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Followership, leadership and social influence



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ABSTRACT

Traditional research in leadership has largely relegated followers to the role of passive recipients or, at best, moderators of leader influence and behaviors. However, recent work in the area of followership has begun shifting this focus and emphasizing the possibility that followers actively have an influence over leaders, in particular leader behavior. This paper revisits traditional areas of the leadership literature and builds on the emerging followership literature to reintroduce followers as part of the social context of leaders. In an attempt to build theoretical rationales for how followers influence leader behavior we draw on the social influence (e.g., Social Impact Theory, Latane, 1981) and the power literature to suggest individual (e.g., strength and immediacy of followers) and group level (e.g., number of followers and unity of the group) characteristics that influence leader behaviors as a function of a leader's informational and effect dependence on followers.

Keywords: Leadership Followership Follower

1. Introduction

Leaders are traditionally treated as heroes or villains depending on how well their organization performs. They get credit for its successes and blamed for its failures (Kelley, 1988; Meindl, 1995). This focus on leaders as drivers of organizational performance has resulted in a long tradition of leader-centered leadership research that emphasizes leader traits (e.g., Fairhurst, 2007) and behaviors (e.g., Likert, 1961; Stogdill & Coons, 1957) as antecedents to leadership processes and outcomes (Meindl, 1995). As an unintended consequence of this emphasis, the impact of followers on leaders (also called a followership perspective, Carsten, Uhl-Bien, West, Patera, & McGregor, 2010; Shamir, 2007) has been largely ignored. Followers have instead been relegated to the role of passive recipients or, at best, moderators of leader influence and behaviors (Lord, Brown, & Freiberg, 1999; Shamir, 2007). However, this was not always the case. Early in the leadership literature, researchers understood that leaders are not isolated actors immune from the influence of their followers (e.g., Fiedler, 1967; House, 1971; Vroom & Yetton, 1973). As such, this paper will revisit traditional areas of the leadership literature and build on the emerging followership literature to reintroduce followers as an integral part of leadership. To help develop new theory in this area, as well as to contextualize followership within earlier, seminal leadership theories this paper will begin with a brief overview of the early leader-centered focus of leadership and its treatment of followers and then "reverse the lenses" (Shamir, 2007) to examine how followership research assigns followers to a more active role. Next, we will integrate a major theory of social influence (i.e., Social Impact Theory or "SIT": Latane, 1981) to suggest a new perspective on power, influence and dependence in leadership by framing followers as important sources of social influence on leaders.

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2. Followers in leadership research

Historically, leadership research has concentrated on leader personality, behaviors, attitudes and perceptions when studying the emergence of leadership and leadership outcomes (Collinson, 2005; Lord & Brown, 2004; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1992). From this leader-centered perspective, followers are treated as the passive recipients of leader influence and leadership outcomes (e.g., trait and behavioral paradigms of leadership), moderators of leader influence (e.g., contingency theories of leadership) (Shamir, 2007). In response to this leader driven perspective a more follower-centered view emerged (e.g., Lord, Foti, & De Vader, 1984; Meindl, 1995). These views argue that because leaders exist in the same social context as their followers, leadership and its outcomes are jointly constructed (Meindl, 1990, 1995). From this perceptive, follower beliefs, traits and perceptions drive how followers construe leadership and are viewed as important to the leadership process as leader traits and behaviors (Shamir, 2007). Followership (Carsten et al., 2010; Collinson, 2006; Kelley, 1988), a new stream of leadership research, employs a similar follower-centered perspective, but broadens the focus to include follower decisions, behaviors and attitudes. In short, followership positions followers as actively and explicitly influencing leader perceptions, attitudes, behaviors or decisions. As will become clear in the following sections, this shift in perspective helps us build on traditional leadership theories to offer a theoretical framework for the impact of followers on leaders.

2.1. The role of followers in traditional leadership research

The traditional view of leadership framed followers as the passive recipients of leader characteristics (e.g., traits and skills) and behaviors and restricted itself to examining the flow of influence from leaders to followers (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Hollander, 1980, 1992). This limited perspective began to change with situational theories of leader effectiveness (i.e., contingency models) that recognized the potential effects of followers on leader behaviors and identified when and for whom certain leader behaviors were optimal. In many of these theories, follower effects are either explicitly modeled (e.g., Fiedler, 1967) or implicitly hinted at (e.g., Evans, 1970). For example, Fiedler's Contingency Theory theorized that the relationship between leadership style and leader effectiveness was based on whether or not the leader's style matched the context, in particular the quality of the leader-member relations (the extent to which followers trust, respect, and have confidence in their leaders, Fiedler, 1967). Other contingency theories followed suit. Hersey and Blanchard's (1969) Situational Leadership Theory suggested that leaders should strike a balance between their task- and people-oriented behaviors depending on the confidence and skill set of their followers while Path-Goal Theory (Evans, 1970; House, 1971; House & Mitchell, 1974) argued that follower characteristics were key factors to shaping leader effectiveness.

In each of these approaches the role of followers is made clear. Their capabilities, traits or preferences are said to determine what type of leader is most effective (Achua & Lussier, 2007; Yukl, 2013). However, in each of these theories followers are still non-actors. They are not behaving or explicitly reacting to leader behaviors. At best they are simply features (albeit important ones) of the leader's context. A truly explicit follower-centered approach did not appear until the emergence of implicit leadership theories (e.g., Epitropaki & Martin, 2004; Lord et al., 1984; Offermann, Kennedy, & Wirtz, 1994) and Meindl's (1995) social constructionist approach to leadership (Shamir, Pillai, Bligh, & Uhl-Bien, 2006).

2.2. Follower-centered approaches to leadership

Implicit leadership theories (Epitropaki & Martin, 2004; Lord et al., 1984; Offermann et al., 1994) argue that leadership actually exists in the minds of followers. These approaches represent the first shift from a leader-centered to a follower-centered perspective of leadership. They focus on how followers' implicit beliefs and assumptions regarding the characteristics of leader effectiveness (e.g., Lord et al., 1984) translate into prototypes for an ideal leader in a given situation or context. Leaders who match the prototype are expected to be assessed more favorably by their followers.

Meindl (1995) built on this approach to argue that leadership can be effective only when followers view it as such and highlighted two important issues regarding the extant leadership research. First, there is a reciprocal relationship between leaders and followers. Second, because leadership focuses on "the linkage between leaders and followers as constructed in the minds of followers" (p. 220), leadership outcomes should not be operationalized as the self-perceptions or self-reports of leaders, but as the perceptions of followers (Bligh & Schyns, 2007).

This follower-centered approach to leadership research did not assign an active role to followers, however it did argue that follower perceptions, preferences or attitudes (as influenced by their traits and emotional arousal) can (passively) shape or even restrain leadership processes (e.g., Ehrhart & Klein, 2001; Grant, Gino, & Hofmann, 2011; Kark, Shamir, & Chen, 2003). A good example of this is the recent work of Grant and his colleagues (2011) in which they demonstrated that employee proactivity and employee perceptions of receptivity moderate the relationship between leader extraversion and group performance such that when followers are more proactive leader extraversion is negatively rather than positively, related to group performance.

