own way, they all seem to have certain common elements in their situations which may be very important in exerting pressure for these centralizing trends. Mention of these seems helpful as a starting point for discussion.

1. Each of them is in a sense in a high drive state. There is great desire, at least among major elements of the population, for improvement and development.
2. In addition to the drive for development, there is a related but separate drive for national status to compensate for feelings of inferior status developed through years of colonial suppression.
3. A sense of crisis exists which is closely related to the high drive state and results in part from the self-imposed

Figure 1

	High goal structure	Low goal structure
Democratic		
Authoritarian		

adverse results of many of the programs which have been attempted.

4. A reasonably definite goal structure is established which may be spelled out in great and specific detail as evidenced in the five-year plans, eight-year plans, etc., which establish production goals and welfare measures to be attained at specific points in time.

5. All possess a low level of technical skill and an ill-developed understanding of the economic forces with which they must deal. The path to their goal is unclear and they are attempting to force clarity through control, although they lack the real understanding in many cases which is needed to accomplish effective control.

Development of a Conceptual Model

The first problem is one of developing a framework within which the important variables causing pressure for structural shifts can be studied and interrelated. From this framework, or model, it may then be possible to trace the forces leading a group or society from democratic to authoritarian forms of leadership and to compare these with the forces which lead the group in the opposite direction from an authoritarian to a democratic form.

This paper offers a very simplified proposal in order to facilitate initial study, even though simplification to the extent currently proposed may not be entirely realistic and certainly does not cover all possible cases. For example, no attempt has been made at this point to deal with laissez-faire forms of leadership.

We will, for the present, think in terms of a two-dimensional space represented by a four-cell matrix. The purpose is to represent discrete dimensions of authoritarian and democratic leadership against discrete dimensions of high goal structure and low goal structure. This is illustrated in Figure 1. The reasons for including the high and low goal structure dimensions should become clear later in the discussion.

In the following discussion the attempt is made to characterize each of these dimensions. While it is realized that these dimensions in fact exist as continua, they are treated here as discrete for purposes of simplicity.

GOAL STRUCTURE

Although I am not really satisfied with the terms *high* and *low goal structure* as being clearly descriptive of the concepts which I have in mind, I have not yet found a term which is substantially better in this respect. For this reason I suggest that preconceptions

as to what the terms represent be avoided and their meaning instead be developed from the following discussion.

The consideration of goals came into the study at the very beginning in a comparative discussion of Russian communism with its presently authoritarian leadership, and American democracy. In the United States approach we stress more *how* we want progress, rather than *where*, thus placing somewhat more emphasis on the method than on the outcome. Our goal is actually a continuing one and although we look for continual material and spiritual progress, we set no specific terminal goals and establish no time schedule. Our goals are to a large extent *non-operational*.[1]

On the other hand, the Russians seek to build a way of life not yet attained. Their stated orientation is toward future attainment and involves emphasis on change rather than on preservation. Their goals are fairly concrete or *operational* in such things as surpassing free world industrial output and communizing the world. Such terminal goals as these assume great importance, and lead to the establishing of a definite timetable of accomplishment.

I feel these goal differences may have a great importance in helping to explain the differences in the forms of government adopted. It was consideration of these factors which led to adopting the terms high and low goal structure which referred to the clarity of expression or structuring of future goals which the group was seeking to attain. As the model developed further, this description broke down to some extent as it was

[1] March and Simon developed the concept of *operational* and non-operational goals. "When a means of testing actions is perceived to relate a particular goal or criterion with possible courses of action, the criterion will be called operational. Otherwise the criterion will be non-operational" (March and Simon, 1958, p. 155).

found that the cognitive clarity was not so essential as the terminal quality. Still no alternative has been suggested which seems to be a real improvement. The original concept still fits very nicely into the final model, but the present model is not so limiting as the original concept.

