

Charisma in Everyday Life: Conceptualization and Validation of the General Charisma Inventory

by

Konstantin Tskhay

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Department of Psychology
University of Toronto

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Abstract

Although both scholars and lay people are fascinated with charismatic individuals, relatively few theorists have attempted to define charisma. Much of the empirical research examining charisma has been concerned with the study of leadership. Even within that literature, however, theorists have focused on charisma's outcomes, leaving unarticulated precisely what charisma is. Here, I tested a new operational conceptualization of charisma in the context of everyday life. Specifically, I proposed that charisma is composed of the interpersonally-focused dimensions of influence and affability. I validated this conceptualization in a series of studies, demonstrating (i) that lay people possess a consensual idea of charisma; (ii) that charisma consists of two quantifiable dimensions, influence and affability; (iii) that charisma is distinct from other constructs of interest to psychologists and leadership theorists; (iv) that charisma is observable; and, finally, (v) that assessments of charisma predict important real world outcomes, such as persuasion and liking. These studies, therefore, provide a new, comprehensive contextualization of charisma that extends beyond the study of formal leadership. Furthermore, the current work highlights that charisma is a relevant construct to leaders and laypeople alike.

Thus, this research not only attempts to conceptualize and measure charisma but also demonstrates that charisma might be important to people every day.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Appendices.....	x
Chapter 1 General Introduction	1
1 The Evolution of Charisma in Leadership Research.....	2
2 Psychological Conceptualizations of Charisma	6
3 The General Conceptualization of Charisma	10
4 Overview of Studies	12
Chapter 2 Pilot Study: Item Generation	15
Chapter 3 Study 1: The Factor Structure of Charisma	18
1 Method	18
1.1 Participants and Procedure	18
2 Results	19
3 A Brief Discussion	22
Chapter 4 Study 2: Confirming the Factor Structure of the GCI	23
1 Method	23
1.1 Participants	23
1.2 Procedure	23
2 Results	23
3 A Brief Discussion	28
Chapter 5 Study 3: Establishing Convergent and Discriminant Validity of the GCI.....	29
1 Method	30

1.1	Measures	30
1.2	Procedure	34
2	Results	35
2.1	Relating GCI to Emotions and Charismatic Leadership.....	35
2.2	Relating GCI to Competence and Warmth	39
2.3	Relating GCI to Expressiveness	39
2.4	Relating GCI to Intelligence	40
3	A Brief Discussion	40
Chapter 6 The Observable Aspects of Charisma		41
1	Study 4A: Charisma in Group Interactions with Strangers.....	41
1.1	Method.....	42
1.1.1	Participants	42
1.1.2	Materials	42
1.1.3	Procedure.....	42
1.1.4	Analytic Strategy	43
1.2	Results.....	47
1.2.1	Consensus and Self-Other Agreement	47
1.2.2	Main Analysis.....	49
2	Study 4B: Perceptions of Charisma by Close Others.....	51
2.1	Method.....	51
2.1.1	Participants	51
2.1.2	Informants	51
2.1.3	Procedure.....	52
2.1.4	Analytic Strategy	52
2.2	Results.....	53
3	A Brief Discussion	55
Chapter 7 Study 5: Relating Charisma to Persuasion		56
1	Method	57
1.1	Participants and Procedure	57
1.2	Analytic Strategy	58
2	Results	59

2.1	Message Persuasiveness	59
2.2	Speaker Persuasiveness	62
2.3	Speaker Charisma	65
3	Discussion	66
Chapter 8 Study 6: Relating Charisma to Liking		68
1	Method	68
1.1	Participants	68
1.2	Measures	68
1.3	Procedure	69
1.4	Analytic Strategy	72
2	Results	72
3	A Brief Discussion	76
Chapter 9 General Discussion		78
1	Theoretical Implications.....	80
2	Limitations and Future Directions	83
3	Conclusion.....	86
References		88
Appendix A: Categories in the Pilot Study		102
Appendix B: Item Ratings in the Pilot Study		104
Appendix C: Argument Script in Study 5		108
Appendix D: A Measure of Liking Used in Study 6		110
Appendix E: A List of Measures Used in Study 6		111