This new follower-centered approach triggered a series of theoretical extensions and empirical tests of the potential of followers to shape the leadership process. One of these lines of research argued that leadership is a social process or system and that leaders, as part of this social system, are subject to its influences (e.g., followers) (e.g., DeRue & Ashford, 2010; Lord, Brown, Harvey, & Hall, 2001; Lord et al., 1999). As we will discuss shortly, it is this emphasis on the social nature of leadership that makes social influence a logical framework for theorizing about the effects of followers on leaders. First, however, it is necessary to review the next step in the evolution of the literature on follower effects, followership.

2.3. Followership and leadership

It seems obvious (in hindsight) that followers should be more than the sum of their individual differences and attitudes. Followers behave, and their behaviors can have an effect on their leaders. In line with Shamir's (2007) perspective to followership and the definition of Carsten et al. (2010), "followership adopts the follower as the primary focus and explores how followership behaviors are related to organizational outcomes of interest (e.g., leadership, performance)" (p.543). By expanding our examination of followers to include how their behaviors shape (and are shaped by) leaders it becomes clear that the role of followers has been underestimated to date.

The emerging followership literature positions follower behaviors and reactions as a driver (as well as result of) of leader behaviors (e.g., Carsten et al., 2010; Collinson, 2006). Followership also differentiates among types of followers to argue that some followers may be more beneficial, constructive, and influential in the leadership process and as a result should differentially impact their leaders. The followership literature, however, is still in its early stages and empirical studies are few and far between. As such, in this section we will discuss the ongoing theoretical work on follower taxonomies, but will switch to the power, influence and upward feedback literatures to develop specific propositions of how and why followers can influence a leader's perceptions, attitudes and behaviors.

2.3.1. Followership research

Unsurprisingly there is a growing body of theoretical work that develops follower typologies (e.g., Carsten et al., 2010; Kelley, 1988) and (crucially for our purposes) makes clear that some followers can be more influential than others.

For instance, Carsten et al. (2010) developed a typology of followers arguing that while some followers may proactively challenge a leader's assumptions and provide information and feedback without being asked to do so; others may voice their opinions to their leaders without challenging them, and still others may follow their leaders and execute their orders without question. This continuum from passive to proactive followership suggests that proactive followers, who voluntarily become a part of decision making and challenge leader decisions or behaviors, should have more influence on leaders than passive or simply active followers. Although this and other typologies of followers (e.g., Carsten et al., 2010; Collinson, 2006; Kelley, 1988) highlight critical follower characteristics that distinguish among types of followers, the theoretical rationales for how these different types of followers influence their leader and the leadership process remain unaddressed. This may be one reason why empirical tests of these effects of these typologies remain scant. As such, to build theoretical rationales for the effect of followers on leaders we now turn to the literature on influence and power.

3. Followers and social influence

3.1. Power and influence in leadership

Work on leader power and influence is largely inspired by the influential work of French and Raven (1959). Similar to the aforementioned implicit leadership theories (Epitropaki & Martin, 2004; Lord et al., 1984; Offermann et al., 1994) and social constructionist view of leadership (Meindl, 1995), French and Raven (1959) focused on the linkage between the source of power and the target of influence to claim that one's potential influence is partly a function of the dependence of the target on the source of power (French & Raven, 1959). The authors identified seven different types of power and clustered them into two categories, personal (e.g., referent, expert, connection) and position power (e.g., legitimate, reward, coercive, information).

Although the broader power and influence literature does not focus on leaders, leadership research has drawn heavily from it to examine sources of leader power (e.g., Dosier, Case, & Keys, 1988; Yukl & Falbe, 1991) and the determinants (e.g., Barbuto, Fritz, & Man, 2002; Yukl & Falbe, 1990) or consequences (e.g., Falbe & Yukl, 1992; Fu & Yukl, 2000; Furst & Cable, 2008; Sparrowe, Soetjipto, & Kraimer, 2006; Yukl & Chavez, 2002) of the influence tactics a leader uses.

Leaders, by virtue of their hierarchical position have stronger position power than followers in organizations (Yukl & Falbe, 1991). This position power gives leaders access to tangible (e.g., rewards) and intangible (e.g., information) resources. Although leaders may not possess greater personal power than followers (Yukl & Falbe, 1991), as sources of resources and rewards they become interpersonally attractive to followers (Popper, 2011). This allows them to exercise significant influence over their followers (e.g., Hinkin & Schriesheim, 1989; Yukl & Falbe, 1990, 1991). However, followers, despite their comparatively weaker bases of power (Tjosvold, 1986; Yukl & Falbe, 1990), are not without their own influence.

3.2. Follower feedback and influence

3.2.1. Upward feedback

Independent of the followership literature, research on upward feedback (i.e. feedback from individuals lower in the organizational hierarchy upwards to those higher up in the organization), has proposed that followers, if heard by the leader, act as a source of social information for managers or leaders. For instance, upward feedback, regardless of the level of positivity or negativity, makes the discrepancy between an individual's self-perception and the perceptions of others salient (Ashford, 1989) and raises a person's self-awareness of what he/she does well or badly (Ashford & Cummings, 1983; Wicklund, 1975). A number of studies have shown that can lead to leaders adjusting their behavior in the direction of their followers' feedback. (e.g., Atwater, Roush, & Fischtal, 1995; Hegarty, 1974).

3.2.2. Influence tactics

There is evidence for the power of followers in the influence tactics literature as well. A number of studies have examined what influence tactics are used most often by followers as well as the antecedents and outcomes of those tactics (e.g., Dulebohn, Shore, Kunze, & Dookeran, 2005; Wayne & Ferris, 1990; Wayne & Liden, 1995; Yukl & Tracey, 1992). For instance, Yukl and Tracey (1992) showed that rational persuasion is one of the more commonly used influence tactics by subordinates when interacting with supervisors. This approach is deemed effective because subordinates may have more relevant on-the-ground information than do their supervisors and become most persuasive when they use logical arguments and facts. Other common sources of follower influence run through a more interpersonal link. Research has demonstrated that self-focused (e.g., creating a positive self-image such as being nice and polite) or supervisor-focused impression management (e.g., doing personal favors for the supervisor) on the part of a subordinate can influence a leader's ratings of leader-member exchange (Wayne & Ferris, 1990) or subordinate performance (Wayne & Liden, 1995). Similarly, follower ingratiation tactics (e.g., flattery, favor doing) influence leader reward allocation as a function of increased relationship quality perceptions between leaders and their ingratiating followers (Dulebohn et al., 2005). As the social psychology literature tells us, people like to be liked (Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004). By managing impressions or being ingratiating followers may be helping to fulfill their leader's affiliation needs (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004).

Together the research on upward feedback and upward influence tactics empirically demonstrates the impact of followers on their leaders and suggests that tests of some of the ideas being generated in the followership literature should bear fruit. As such, over the next sections we will use the framework of a prominent social influence theory, Social Impact Theory — SIT (Latane, 1981), to argue how followers can influence their leaders. We will combine the work on power and social influence to base our arguments for the impact of followers on the specific determinants (e.g., strength, immediacy and number of the source of influences) and basic findings of SIT in an effort to clearly formulate how and when this effect plays out.