HIGH GOAL STRUCTURE

In this situation we are concerned with groups which have rather specific goals which are of importance in the consensus of group opinion. The group is looked upon as a means of carrying out tasks or operations which will lead to these goals. It is not generally characterized by the desire to maintain the status quo, but rather by the desire to work toward a new situation or to attain something which the group has not presently attained. Group goals assume considerably more importance than individual goals. Individuals see the attainment of the group goal as prerequisite to the attainment of their own goals.

In some situations there may be a specific threat to the status quo which is introduced from a source external to the group. In this case the "new situation" would be the status quo with the threat removed. If a crisis has already occurred, the goal might be *reattainment* of the *old* status quo, but it would *not* be *maintainance* of the *present* status quo.

LOW GOAL STRUCTURE

The group in the low goal structure situation will have fewer or much less important shared *achievement* goals. Such goals as exist will more likely relate to maintaining routine functions necessary to maintaining the status quo or making slight readjustments in it. There will be less commonality of individual goals, and attraction to the group might be considered more social in nature. Emphasis will tend to be on individual rather than on group goals. To the extent that the

as dependent upon accomplishment of these group goals.

Leadership

In the discussion of democratic and authoritarian leadership, I have relied on the operational definitions developed by White and Lippitt (1960, pp. 26–7). Further elaboration will be made at a later stage concerning additional characteristics. For the present these operational definitions seem appropriate for either large or small groups. Since these are both well-known concepts, little further elaboration at this point seems necessary.

AUTHORITARIAN LEADERSHIP

1. "All determination of policy by the leader.
2. "Techniques and activity steps dictated by the authority, one at a time, so that future steps are always uncertain to a large degree.
3. "The leader usually dictates the particular work task and work companion of each member.
4. "The leader tends to be 'personal' in his praise and criticism of the work of each member, but remains aloof from active group participation except when demonstrating."

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

1. "All policies a matter of group discussion and decision, encouraged and assisted by the leader.
2. "Activity perspective gained during discussion period. General steps to group goal sketched, and where technical advice is needed the leader suggests two or more alternative procedures from which the choice can be made.
3. "The members are free to work with whomever they choose, and the division of tasks is left up to the group.
4. "The leader is 'objective' or 'fact-minded' in his praise and criticism, and tries to be a regular group member in its spirit without doing too much of the work."

The Dynamic Characteristics of the Model

So far we have been concerned only with the development of static definitional concepts. The real interest, however, is in the dynamic characteristics of the model—the forces causing shifts from one to another of the cells of the matrix.

THE INFLUENCE OF STRESS

The term stress is used here to include actual stress, motivation, desire, etc., regardless of the source from which it might arise. The stress may have one of two origins. First would be from natural disaster or from some other form of externally imposed threat. The second would be motivation arising from increased level of expectation, changes in values, etc. In other words stress arising in the first case is essentially a threat to the status quo as in the cases of the crisis studies where a present equilibrium is threatened. In the second case stress results rather from an increase in the level of equilibrium along some dimension of desire.

The outcome seems much the same regardless of the source of the stress, but the two situations may appear somewhat different when they are experienced, and may have later implications for refinements in the model. Probably the first will tend to be more severe in its effects.

Our attention will be directed first to movements along the goal structure continuum, or rather shifts between high and low goal structure cells while the leadership pattern remains constant. At this point the

Figure 2

	High goal structure	Low goal structure
Democratic	← stress —	— non-stress →
Authoritarian	← stress —	— non-stress →

assertion will be tested that an increase in situational stress will cause an increase in goal structuring, while reduction in stress will lead to a reduction in goal structuring. This is diagramed in Figure 2.

STRESS AND TOLERANCE FOR AMBIGUITY

There have been a number of studies attempting to relate stress and tolerance of ambiguity. Wispe and Lloyd did a study of 43 life insurance representatives in which they related sales productivity, preference for permissive or structured group organization, and amount of threat perceived in the organizational environment (Wispe and Lloyd, 1955). Using a χ^2 test they find a significant tendency for persons who perceived little threat in their environment to prefer permissiveness in the group organization. Those with a higher threat orientation preferred the more highly structured group situation.