List of Tables

<i>Table 1:</i> Item means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations in Study 2	25
<i>Table 2:</i> Means, standard deviations, and correlations between each validity measure in Study 3 and the two GCI subscales, accompanied by the 95% confidence interval around each estimate	37
<i>Table 3:</i> Estimates of consensus and self-other agreement for influence, affability, and attractiveness in Study 4	48
<i>Table 4:</i> Means, standard deviations, and Pearson's product-moment correlations between the dyadic interaction partners' liking of each other, Big Five traits, demographic characteristics, and GCI subscale scores in Study 6	71
<i>Table 5:</i> Unstandardized parameter estimates, model fit statistics, and significance levels for a series of nested multilevel regression models predicting people's liking for their interaction partners in Study 6	74

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1:</i> Left: Scree plot graphing unrotated eigenvalues for the first 10 components. Right: Item factor loadings, reliabilities, variance explained, and rotated eigenvalues from the exploratory factor analysis (Study 1)	21
<i>Figure 2:</i> The final factor structure established in the confirmatory factor analysis (Study 2)	27
<i>Figure 3:</i> Graphical representation of the relationship between self- and observer-ratings in the round robin interaction task on the between targets level (Study 4A)	50
<i>Figure 4:</i> The graphical representation of the model examined in Study 4B	54
<i>Figure 5:</i> Message persuasiveness as a function of target's sex, condition, and affability (Study 5)	61
<i>Figure 6:</i> Speaker persuasiveness as a function of target's sex, condition, and affability (Study 5)	64

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Categories in the Pilot Study	102
Appendix B: Item Ratings in the Pilot Study	104
Appendix C: Argument Scripts in Study 5	108
Appendix D: The Measure of Liking Used in Study 6	110
Appendix E: A List of Measures Used in Study 6	111

Chapter 1

General Introduction

Among the many different characteristics that people ascribe to each other, charisma holds a special place. The word is typically reserved to describe those who inspire masses of people with seemingly little effort, for better or for worse. Indeed, figures such as Princess Diana, Oprah Winfrey, Mahatma Gandhi, Ronald Reagan, and even Adolf Hitler share this triumphant, mysterious, and fascinating descriptor. Researchers share the public's fascination with charisma. A simple search for the term 'charisma' in the academic database Google Scholar produced 171,000 entries, outnumbering the results returned for intensively studied traits such as extraversion. Not only do people study and discuss charisma, numerous companies (e.g., Charisma Training Academy) and social media venues (e.g., The Art of Charm) make it their mission to help people become more charismatic. Thus, interest in charisma is both broad and encompassing.

Yet, despite the widespread public and academic interest in charisma, research examining this construct is relatively young and sparse. In fact, although charisma has received considerable attention from academic disciplines in the last several decades, no unifying conceptualization of the construct currently exists (see Antonakis, 2012; Van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013). Instead, most researchers conceptualize charisma from the position of their preferred theoretical framework, almost all of which have been confined to the study of leadership in organizational settings (e.g., Transformational Leadership Theory; Bass, 1985; see also Antonakis, 2012 for review). In reality, however, people observe charisma not only among leaders of large organizations and political parties, but also among their friends, family members, and even strangers. That is, charisma can also be informal and general. In contrast to leadership charisma,

general charisma may be a function of personal qualities among lay people, rather than traits directly relevant to navigating an organizational environment. The goal of the current work was therefore to identify the dimensions of charisma that exist in the larger population beyond leadership and to demonstrate the impact of charisma in everyday life.