3.3. Social influence and social impact theory

Early studies of social influence (e.g., Asch, 1951, 1956) demonstrated how a target's judgments or opinions were influenced by the judgments and opinions of others in the same group. Social influence is typically defined as the amount of social pressure felt by a target, what French and Raven (1959) called "resultant force" and Latane (1981) more poetically called the "force field". When presented with this force field the target of influence has two alternatives (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004), to confirm or go along with others or to resist and make no changes (French & Raven, 1959; Latane, 1981).

Social Impact Theory (SIT) (Latane, 1981, 1996) is among the most frequently cited theories in social psychology (Nowak, Szamrej, & Latané, 1990). Like other social influence theories (e.g., Social Influence Model: Tanford & Penrod, 1984 and Self-Attention Perspective: Mullen, 1983), SIT incorporates the number of individuals as a critical factor in determining the amount of social influence exerted in a given social setting. However, SIT includes two other determinants of influence (e.g., strength and immediacy) that distinguish it from other theoretical frameworks (Mullen, 1985). In its initial, most basic formulation SIT argues that the power of a social setting to shape an individual is a function of the strength (i.e., status, age, prior relationship with, or future power over the target), immediacy (i.e. closeness in space or time and absence of intervening barriers or filters) and number of the sources of impact (i.e., the number of people) (Latane, 1981). As such, the stronger (Hass, 1981; Jackson & Latane, 1981), the more immediate (Bassett & Latane, 1976; Knowles, 1980) and the larger the number (Gerard, Wilhelmy, & Conolley, 1968; Milgram, Bickman, & Berkowitz, 1969) of sources in a social setting the more influence or impact (the greater the force field) the target will experience.

This initial formulation of SIT (Latane, 1981) attracted significant research attention and helped researchers to better grasp how a person's social environment acts as a source of influence (Nowak et al., 1990). However SIT at this early stage of its development failed to take into account two important possibilities, 1) that there are reciprocal influences such that individuals shape and are shaped by their social context in an ongoing, dynamic relationship and 2) that a social context (in this case groups of individuals) is not necessarily uniform in the direction of influence it exerts. Subsequent iterations of the theory addressed these issues by introducing minority versus majority perspectives in SIT (e.g., Latane & Wolf, 1981) and investigating the nature of the interactions between minorities and majorities in groups (e.g., Latane, 1996; Latane & L'Herrou, 1996). This later permutation of SIT was referred to as, "the dynamic formulation of SIT" (e.g., Latane, 1996; Latane & L'Herrou, 1996; Nowak et al., 1990).

Given earlier work around the social nature of leadership (e.g., DeRue & Ashford, 2010; Lord et al., 1999, 2001) and the arguments that leadership is a social process or system in which leaders interact with others and become exposed to social influence (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Hollander, 1980, 1992), it seems clear that SIT should have powerful explanatory potential for how followers may shape the leadership processes. First, the central tenant of SIT, "influence" is at the heart of most definitions of effective leadership (Achua & Lussier, 2007; Yukl, 1989). However, SIT allows us to broaden this scope beyond just leader influence to also look at the influence of followers on leaders. Second, predictors of social influence as proposed by SIT such as strength and immediacy offer theoretical connections to other relevant topics such as the position and personal power of followers (e.g., Yukl & Tracey, 1992) as well as leader distance (e.g., Antonakis & Atwater, 2002) and may provide insight into the relative social influence of a given follower. Third, SIT also helps us to theorize how followers, not only as individuals, but also as groups can socially influence their leaders. Fourth, the dynamic formulation of SIT highlights the fact individuals in a group may differ in their reactions to the target of the influence. This links neatly to the work in the followership literature which argues that there are different types of followership styles and that not every follower reacts to the leader in the same way. In short, an SIT

framework allows us to speculate about the effects of individual followers and groups of followers on leaders, the importance of groups and norms in influencing leaders as well as the potential differential effects of followers. For these reasons we argue that SIT will help generate unique and useful propositions around why followership can and should have an effect on leaders.

4. Power, follower influence and leader dependence on followers

In our theoretical model, we will discuss the determinants of social influence in terms of follower characteristics and behaviors at both the individual and group level. We will also describe the potential moderating effect of group characteristics and behaviors on the relationship between the social influence of individual followers and leaders. Drawing on the power and influence literature, we will further propose that the extent to which a leader depends on followers for information ("information dependence"; Jones & Gerard, 1967), affiliation or positive self-regard ("effect dependence", Jones & Gerard, 1967) will act as an important boundary condition for these relationships (Please see Fig. 1).

We will emulate the evolution of SIT from an individually focused theory (Latane, 1981) to one that included groups and minorities or majorities (Latane, 1996; Nowak et al., 1990) in this section and begin with an examination of SIT and individual follower social influence before moving on to examining the role of SIT in groups of followers. Drawing on the later, dynamic formulation of the theory, we will then focus on how group-level characteristics such as the number of followers and the unity among followers in a group moderate the impact of a particular follower's influence over the leader.

After discussing the direct effect of followers on leaders, we will draw on research and theory in the broader social influence and power literature (e.g., French & Raven, 1959) to argue that the relationship between the determinants of social influence and leadership reactions is also moderated by the leader's dependence on followers for information and affiliation. (Please see Table 1, for a full list of propositions). Finally, in an effort to further bolster the relevance of SIT for followership we will attempt to expand the boundaries of the theory by 1) exploring the relationships *among* the three main determinants of social influence (as specified by SIT, strength, immediacy and number), 2) considering other potential moderators not covered by traditional SIT or other prominent social influence theories and 3) discussing other important outcomes variables such as leader attitudes and self-image that, while not part of the traditional SIT domain, can be reasonably expected to be impacted by followers' social influence.

4.1. Individual level determinants of social influence

The followership literature makes clear that the image of followers as passive recipients of the leadership process is misconceived (Hollander & Offerman, 1990). Given that past experimental research has established that the decisions, behaviors, reactions or expectations of others influence individuals (Latane, 1981) this seems like an obvious point. However, it is one that is

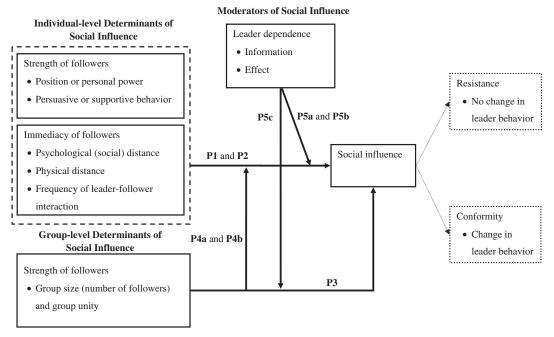


Fig. 1. A model of followers' social influence on leaders.