Smock found that groups placed under stress showed a greater tendency to make an early attempt to recognize structure in an ambiguous situation (Smock, 1955). Furthermore, they tended to adhere more strongly to their prerecognition hypothesis in spite of increasing incongruity between their hypothesis and the stimuli.

Cohen reports, from a study using an interview situation, that a highly significant relationship exists between lack of situational structure and the perception of threat in the power exercised by others (Cohen, 1959). This experiment seems to suggest that a perception of threat and the anxiety or stress caused by such a perception can be reduced by seeking to increase situational structure.

STRESS AND GOAL CLARITY

Though specific empirical evidence has not been found, it might be suggested that in the absence of stress a group will tend to maintain less structured goals or objectives. This is only to say that we tend to seek to maintain the status quo when our drives are satisfied and we feel secure. The development of specific goals which might be difficult to attain develops the possibility of failure and creates anxiety or the pressure for attaining these goals. A less structured goal situation is safer and less threatening.

When stress is introduced, the status quo is no longer satisfactory and change is sought to reduce the anxiety. The highly non-operational goal of anxiety reduction is introduced. If the cause of the stress is ambiguous, this in itself will further serve to increase the anxiety. It can be expected that the first efforts will be made to reduce the ambiguity by attempting to identify or give structure to the source of the anxiety.

Another source of ambiguity will be present when, even though the source of the stress is clear, it is not exactly clear what

actions can be taken to remove the source of the stress.

Anxiety seems to serve as a motivation for three actions, which must logically be made in sequence. The completion of any one of these will serve to reduce a part of the anxiety.

1. Identify the source of the anxiety.
2. Identify the steps which must be taken to remove the anxiety.
3. Carry out the steps identified in 2.

The first two parts of the sequence are concerned primarily with reduction of ambiguity, but are nearly essential to successful purposeful (as opposed to random) actions to reduce the anxiety. The ambiguity is a frustrating experience because it stands as a barrier to successful action. As Lewin points out, "An unstructured region has the same effect as an impassable obstacle. Being in unstructured surroundings leads to uncertainty of behavior because it is not clear whether a certain action will lead to or away from a goal" (Lewin, 1959, p. 255).

Torrence, who studied a group of 200 Air Force personnel downed over enemy territory during World War II or Korea, relates the results of situations where the ambiguity is not reduced (Torrence, 1954). He found that in this very stressful survival situation two types of structural unclarity were likely to be evident: (1) Unclear field structure, or the "degree to which certain patterns of interdependencies or linkages have been stabilized." He found that these were likely to lead to either random, trial-and-error behavior, or to development of a feeling of hopelessness which usually led to surrender to the enemy.

Studies have found that in stressful situations where goal and path clarity is not established, there will be a tendency to avoid the situation or to leave the group.

Gerard reported that low-status subjects whose group goals were unclear tended to withdraw from their group, become dissatisfied with their roles, and to devaluate their own effectiveness (Gerard, 1960, p. 397).

Weitz conducted a study of 474 life insurance salesmen who tend, as the nature of their occupation, to be under considerable competitive stress. A detailed book describing the work to be done was given to 226 of them. The other 248 were not given the book. There was a considerably higher rate of termination among those for whom the situation was not clearly defined (Weitz, 1956).

It should be quite clear that once a goal is attained, it is no longer a goal. If the goal has been attained and the anxiety reduced, the group has almost automatically relocated itself in the low goal structure situation. Of course this is looking to a sort of "pure" case. Particularly in a larger organization it would be highly unlikely that all goals would be attained and all anxieties removed at any particular point in time. It seems at least conceptually possible, however, to think in terms of an over-all index of anxiety and degree of goal structuring in order to place the group along the goal structure continuum.