1 The Evolution of Charisma in Leadership Research

Unlike prior accounts that viewed charisma as something supernatural (Potts, 2009), the scholarly treatment of charisma has been pragmatic, outcome-driven, and associated with leadership (Antonakis, 2012). This pragmatism stems largely from theories articulated by Weber (1922/1978), who outlined one of the first formal conceptualizations of charisma. Weber reasoned that charismatic leaders facilitate social change during times of structural crisis by advocating their idealized vision and appealing to the emotions of devoted followers. This reasoning highlights that leaders must be able to convince followers of their vision and elicit an emotional response from them in order to be considered charismatic. However, Weber also suggested a bipartite conceptualization of charisma: as a set of qualities and character traits possessed by successful leaders (charisma as an individual difference) and as a product of followers' perceptions (charisma as an interpersonal perception).

Weber's (1922/1978) theoretical tenets of charisma and the undeniable focus on leadership resulted in development, conceptualization, and reconceptualization of charismatic leadership theory in the decades that followed (see Antonakis, 2012 for review). Inspired by Weber's writings, House (1977) attempted to strip away the mysticism of charisma by giving the construct a more operational conceptualization. Specifically, House differentiated charismatic leaders from their less charismatic counterparts by focusing on their need for power, moral convictions, and the ability to influence others. Shamir, House, and Arthur (1993) extended

House's (1977) original theory to self-conceptual and motivational theories of charismatic leaders' effect on their followers. They suggested that charismatic leaders affect followers' self-perceptions whereas non-charismatic leaders do not. For example, a charismatic leader might appeal to the collective identity of individuals to produce a greater sense of shared security, meaning, and need for achievement, and thus direct the entire group towards a commonly idealized goal. The revised theory also suggested that charismatic leaders' behaviors, as extensions of their personalities, motivate followers to emulate qualities of the leader (see also House & Howell, 1992; House, Spangler, & Woycke, 1991). Thus, House and colleagues described charismatic leaders from the perspective of individual differences in their ability to influence followers' self-views and behaviors (House, 1977; House & Howell, 1992; Shamir et al., 1993). In other words, House considered leaders' influence to be an observable and defining feature of charisma.

Building on House's (1977) and Weber's (1922/1978) emphasis on charismatic leaders' ability to influence followers via framing and expressing emotions, Conger and Kanungo (1987, 1988, 1994) developed a theory of charismatic leadership focusing on the expressive behaviors that leaders use to convince their followers of their vision. They suggested that followers infer charisma from directly observing how a leader behaves and developed a taxonomy of behavioral indicators of charisma that focused on three aspects of leadership: sensitivity to the environment, idealized vision formation, and change implementation (Conger & Kanungo, 1987, 1992, 1998). Specifically, they argued that charismatic leaders must be able to identify issues within their environment, articulate their idealized vision of the future, challenge the status quo, and emotionally inspire their followers. This new theoretical model provided organizational behavior researchers with a structure for the behavioral manifestations of charisma that focused on

perceptions of charisma. Yet, Conger and Kanungo (1988) also maintained that influence and emotions are at charisma's core.

Like other theorists, Bass (1985, 1991) conceptualized charismatic leaders as using emotional and expressive displays to inspire their followers. The key to this conceptualization was that this emotional inspiration led to followers' achievement and self-transcendence to the benefit of the leader's idealized vision. Thus, charisma was an emotional component of leadership. Specifically, charismatic leaders' rich emotional and symbolic communication of their vision created a sense of attachment in their followers. Bass (1985) therefore explicitly considered interpersonal emotions to be a definitive component of charismatic leadership. To measure this, he constructed a charisma subscale of the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ). However, because other theorists asserted that the subscale seemed to measure leaders' ability to influence their followers rather than their emotions (e.g., Hunt, 1991; Yukl, 1999), the MLQ's charisma subscale was re-conceptualized as "idealized influence" (Avolio & Bass, 1988; Avolio, Waldman, & Yammarino, 1991), suggesting that charisma is synonymous with the ability to influence others.

Bass and colleagues also asserted that charisma is not limited to the "top echelons" of organizations and regarded it as a quality possessed by leaders at every organizational layer (e.g., Avolio & Bass, 1988; Avolio, Waldman, & Einstein, 1988; Avolio & Yammarino, 1990; Bass, 1985; Day & Antonakis, 2012; Jacquart & Antonakis, 2014; Shamir, 1995; Yammarino & Bass, 1990). Furthermore, an examination of a large body of work found that women score higher on this variant of charisma than men and that this component of charisma may be more beneficial to female (cf. male) performance in leadership positions (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Van Engen, 2003). Thus, researchers studying charisma as idealized influence attempted to generalize

charisma more broadly than previous accounts, yet still examined it only in the organizational settings.