Table 1List of propositions.

| Proposition 1a: | Followers with higher position or personal power exert greater social influence on leaders. |
|-----------------|--|
| Proposition 1b: | Persuasive follower behavior as opposed to supportive follower behavior exerts greater social influence over leaders at a given point in time. However, supportive follower behavior can increase a given follower's personal power over time. |
| Proposition 2a: | Followers who are psychologically (or socially) more immediate to their leaders exert greater social influence over them. |
| Proposition 2b: | Followers who are physically distant to their leaders exert less social influence over them. |
| Proposition 2c: | Followers who have more frequent interactions with leaders exert greater social influence over them. |
| Proposition 3: | Larger groups will have more influence over their leaders as a function of their within group agreement. Specifically, unity among followers moderates the relationship between group size (e.g., the number of followers in a group) and the magnitude of social influence such that the group size will be more positively related to social influence when group unity is high. |
| Proposition 4a: | The number of followers in a group will moderate the influence of any one follower such that the more people there are in a group the lower is the social influence of a given follower over the leader. |
| Proposition 4a | The number of followers in a group will moderate the influence of any one follower such that the larger the group the higher |
| (alternative): | (lower) is the marginal social influence of a given in-group (out-group) follower over the leader. |
| Proposition 4b: | Consistent minority member will have greater social influence on leaders than will a majority member. |
| Proposition 5a: | Leader's informational and effect dependence will moderate the impact of strength based social influence of followers such that the amount of social influence a follower can exert over the leader will be greater when leaders' information or effect dependence is higher. |
| Proposition 5b: | Leader's informational and effect dependence will moderate the effect of immediacy-based social influence of a follower such that the amount of social influence a follower can exert over the leader will be greater when leaders' dependence for information and effect is higher. |
| Proposition 5c: | Leader dependence for information will moderate the relationship between the group-level determinant (e.g., size and unity of the group) of followers' social influence and leader behavior. |

to date largely ignored. To address this issue we will begin by highlighting two individual level determinants in SIT theory (Latane, 1981), *strength* and *immediacy* that shed light on how an individual follower may exercise influence over a leader.

4.1.1. Strength

Researchers have operationalized the strength dimension of SIT in a number of ways including, "age, status, similarity to respondent, self-confidence, competence, credibility, bearing and demeanor" (Jackson & Latane, 1981, p. 417). Clearly, follower strength can come from a variety of sources. For instance, individuals who have more prestigious occupations are also perceived to have a higher status in their group (e.g. doctors versus nurses) (Bassett & Latane, 1976) and to have a stronger influence on the decisions of others (e.g., Bassett & Latane, 1976; Jackson & Latane, 1981; Sedikides & Jackson, 1990).

Within the working group, status-based differences in follower strength result in power differences (e.g. a more experienced business analyst in an IT-group compared with a recently hired IT technician) such that followers with greater position or personal power are assumed to be able to exert greater influence over others (Eagly, 1983; Yukl & Falbe, 1990, 1991). For instance, a higher status employee may have access to more valuable information (i.e., information power) and because of their expertise may be able to provide better rational and factual arguments (i.e., expert power) for important decisions to be made by leaders (French & Raven, 1959; Yukl & Falbe, 1990, 1991). As such, his or her suggestions and ideas would be more likely to be listened to by the leader and more likely to influence leader behaviors.

Followers can also acquire strength and exercise influence over leaders in an interpersonal manner. The so-called referent power (a type of personal power) of a follower is the extent to which leader is attracted to and identifies with the follower (French & Raven, 1959; Yukl & Falbe, 1990, 1991). Ferris, Judge, Chachere, and Liden (1991) stated that, "if demographic similarity leads to mutual attraction, then leaders who differ in age (or any other demographic characteristic) from their subordinates will be less liked; less respected, and therefore have lower power and influence." (p. 9). The same may be true for followers. The higher the identification or similarity with the leader, the higher would be the referent power for a follower in contrast to other followers (Podsakoff & Schriescheim, 1985). As such, we propose the following:

Proposition 1a. Followers with higher position or personal power exert greater social influence on leaders.

The possibility that group members may differ in their level of or even type of agreement with the leader constitutes another operationalization of the strength dimension of the SIT. Nowak et al. (1990) argued that individual followers, beyond a set of characteristics (age, gender, status, etc.) may have different amounts of strength by virtue of being either *supportive* (when agreeing with the target person) or *persuasive* (when disagreeing with the target person) in their arguments. This added feature of the theory entails a behavioral output on the part of the follower (e.g., Lee & Ofshe, 1981). Supportiveness implies the extent to which one supports an idea, decision, or behavior. In contrast, persuasiveness implies the tendency to challenge and change someone's idea, decision, or behavior (Nowak et al., 1990). Given that social influence is largely interested in how sources of influence can induce pressure to alter opinions or behaviors of the target; this has clear implications for work on followership. Although this may sound tautological ("persuasive" followership should be more persuasive and hence influential), it can be informative when one considers the different mechanisms by which persuasive and supportive follower behavior might influence leaders. As discussed, the followership literature specifically categorizes these two patterns of behavior as different types of followers. For instance, resistant (Collinson, 2006) or effective followers (Kelley, 1988) are assumed to stand against leader actions they disagree with, but stand by leader actions when they agree. In contrast, conformist (Collinson, 2006) or ineffective

followers (Kelley, 1988) provide unconditional and constant support to leader actions regardless the content of the behavior. These types of followership suggest very different effects on leaders. For instance, similar to the aforementioned findings in the upward feedback literature (e.g., Ashford, 1989; Atwater et al., 1995) (negative feedback changes leader behavior while positive feedback does not) persuasive follower behavior would be expected to be a strong immediate source of influence on the leader's behavior because they tend to engage in persuasively challenging the leader (instead of simply agreeing and providing positive feedback to the leader). In the face of persuasive follower behavior (especially one of higher status) leaders would be more likely to adapt or change their behaviors to close the gap between their self-perception and the perceptions of the follower. In contrast, supportive follower behavior may not challenge the leader as such, but could earn the follower credits for being loyal. This could result in increased referent power over time for that follower. Thus, supportive followership may not be particularly influential at that given moment, but being supportive may help a particular follower build his/her potential to influence the leader at a later date. As such, we propose the following:

Proposition 1b. Persuasive follower behavior as opposed to supportive follower behavior exerts greater social influence over leaders at a given point in time. However, supportive follower behavior can increase a given follower's personal power over time.

4.1.2. Immediacy

In the earliest formulation of SIT, Latane (1981) defined immediacy as "closeness in space or time and absence of intervening barriers or filters" (p. 344). Empirical tests of SIT treat this definition as physical/psychological distance (Sedikides & Jackson, 1990). A similar definition emerged in the leadership literature. In their extensive review of leader-follower distance, Antonakis and Atwater (2002) categorized the amount of distance between leaders and followers as one of three types: 1) perceived psychological (or social) distance, 2) physical distance and 3) perceived frequency of leader-follower interaction. Given that SIT assumes immediacy to be positively related to the amount of social influence one can exert, more immediate followers should exert more social influence over their leader. However, the different types of distance may influence leaders via different mechanisms. Next we will follow Antonakis and Atwater's (2002) categorization to talk about each type of distance in turn.