Changes in Leadership

The shifts from one goal structure cell to another are merely incidental to a unified hypothesis regarding the development of pressures for shifts between democratic and authoritarian leadership.
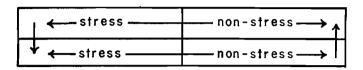
THE "NATURAL" SHIFTS IN LEADERSHIP PATTERNS

While it is possible for these shifts between democratic and authoritarian leadership to take place at either the high or low goal structure levels, the hypothesis to be tested suggests that *unless outside pressure or force is exerted,* the direction of the shifts in the high goal structure situation will be

Figure 3

	High goal structure	Low goal structure
Democratic	←—stress———	——non-stress——→
Authoritarian	←—stress———	——non-stress——→

only from democratic to authoritarian and in the low goal structure situation it will be only from authoritarian to democratic. This is represented very simply in Figure 3.

HIGH STRESS SHIFT FROM DEMOCRATIC TO AUTHORITARIAN LEADERSHIP

We have already established that under stressful conditions there will be strong pressures exerted for the development of clear goals and clearly defined methods of attaining them. In going one step further, we may also expect that the more compelling and/or the more clearly structured the goal, the greater will be the desire to take a direct approach to the attainment of the goal. Pleasant socializing is replaced with more intense emphasis on achievement. This would suggest attempting to attain complete control over any ambiguities in the environment, especially those ambiguities which take the form of deviant individuals or subgroups. The greater the immediacy or urgency, the greater the demand that all available resources be channeled directly toward the attainment of this goal. This is sometimes difficult to do while still attempting to maintain truly democratic institutions.

Deviants loom as frustration-creating barriers to the goal attainment. The most direct way to remove the barrier is to control it and move it at will. There are two basic forms which this control may take. Of course, here again we must realize that we are in reality dealing with a continuum. The first is the control common to democratic institutions where certain limits are set on action, and control is carried out by the policing of exceptions. Actual attainment of goals is more likely to depend on conformity attained through perceived commonality of interest or through group social pressures. The second form of control is the authoritarian form which seeks to maintain absolute control over every action taking place within the organization. The greater the pressures for collective action and the greater the tendency for deviation within the group, the more likely it is that this form of control will have the greater appeal.

The assertion is explicit in the model that a democratic organization can maintain itself with a well-defined goal structure. It now remains to establish the conditions under which this is likely to be the case, as well as stating those conditions under which the appeal of authoritarianism will be more overpowering.

When is democracy retained?

We can see from the nature of the control methods available under democracy that the success of democracy in the face of crisis depends to large degree on the cohesiveness of the group and its ability to apply sanctions through social pressure. This is most assured if the goal is clear, the path to the goal is

clear, and individuals identify their own ob-
jectives with group objectives and agree on
the methods of attaining these. This means
essentially a minimum of unresolved am-
biguity. The statement is to some extent
redundant in that when the goal and path
are clear it is almost a definitional matter that
all who agree on the goal or identify with the
group will also agree on the path. To the
extent that there is disagreement, we might
consider the goal or the path to contain ele-
ments of ambiguity.[3]

When is there a shift to authoritarianism?

Stress reduction in itself does not provide
a unifying group goal due to its rather ex-
treme non-operational, ambiguous character.
Cohesiveness under stress is dependent on
some agreement as to the source of the stress,
or on the goal, the attainment of which will
reduce the stress. Further cohesiveness can
be developed through agreement on the path
to the attainment of the goal. Since the co-
hesiveness of the group becomes more and
more task-oriented as the stress increases, the
group will be evaluated in terms of its po-
tential for providing a means of completing
the task-stress reduction. Thus the less the
agreement within the group with regard to
how the objective may be attained, the less

the individual who disagrees with the group
view will be attracted to the group and the
more he will attempt to take independent
action, form opposition groups, etc.

This situation may be expected to lead to
more overt action on the part of leaders to
control these deviants in order to reduce the
ambiguity which they face in their decision-
making. Control over the deviants gives
them greater control over their environment
and removes impediments to what they con-
sider to be effective action. The greater the
stress, and the less the clarity and general
agreement on goals and path, the greater
the compulsion among the group members to
give power to a central person who in es-
sence promises to remove the ambiguity and
reduce the stress. Hook points out that,
". . . insofar as alternatives of action are
open, or even conceived to be open—a need
will be felt for a hero to initiate, organize,
and lead" (Hook, 1943, p. 13).