Perceived psychological (social) distance refers to "perceived differences in status, rank, authority, social standing and power" (Antonakis & Atwater, 2002, p. 682). Emerging theoretical work (e.g., Bass, 1990) and empirical evidence (Michaelis, Stegmaier, & Sonntag, 2009; Shamir, 1995) on close (or socialized) charismatic leaders suggests that they are psychologically (or socially) more immediate because they appear to be more human or similar to their followers. They do not mask their weaknesses as do psychologically distant leaders (e.g., distant charismatic leaders, Shamir, 1995). Hence, socially close leaders can build more rapport, a strong sense of trust and higher identification with followers which eventually leads to greater leader influence over followers (Michaelis et al., 2009; Shamir, 1995).

The extent to which a follower's psychological or social distance translates into influence over the leader should follow a similar pattern. Followers at lower social distance from their leader should also be able to build on this to establish better trust and rapport and as a result exert more influence over that leader. As such, we propose the following:

Proposition 2a. Followers who are psychologically (or socially) more immediate to their leaders exert greater social influence over them.

Physical distance is defined in both SIT (Latane, 1981) and the leadership literature (Antonakis & Atwater, 2002) as the spatial proximity between the source of influence and the target of influence. Physical distance has been show to weaken the influence of leaders on their followers' unit-level performance (Howell, Neufeld, & Avolio, 2005), decrease the ability of leaders to monitor follower behavior (Yagil, 1998) and assess follower performance (Judge & Ferris, 1993) and negatively affect the quality of the exchange relationship (Bass, 1990).

This is relevant for follower influence because at larger distances it also becomes difficult for a leader to observe or even hear follower reactions. Based on the work of Daft and Lengel (1984) and the effect of distance on communication in leadership (Yagil, 1998), this would suggest that a follower's opportunities for upward influence (upward feedback, impression management, or ingratiation) would be somewhat more limited as physical distance increases.

Physical distance may not only limit the information flow and possibilities of communication between followers and their leaders (Daft & Lengel, 1984) but it also reduces the amount of cues available regarding interpersonal relationships (e.g., how similar we are to each other, Mussweiler, 2003; Mussweiler & Bodenhausen, 2002). In fact, individuals have even been shown to use distance as a cue for comparison with others, tending to perceive proximate others as more similar than distant others (Mussweiler, 2003). Thus, leaders should be less likely to hear followers, see similarities, or identify with those followers who are more physically distant. As such we propose:

Proposition 2b. Followers who are physically distant to their leaders exert less social influence over them.

Leader distance is also measured as the frequency of interaction between a leader and followers (Antonakis & Atwater, 2002; Napier & Ferris, 1993). Frequency of interaction is associated with leader visibility (Napier & Ferris, 1993). The more visible the leader the more followers believe they are interacting with that leader (Sundstrom, Burt, & Kamp, 1980). From a followership perspective, higher frequencies of interaction and visibility translate to more opportunities for a follower to exert social influence on the leaders (Antonakis & Atwater, 2002). Given that high quality relationships between leaders and followers are "characterized by exchange of

information, resources, effort, and emotional support" (Davis & Gardner, 2004, p. 447), more frequent interactions will not only lessen the leader–follower distance for followers but also give followers the chance to develop higher quality leader–member relations (Bass, 1990). Therefore, we propose the following:

Proposition 2c. Followers who have more frequent interactions with leaders exert greater social influence over them.

4.2. Group level determinants of social influence

As pointed out earlier, most leadership theories treat followers as uniform, without distinguishing amongst them. In this section, we discuss the element of SIT relevant to the characteristics and behaviors of groups such as the number of followers in a group and the unity of the group (i.e., the amount of within-group agreement among followers). Later we will turn to the more dynamic version of SIT to discuss differences within groups and how that shapes the social influence of followers.

4.2.1. Group size (number of followers) and group unity

SIT treats the number of people in a group (e.g., group size) as another determinant of social influence and assumes that group size is positively related to the amount of social influence a group exerts (Latane, 1981). Presumably as the number of people in a group increases the social reality (a shared belief that emerges through social interactions) is more accurately captured (Festinger, 1954). Once the majority of people in a group advocate for a given social reality, conformity generates great rewards and deviation great punishments (Asch, 1951). As the Asch studies (1951, 1956) and a slew of subsequent studies (e.g., Darley & Latane, 1968; Freeman, 1974; Milgram et al., 1969) show, the number of people in a group affects individual perceptions or decisions.

However, the simple number of followers in a group (group size) is not the whole story. Dynamic SIT (e.g., Latane, 1996; Latane & L'Herrou, 1996; Nowak et al., 1990) recognizes that groups are complex and consist of multiple individuals that may or may not agree with one another at any one point in time. Historically, leadership research has ignored this possibility of agreement or disagreements within a given group. However, as evidenced by the upward feedback literature, individuals in a group can disagree even when they rate the same person (e.g., Cardy & Dobbins, 1994; Murphy & Cleveland, 1991). The level of disagreement among group members has implications for the unity of the group and thus the potential influence of the group (and individual followers) on the leader. For instance, when there is disagreement in the group, leaders may attribute the feedback or influence attempts of a given follower (or subset of followers) to something specific to that follower and ignore the message (London & Smither, 1995). In contrast, unity in groups can magnify confidence and commitment to courses of action among followers (Julian, Regula, & Hollander, 1968; Schulz-Hardt, Frey, Luthgens, & Moscovici, 2000) and represents a "strong" source of social influence (Latane, 1981). As such, we propose the following

Proposition 3. Larger groups will have more influence over their leaders as a function of their within group agreement. Specifically, unity among followers moderates the relationship between group size (e.g., the number of followers in a group) and the magnitude of social influence such that the group size will be more positively related to social influence when group unity is high.

4.3. SIT-based moderators of social influence

Dynamic SIT (e.g., Latane, 1996; Latane & L'Herrou, 1996; Nowak et al., 1990) also recognizes that influence is a dynamic and evolving construct. One consequence of this new approach to SIT was that some of the group level drivers of social influence were re-conceptualized as moderators of the effects of individual level antecedents (while retaining their status as group level antecedents). As such, SIT argues that the marginal impact of one individual in the group decreases as the number of people in the group increases. Yet, when adapting this general proposition to followership, two distinct (but related) propositions emerge.

Early work on average leadership style (ALS) (Yammarino & Dansereau, 2002) assumes that leaders treat every member of the group more or less the same way. As such, as the number of followers in a group increases the leader will be less able to devote as much of their personal resources (time, attention, communication) to each individual follower. This fits with the marginal impact argument of SIT as specified above. As groups get larger each follower gets less time or communication with the leader and as such has less ability to influence their leader. As such, if ALS were to be supported one possible effect of group size on individual follower influence is the following:

Proposition 4a. The number of followers in a group will moderate the influence of any one follower such that the more people there are in a group the lower is the social influence of a given follower over the leader.

However, both Vertical dyadic linkage (VDL) (Yammarino & Dansereau, 2002) and leader-member exchange (LMX) theory (Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975) suggest a more subtle proposition. Both claim that leaders create in- and out-groups among their followers, depending on their relationship with them. Leaders, given their limited resources, will choose to reward, pay attention, offer support and consideration to in-group followers over out-group followers. In essence, leaders distribute personal or organizational resources strategically. Therefore, as group size increases and leader resources become more limited, these theories would predict that leaders will preferentially allocate time and resources to in-group followers. As a result in-group

followers should have relatively more influence (compared to out-group followers) on their leader as group size increases. Note that this prediction is about the relative levels of influence not the absolute level of influence. It is difficult to imagine a situation where a particular member's absolute level of influence grows as the group size increases. Instead we argue that an in-group follower's level of influence decreases less relative to other followers. As such, we propose the following more subtle proposition derived from VDL and LMX theory that also incorporates SIT's argument of marginal influence as an alternative to Proposition 4a:

Proposition 4a (alternative). The number of followers in a group will moderate the influence of any one follower such that the larger the group the higher (lower) is the marginal social influence of a given in-group (out-group) follower over the leader.

As discussed, individuals in groups do not necessarily agree with each other in their perceptions or decisions. This can lead to the emergence of subgroups within groups and eventually majorities and minorities (e.g., Latane & Wolf, 1981; Moscovici & Lage, 1976). Although minority influence is frequently underestimated when compared with majority influence, research on minorities has shown that individuals or groups of individuals in the minority may have unique influence over others (Moscovici & Nemeth, 1974; Nemeth, 1986). The arguments or views of minorities, as long as those minorities are consistent in their defense of views, should come to be seen as more clear and unambiguous (Moscovici & Lage, 1976; Moscovici, Lage, & Naffrechoux, 1969). In terms of implications for SIT, consistent minority members thus become more visible, attract more attention and become more influential in the group (Latane & Wolf, 1981; Moscovici & Lage, 1976). Indeed, Moscovici and Lage (1976) in their experimental study showed that consistent minority members were not only influential, but that they were more influential than was a given majority member. A more recent study showed a similar effect in a social dilemma context. Weber and Murnighan (2008) demonstrated that a lone group member who consistently contributed to the common good of the group in a series of social dilemma games (at a cost to themselves) caused other group members over subsequent rounds to also begin contributing to the common good of the group. Based on these findings, we propose the following:

Proposition 4b. A consistent minority members will have greater social influence on leaders than will a majority member.

4.4. Leader dependence on followers

To this point we have emphasized the social influence of followers on their leaders. However, as we have been arguing, the influence processes in leadership is not one sided. Leaders, like followers, are not passive recipients of follower influence. They have their own individual differences, preferences and perceptions that may amplify or attenuate the influence of followers. Clearly, there are an array of leader characteristics that may act to moderate this process of social influence on leaders (and we will address some of these in a later section), but in an effort to hew closely to the SIT framework and the literature on social influence and power, here we choose to highlight one key leader characteristic that is central to the power literature; dependence (French & Raven, 1959; Lee & Tiedens, 2001).

Power is commonly defined as control over important outcomes or resources (Depret & Fiske, 1993; Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003). Individuals become more powerful or influential and "get others to do things they would not otherwise do" (Lee & Tiedens, 2001) because they have resources others need or depend on (French & Raven, 1959).

When a person is more dependent on the other for valued resources then the person he or she becomes less powerful or influential over the other (Emerson, 1962; French & Raven, 1959). Although this view clearly underlines why leaders are and should be viewed as powerful and influential over followers, it also hints that followers may possess a certain amount of power over the leader as well.

Although formulations of SIT do not explicitly model dependence as a moderator of social influence, the social influence literature and work on majority influence describes two types of dependence when explaining when an individual will be more susceptible to the influence of others (Jones & Gerard, 1967; Latane & Wolf, 1981), "information" and "effect" dependence that are relevant for followership. Information dependence occurs when someone depends on others for important information about the environment while effect dependence occurs when someone depends on others for fulfillment of their personal needs (e.g., being part of a group, affiliation; Jones & Gerard, 1967). Below we explore leaders' information and effect dependence as a moderator of both individual- and group level determinants of followers' social influence.

4.4.1. Leader dependence and individual level determinants of social influence

4.4.1.1. Dependence and strength. As most definitions of effective leadership dictate, leaders are expected to lead their followers to a common or shared objective or goal (Achua & Lussier, 2007) which requires a certain amount of cooperation and interdependence between leaders and followers (Tjosvold, 1985). Given that leaders may not possess all the necessary resources they naturally depend on their followers (Tjosvold, 1986). For example, leaders rely on followers for (additional) information when making high-stakes decisions (Vroom & Jago, 1988) as well as when they need to assess their own performance (Ashford & Cummings, 1983). When leaders depend on their followers for information, followers with more strength (e.g. greater information power, more rational or persuasive arguments) will be more influential (Tjosvold, Andrews, & Struthers, 1991). However, when leaders believe they have all the necessary information, the influence of followers can be expected to wane.

Of course information dependence is not the whole story. Effect dependence is also relevant. Beyond concerns for efficiency or performance, leaders also have needs to build and maintain strong relations with others and to enjoy being part of a group (McClelland, 1975). They show consideration to others and in return expect to be respected, liked (McClelland, 1975) and in general seek to maintain a high positive self-regard (Aquino & Reed, 2002; Blasi, 1984). McClelland (1975) argued that "people with a high need for affiliation exhibit a need for close interpersonal relationships with other people, including co-workers, and are primarily driven by the need to be liked and loved" (Wlodarczyk, 2011, p. 19). As such, when leaders are high on effect dependence, they depend on others for their affiliative or social needs, then followers with greater strength (e.g., referent power) will become more attractive to the leader and more influential. As such we propose the following:

Proposition 5a. Leader's informational and effect dependence will moderate the impact of strength based social influence of followers such that the amount of social influence a follower can exert over the leader will be greater when leaders' information or effect dependence is higher.

4.4.1.2. Dependence and immediacy. Earlier we examined the immediacy component of follower influence in terms of the psychological (or social) distance, physical distance, and frequency of leader–follower interactions. We will follow the same order when talking about the possible moderation effect of leader dependence. However, both types of dependence (informational and effect) should moderate all categories of immediacy in the same direction. As such instead of making six different propositions (two types of dependence for each of the three categories of immediacy), which all suggest the same effect, we will talk about the combined effects of each type of dependence on each separate category of in turn, but conclude with a general proposition for the moderating effect of dependence on the immediacy-based social influence of followers.

In terms of psychological or social distance, recall that followers who are psychologically (or socially) more immediate to the leaders are more likely to build rapport and have a higher quality relationship with the leader. This may be because these followers possess greater power or higher status than others and become more influential in terms of legitimacy or expertise for a leader. As such, leaders should be more attracted to these psychologically more immediate followers for a number of reasons. First, when leaders need additional information before making a high stakes decision a follower who is psychologically more immediate is not only a more trustworthy source of information, but also someone that leaders can confide in and more easily rely on (Brower, Schoorman, & Tan, 2000). In addition, a leader who is more effect dependent will likely try to interact with or seek for approval from followers who are psychologically closer or more similar. In these cases, a psychologically more immediate follower will also become more influential.