That there is a tendency toward reliance
on a power figure in ambiguous situations
may be demonstrated at even very low levels
on the continuum as is demonstrated in a
study by Waring, Dwyer, and Junkin (1951,
p. 255). They found that during meals on
the first day of nursery school, children were
more ready to acquiesce to the advice of the
adult than later on when they felt themselves
to be on better known ground for resisting.
In other words, during the period of initial
ambiguity, they tended to submit to an
authoritarian leader on whom they relied to
help structure the situation.

Hamblin found in laboratory groups sub-
jected to apparent crisis in a problem-solving
experience, a tendency to replace the old
leader with a new leader if the old leader did
not have an obvious solution to the crisis
problem (Hamblin, 1960). Hertzler did an
analysis of 35 historical dictatorships. Al-
though his method was not as systematic and

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[3] Although this seems the situation most con-
ducive to maintaining democratic leadership in
time of stress or even crisis, it may be seen that
there is also a danger in complete agreement,
because in this case there may be too little con-
cern with maintaining restrictions on the power
of leaders. If those in power are opportunists,
this provides their opportunity to establish
authoritarian control. Thus even when the real
crisis is passed, the people may find that now
they are unable to regain the power which they
originally passed to the central authority. "Where
a democracy is wise, it will wholeheartedly co-
operate with its leaders and at the same time be
suspicious of the powers delegated to them—
a difficult task but one which must be solved if
democracy is not to become, as often in the past,
a school for tyrants" (Hook, 1943, p. 14).

objective as might be desired, his conclusion is consistent with the one reached here.

A befuddled and fearsome mass in time of crisis is nearly always ready, nay anxious, to give over control to anyone who gives evidence of ability to wield it efficiently. This situation, in turn, both demands and provides the opportunity for a leader or a cohesive minority group which offers a ready made formula of social procedure and which promises a dynamic attack upon the problems [Hertzler, 1940, p. 160].

Other experiments have demonstrated increased suggestibility in situations of ambiguity which point up the increased possibility for an authoritarian leader to introduce distorting suggestions when ambiguity is present. Luchins and Luchins presented subjects with a picture identification task (Luchins, 1955). Subjects were influenced by an overheard judgment and by the experimenter's evaluation of the communication as right or wrong. Although there was more agreement with the true than with the false communications, the conformity with false communications, and failures to respond were higher for the ambiguous than for the clear-cut pictures.

Coffin conducted a series of studies which are relevant to the present problem. In one case he used the Rorschach ink-blot tests as the ambiguous stimulus (Coffin, 1941). Subjects were given a fictitious journal article stating that business and professional men would see the blots in one way while laborers would see them in another way. Using college students as subjects, the conclusion was reached that "subjects may be influenced by suggestion not only to accept or assent to a suggested statement, but actively to construct the imaginative situation in accordance with the suggestion given" (p. 64). From this not-very-surprising conclusion we see a laboratory demonstration of an often used political technique to force judgments in unfavorable situations.

"A good American will recognize that . . . etc."

Another experiment by Coffin revealed low but consistent correlation between suggestibility and difficulty of a set of math problems (1941). The degree of suggestibility declined with years of mathematical training. This may have particular revelance in the underdeveloped countries where the tasks are indeed difficult, yet the level of training is very low. It is in these countries where there seems to be the greatest susceptibility to authoritarian leadership.[4]

Still another experiment conducted by Coffin, used sound stimuli and again found that suggestibility increased as the ambiguity of the assigned task increased (Coffin, 1941).