Second, in terms of physical immediacy, recall that followers who are physically closer to their leader have greater influence because they may have more opportunities to engage in influencing tactics (e.g., impression management, ingratiation) (e.g., Howell & Hall-Merenda, 1999; Napier & Ferris, 1993) and to provide cues regarding their relationship with leaders (Daft & Lengel, 1984). We expect both information and effect dependence to play a role in shaping the relationship between the follower physical distance and social influence. When leaders need more information it is easier to turn to those closest to them physically. Similarly, effect dependent leaders would also be more likely to interact frequently with their most immediate followers in an effort to diminish the social distance with those followers (Antonakis & Atwater, 2002). It can be assumed that these types of leaders will seek to build relationships or gain the social approval of those around them. As such, physically closer followers will be more able to provide cues regarding their relationship with the leader.

Finally in terms of the frequency of interactions between leaders and followers recall that followers who have more frequent interactions with the leader should be more influential because they gain visibility and opportunities to develop higher quality relationships with leaders. Followers who have more frequent interactions with leaders should have less difficulty in conveying information, resources, or emotional support to leaders. As such, leaders who are information or effect dependent will be more likely to solicit information, resources or the emotional support they need from the followers with whom they have the most frequent interactions.

Proposition 5b. Leader's informational and effect dependence will moderate the effect of immediacy-based social influence of a follower such that the amount of social influence a follower can exert over the leader will be greater when leaders' dependence for information and effect is higher.

4.4.2. Leader dependence and group level determinants of social influence

For both of the group level determinants of social influence (size and unity of the group) discussed earlier it is reasonable to expect that information rather than effect dependence of leaders should strengthen the effect of social influence.

We stated that a larger group with stronger agreement (or unity) will provide stronger norms, clearer cues and thus help the leader better "see" the social reality. For instance, larger, united groups will present stronger norms to the leader (Hollander, 1992); or make stronger arguments and provide better information to help the leader make a more effective judgment (Moscovici & Faucheux, 1972). As such, a leader who is dependent on information will be more influenced by a large and united group.

Theoretically and intuitively, it makes sense that the larger the group and the more the group agreed in their liking of a leader that group should also be more influential for leaders who are high on effect dependence. However, practically speaking, based on the arguments of VDL of LMX theories (that as groups increase in size in-groups form and leaders become more strategic with

their relationships with followers and the group becomes less cohesive), it seems implausible to propose that effect for larger and more united groups. Instead, we concentrate on effects for information dependent leaders and propose that:

Proposition 5c. Leader dependence for information will moderate the relationship between the group-level determinant (e.g., size and unity of the group) of followers' social influence and leader behavior.

5. Pushing the boundaries of SIT

When Latane (1981) first introduced SIT, the aim was to provide a general, broad framework to test the influence of others on a target individual. For the bulk of this paper, we have hewn closely to the original definitions and structure of the theory. However, as we mentioned earlier, we believe there are at least three areas in which we can push the boundaries of SIT to make it more broadly applicable to leadership and followership; 1) interrelationships among the determinants of social influence, 2) moderators (other than power), and 3) outcomes (other than behavioral change).

5.1. Relationships among the determinants of SIT

Although SIT theory treats the three determinants of social influence as distinct, upon consideration it seems clear that they are in fact closely related to one another and may even interact. For example, strength seems to be closely related to immediacy. SIT defines strength as the amount of (personal and/or position) power a follower possesses (Jackson & Latane, 1981). In contrast, psychological (social) distance (a type of immediacy) is conceptualized as differences in status, rank, authority, social standing and power between a leader and a follower (Antonakis & Atwater, 2002). Given that power is a component of both definitions there is potential for a relationship among these two determinants. Followers of stronger position or personal power should have less psychological (social) distance with leaders because the perceived power difference between the leader and follower should be less for stronger followers. As such strength may be an antecedent to psychological (social) distance. As a follower gains in strength they become more psychologically or socially close to the leader. Alternatively, psychological or social distance could be construed as moderating the impact of follower strength. For instance, followers perceive close (socialized) charismatic leaders to be socially or psychologically more immediate (Michaelis et al., 2009; Shamir, 1995). It is conceivable that the effect of follower strength on social influence may be greater for stronger followers when psychological or social distance between the leader and followers is reduced.

Similar relationships within the three categories of immediacy (psychological (social) distance, physical distance, frequency of interaction) are also possible. Physical proximity may allow followers to more frequently engage in upward influence tactics and improve the quality of the relationship they build with leaders; reducing the psychological or social distance between them. Similarly, physically closer followers should be able to interact with their leaders more frequently than distant followers (Bass, 1998) potentially leading to higher rates of leader member interaction. Thus, physical proximity could be positioned as an antecedent for both psychological distance and the frequency of leader–follower interactions. Interactions among the three categories of immediacy are also theoretically reasonable. For example, the extent to which physically closer followers exert social influence may be moderated by the extent to which that same follower is psychologically close to the leader such that physically close followers who are also socially close to the leader are more influential.

Obviously these are areas for future empirical exploration, but our arguments here suggest that when modeling the effects of social influence it may be useful to consider relationships among the determinants. By specifying these interrelationships in their statistical and theoretical models researchers should be better able to capture the full predictive power of these three determinants.

5.2. Moderators of SIT

Although to this point, we have not strayed from the power and social influence literature when exploring possible moderation effects, it is clear that any number of other possible contextual (e.g., technology) or individual-specific (e.g., leader humility) moderators exist and deserve our attention. Here, in an effort to tie SIT to more contemporary leadership issues (in addition to followership) we will consider two possibilities that have been gaining traction in leadership, technology in leadership (e.g., Avolio, Kahai, & Dodge, 2000) and newer leader individual difference such as leader ambition, narcissism (Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007) and humility (Owens & Hekman, 2012).

Recent advances in technology may make physical proximity less of an issue than it might have been when SIT was initially developed. Although traditional leadership research (Kerr & Jermier, 1978) and SIT (Latane, 1981) assumed physical distance weakened leadership effectiveness or reduced the amount of social influence one can exert over others, advances in technology may neutralize this negative impact. A good example for this can be found in virtual teams and the fact that virtual communication can be more effective than face to face communication (see for a review, Kirkman & Mathieu, 2005). Recent advancements in information and communication technologies (e.g., e-mail, chat, or video-conferencing) may also increase visibility among group members (e.g., Maznevski & Chudoba, 2001) enable better information flow as well as increase the amount of leader–member interactions. As such, technology may moderate the negative effects of physical distance on social influence.

Another source of potential moderators comes from contemporary trait perspectives (e.g., leader ambition, Padilla, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2007; leader narcissism, Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007; or leader humility, Owens & Hekman, 2012). For example, ambitious leaders may resist approaching their followers for information when they feel that success might be attributed to the follower rather than the leader. As a result ambitious leaders may be both less effect and less information dependent. Similarly, narcissistic leaders are more likely to exploit their followers simply because of their preference for taking credit for success, rather than sharing it with followers. As such, narcissistic leaders may be less effect dependent on followers and thus less affected by the follower influence. In contrast, humble leaders, who are characterized by being more open and accepting of feedback, more aware of the strengths and weaknesses of themselves and of others, and more appreciative of others' contributions (Owens & Hekman, 2012) can be reasonably expected to be more information dependent as well as effect dependent and more susceptible to social influence of their followers. Future research may fruitfully examine how other contexts or leader characteristics may act to moderate the influence of followers (e.g., Antonakis, Day, & Schyns, 2012).

5.3. Outcomes of SIT

SIT originally focused on the judgments and decisions of others as the dominant outcome of interest (Latane, 1981). However, social influence certainly should drive other leader outcomes (that may be more proximal or distal as compared to behaviors) such as changes in self-perceptions, attitude, emotions, or cognitions of leaders influence (Van Kleef, Van Doorn, Heerdink, & Koning, 2011). Below, in an effort to spur thinking about the relationship of followership and SIT on other potential outcomes we will briefly touch on two of these possible leader outcomes, attitudes and self-image of leaders.

5.3.1. Attitudes

Attitude change (persuasion in the social influence literature, Van Kleef et al., 2011) occurs as a result of exposure to information from others (Olson & Zanna, 1993). Although attitude change has been treated as an important outcome in the social influence literature (please see for a review, Eagly & Chaiken, 1998; Wood, 2000), SIT mainly focused on changes in decisions or behaviors. However, one of the seminal theories of attitudes, the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1985) explicitly models subjective norms as an antecedent to attitudes (as well as having its own separate direct impact on behavioral intentions). As such it is easy to that imagine larger, unified groups of strong and immediate (the optimal combination of the three determinants of social influence) followers should help form the subjective norms that shape leader attitudes. Future research might explore how the determinants of social influence interact to shape leader attitudes towards a specific behavior.

5.3.2. Self-image

Changes in-awareness or self-perception may be yet another important outcome variable. Research on upward feedback confirms that views or perceptions from below raise an individual's self-awareness of what they do well or badly (Atwater et al., 1995). In combination with research on behavioral self-regulation (e.g., moral cleansing and moral licensing, see Monin & Jordan, 2009; Sachdeva, Iliev, & Medin, 2009), follower social influence may also have a powerful influence on a leader's self-image. Given that negative feedback can cause changes in behavior (e.g., Ashford, 1989; Atwater et al., 1995) and that in general, people prefer to have a positive self-image (e.g., Franzen & Pointner, 2012), follower social influence may serve to shape a leader's self-image and as an important trigger for a leader's behavioral self-regulation.

While outside the scope of this paper we believe that the integration of SIT theory and followership can help subsequent research to further build out the theoretical rationales for how these outcome variables (and many others) may vary as a result of follower social influence and to develop empirical tests of these approaches.

6. Discussion

In this paper, we briefly reviewed both the traditional leadership and followership literatures to highlight the often overlooked active role of followers in leadership. We argued for the inclusion of followers into the complex equation of leadership and attempted to theoretically position them as important sources of (social) influence. Drawing from SIT (Latane, 1981) and the literature on power (e.g., French & Raven, 1959), we tried to model the individual- and group-level determinants of follower influence as well as how group characteristics may moderate the influence of individual followers. Finally, we argued that this (social) influence of followers (and by extension followership) would only have an effect when leaders are dependent on followers for either information, affiliation or maintaining their positive self-regard (e.g., French & Raven, 1959; McClelland, 1975). Given the need for brevity and a relatively narrow scope, however, there were a number of issues we did not touch on or only mentioned in brief.

6.1. From social influence to leader outcomes

In this paper, we framed the impact of social influence as a positive response from the target. In general, research on social influence discusses the possibility of either a positive or a negative response on the part of the target of social influence. A positive response refers to a change in target's decisions, behaviors, or attitudes to become more in line with the source of social influence's thoughts, behaviors, suggestions or reactions. This can take three distinctive forms: compliance, identification and internalization (Kelman, 1958). Compliance occurs when the target changes in order to earn some sort of reward (e.g., approval

or preventing punishments or disapproval) and not because they sincerely agree with the change; identification occurs when the target changes because he or she desires to build and have a strong, meaningful relationship with the source of influence; and internalization occurs when the target changes because they truly agree with source of social influence's ideas, reactions, behaviors or suggestions, and find them intrinsically rewarding. In contrast, a negative response (also known as resistance to social influence) refers to no change in target's decisions, behaviors or attitudes regardless of what others think, suggest or react to (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Certainly each of these responses to social influence is possible for a leader. Those leaders high on effect dependence should be particularly likely to comply or identify with the social influence and adjust their behaviors (or decisions, attitudes, self perceptions, etc.). However, as suggested by the definition of compliance (and slightly less so for those who identify with the source of social influence) those changes for leaders only going along to get along may be only temporary or for appearances. Those leaders high on information dependency would be more likely to internalize the social influence and make an honest effort to adjust their behaviors (or decisions, attitudes, self-perceptions, etc.) and to do so for the long term. In contrast, leaders low in dependence would be less likely to perform any of those three behaviors and more likely to resist if they disagree.

There may certainly be other individual differences that attenuate or amplify the relationship between social influence and behavior however if we were to include each possible moderated positive or negative response in our model this would extend our paper beyond its current scope. Nevertheless the differential effects of the determinants of social influence (e.g. strength, immediacy) on the type of response they evoke could be quite interesting (for example, whether the typically extremely negative reactions to whistle blowing experienced by followers are attenuated by the immediacy or strength based social influence of the follower) and deserve further research.

6.2. Dynamic effects

Time is implicit in our model. When one considers certain sources of power or the effect of interactions this becomes even clearer. For example, the history of a given follower with a specific leader, for example whether they have been a source of valuable insight in the past (Shamir, 2011), will impact the amount of that follower's information based and referent based power. In parallel, leader member interactions (a category of immediacy) unfold over time with positive and negative outcomes. How these play out over time should have implications for the amount of social influence of a given follower.

Finally, in the same way that followers react to leaders, leaders react to followers. Indeed, that is a premise of our model, that leaders choose to change (or not) their behaviors in response to social influence. However, these reactions should also feedback into the follower perceptions and shape subsequent follower reaction. In short, this is a dynamic relationship of bottom up influence and top down counterinfluence. While difficult to model and well beyond the scope of this paper it is important to acknowledge the temporal element of any model and the possibility of feedback effects.

6.3. Practical implications

Besides the theoretical propositions in this current paper there are also important practical implications of social influence of followers. Leaders are key players for organizations or societies; however, followers do seem to have a say in the way leaders lead them. As such, our research should help extend the scope of the traditional leadership research to examine the practical implications of how and when followers can exert social influence on leader (Carsten et al., 2010; Kelley, 1988).

Our research suggests that followers should be aware that they can affect leader behaviors through influence tactics drawing on their different sources of power (e.g., Wayne & Ferris, 1990; Wayne & Liden, 1995), or through different types of feedback (e.g., Atwater et al., 1995). Yet, a note of caution is merited. Challenging the behaviors of leaders or trying to influence leaders in the direction followers desire might be risky for them as well. Speaking up about issues you do not agree with may cause retaliation or unfavorable outcomes for individuals (e.g., the whistle blowing literature, e.g., Near & Miceli, 1985). A combination of SIT, the work of Asch (1951, 1956) and some of the arguments we make here can provide valuable clues about how followers can exercise their social influence in relative safely. Be aware of the needs of your leader. Build your strength accordingly (e.g. be persistent, show integrity and composure and have some positional or informational power) increase your immediacy (reduce social distance) and find safety in numbers (find a confederate, build coalitions).

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