~~This study was concerned with~~ Shifts from authoritarian to democratic leadership under low stress. In the low stress situation, it would seem difficult for authoritarian leadership to maintain itself. We can expect that the power held by the authoritarian figure will be reduced as was found in a study by Hamblin (1960). He found that the person with highest influence in a group had the greatest influence (relative to other members of the group) during periods of crisis. This influence decreased as the goal was attained and the crisis was thereby reduced or removed.

Once major group goals have been attained, the cohesiveness of the group will once again come to depend more upon the socializing process. Greater importance will be placed on the attempt to satisfy individual

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[4] When Hook points out that, "A successful democracy, . . . , may honor its statesmen: but it must honor its teachers more . . ." (1943, p. 238), he is in a way suggesting that a democracy must be able to decrease situational ambiguity through increased knowledge of the situations likely to be encountered rather than relying upon a hero leader to provide this structure.

needs which may have been either sacrificed or frustrated by the authoritarian leadership.

As in the case of the White and Lippitt study there will be decreased satisfaction with the authoritarian structure and the opportunity for greater individual participation and self-determination will be desired. In many cases the surface expressions of this discontent exhibited in the presence of the authoritarian leader are such as to probably go unnoticed, but at least in the White and Lippitt study these showed up clearly in careful analysis.

The following expressions of the discontent were noted (White and Lippitt, 1960, pp. 74–6).

1. Four boys dropped out of the clubs during the experimental situation and all did so during periods of autocratic leadership.
2. Nineteen of twenty boys who made direct comparisons between the autocratic and democratic leaders stated preferences for the democratic leader.
3. The boys made significantly more discontented remarks to each other under autocratic than under democratic rule.
4. There were more expressions of discontent directed at the leader.
5. There was more ignoring of the leader's approaches.

Over a longer period of time as these resentments built up under the confining authority, we might expect that more overt signs of discontent would develop.

"UNNATURAL!" SHIFTS IN LEADERSHIP PATTERNS

One can hardly imagine shifts between democratic and authoritarian leadership taking place in directions opposite to those just discussed *if* indeed the important variables are as they have been described. Cases can easily be found, however, of shifts counter to the direction indicated. It might be estab-

lished that *these* shifts do not usually take place as a matter of group acceptance or from other internal pressures, but rather are forced upon the group through superior strength. A military dictator may arise in a time of indifference and establish military control; a department or office of a larger firm may be suddenly assigned a new administrator who introduces a more centralized control, etc. These shifts do take place, but they are of a somewhat artificial nature compared with the processes which we have been discussing.

A shift from authoritarian to democratic leadership in a situation of high stress would also seem to be very unlikely unless an outside force dedicated to democratic leadership overthrew or replaced the former leaders and then significantly reduced the source of the stress that had kept the authoritarian leader in power. Other special cases might be presented where an authoritarian leader apparently gave up his power voluntarily in time of high stress, but such occurrence is rare and such cases would have to be examined individually to determine their relationship to the present model.

The Equilibrium Cells

It should be clear that there are resistances to shifts in leadership patterns taking place. These are created by tradition and vested interest. There are thus important restraining factors involved to prevent the shifts previously indicated. The hypothesis we have developed establishes only the direction of the pressures which exist for change, but does not promise that the change will actually take place.

The direction of the pressures suggests that in the highly structured goal situation the equilibrium cell is one in which authoritarian leadership is exercised, while in the low goal structure situation, it is democratic leadership which exists in the equilibrium

situation. In the low goal structure group, the emphasis will be on individual subgoals rather than super organization goals. In a sense this might be considered the characteristic nature of the democracy with its emphasis on the individual rather than the group. In this situation the group leadership will be sought which will serve the advancement of the individual. The autocrat will be hard put to maintain his position.

When a more all consuming group goal is developed, the individual's role becomes subservient to the group and his only importance comes in his contribution to the group. This is the situation in the high goal structure condition and it is here that the autocracy will be in equilibrium. The democratic government will be in constant danger of running into new ambiguities and losing its consensus support.

MAINTAINING AUTHORITARIAN EQUILIBRIUM

It seems that authoritarian leaders have a particular appreciation of the equilibrium acting to maintain their power in the high stress, highly structured goal situation. Thus it can be seen that one of the most important activities of a dictatorship is that of stressing the threats created by both external and internal enemies in order to maintain the stress and produce the super goals which can be used to unite the populace. These must be constantly internalized by the people.

In Indonesia this is represented by the "struggle for West Irian" which is reiterated in nearly every public utterance by every public official. For the Communist countries, the "foe" is the menace of capitalism, represented by the United States in particular. The most extreme emphasis is placed on this in Communist China, where the internal problems are much more severe than in Russia for example. Considerable dependence is placed on these central goals in di-

recting the people's attention away from the frustrations experienced in satisfying their true personal goals.[5]

In Sussman's study we find a case where a group leader was attempting to maintain an essentially authoritarian leadership position; however, this leader made little pretense of establishing or working toward group goals. "Leadership as it existed in Calorie Collectors was one of attainment of personal influence and power by Mrs. Lott rather than achievement of group goals. The result was ultimate factionalism and disorganization" (Sussman, 1956, p. 354). The group disintegrated and later reformed around another woman who was oriented more toward group objectives of planning programs to encourage weight reduction. This gives one example of loss of control by an authoritarian leader in a situation where the leader did not identify with group goals.

It is interesting to note a further technique used by the authoritarian to maintain his leadership. This is mentioned in the operational definition by White and Lippitt. "Techniques and activity steps dictated by the authority, one at a time, so that future steps are always uncertain to a large degree" (White and Lippitt, 1960, p. 26).

This serves several functions. It provides reduction of immediate anxiety, but retains dependence on the authoritarian leader for further reduction of the ambiguity when the present step is completed. It also makes it difficult for failure to be evaluated, as it is not possible to determine the actual importance of any particular step that is taken. It is further not possible to certainly establish

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[5] It will be noted that China is an especially complex case, as the "manufactured" crisis is used to structure the stress created by a real internal crisis. The attempt is to develop a structure more consistent with retaining the present government in power than would be the case if the structure were allowed to develop around the true source of the stress.

whether or not the current step is truly leading toward the *stated* goal. Considerable faith must be placed on the authoritarian. If his work is not accepted, the situation again becomes intolerably ambiguous.

Implications

It is difficult at this point to discuss specific applications of detailed knowledge of the influence of these situational pressures on leadership. However, it is possible to suggest where applications might be sought.

This study was undertaken from the point of view of an advocate of democratic, or participative leadership. In order to insure the preservation of the democratic structure, it seems essential to understand the forces which cause pressure for a shift from democratic structure to more highly authoritarian structure.

Through greater understanding, possibly either the situations leading to the pressures may be avoided, or effective countermeasures can be established to resist the pressures expected under certain circumstances. Not only does this have implication at the national and international political level and in particular in dealings with newly independent nations, but it might also prove of value in the implementation of the relatively new group-centered theories of management and organization. Systematic study and organization of the forces which resist the successful introduction and application of participative management are the first steps in finding suitable implementation techniques and in establishing the situation or environment in which such types of organization can persist in equilibrium.

More could be done at this point to discuss the problems of leadership in underdeveloped countries which served as the introduction of the paper. Most of the implications should, however, be reasonably clear and will for the present be left as they were

presented—the initiating stimulus for undertaking the study. The important problem was to provide the model or "structure" which could then be adapted for application to these specific situational problems. The same statement could be made with regard to the applications to participative management.

Summary

A model was developed showing how certain situational forces develop to produce shifts between democratic and authoritarian forms of leadership. It was established that where group goals assume greater importance than do individual goals and there are ambiguities obscuring the path to attaining these goals, an authoritarian leadership will be sought to reduce these ambiguities. Where ambiguities are not of a stress-creating nature, that is, not standing in the way of goal attainment, and the attainment of group goals is not seen as a necessary *prior* event to the attainment of individual goals, a more democratic leadership will be sought.

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