Although other leadership researchers added new perspectives to the four major conceptions of charisma described above (e.g., Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Bommer, 1996; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman, & Fetter, 1990; Sashkin, 1988), they continued to define charisma as composed of two components that were originally proposed by Weber (1922/1978): influence and emotionality (both the framing of followers' emotions and the leaders' emotional display). Drawing on these conceptualizations, numerous researchers have generated empirical data to address the propositions suggested within each theoretical framework (for meta-analyses, see DeRue, Nahrgang, Wellman, & Humphrey, 2011; Judge & Piccolo, 2004; and Lowe, Kroeck, & Sivasubramaniam, 1996). Although some consequences of charisma have been identified in this body of work, Van Knippenberg and Sitkin (2013) suggested that a unified conceptual and operational definition of charisma was still lacking (see also Antonakis et al., 2011).

Furthermore, although charisma was conceptualized in terms of influence and emotional displays and framing, no model to date has considered these qualities outside the leadership context. That is not to say that leadership theorists did not consider that charisma might be an individual difference among lay people, but rather that they focused their efforts on questions that were most relevant to the organizational setting. Additionally, all of the models discussed above focused on charisma as a construct that differentiates charismatic leaders from both their less charismatic counterparts and from their followers. This between-individual variability suggests that charisma might be conceptualized as an individual differences variable that would manifest both in self-reports (Antonakis, 2011; Avolio & Bass, 1994; Avolio, Waldman, & Yammarino, 1991; House & Howell, 1992) and in expressive behaviors (Conger & Kanungo,

1987, 1988; see also Antonakis, Fenley, & Liechti, 2011, 2012). However, the composition of individual differences that might differentiate charismatic people in more general contexts from their less charismatic counterparts remains less clear. Here, I examined charisma as an internal individual disposition with a focus on influence and interpersonal emotions that is not limited to the context of leadership but relevant to people in a broader range of everyday situations.

2 Psychological Conceptualizations of Charisma

Similar to expressive aspects of leadership charisma (e.g., Conger & Kanungo, 1988), a separate literature in social and personality psychology conceptualized charisma in terms of nonverbal expressions (Friedman, Prince, Riggio, & DiMatteo, 1980; see also Friedman, Riggio, & Casella, 1988; Riggio & Friedman, 1982, 1986). Regarding charisma as synonymous with expressiveness, Friedman et al. (1980) designed the Affective Communication Test (ACT), which evaluated individual differences in expressiveness in a variety of contexts based on self-report. Validation of the scale showed that people in stereotypically charismatic occupations (e.g., acting) reported being more expressive and that the ACT correlated strongly with trait extraversion ($r = .52$). Yet, the correlation with charisma in politics was rather small ($r = .20$), suggesting that the ACT captures expressive aspects of charisma but perhaps not other elements related to interpersonal influence. Thus, although this definition of charisma suggests that expressive behavior is something that charismatic people (both leaders and non-leaders) may project, it does not fully account for the dispositional facets of charisma (e.g., influence, emotionality; see Antonakis, 2012; Van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013). Thus, whereas expressiveness may be a critical component of charisma, it appears to only be one constituent.

Similar to Friedman and colleagues (1980), Keating (2002, 2011) conceptualized charisma in terms of its expression via verbal and nonverbal cues. In contrast to Friedman's

conceptualization, Keating suggested that charisma affects people's approach and avoidance motivations, thereby generating a sense of attraction. Specifically, Keating reasoned that behaviors and appearance that signal dominance elicit an evolutionary avoidance reaction in others whereas behaviors signaling warmth, kindness, and trustworthiness elicit evolutionary approach reaction. She further clarified that people may be attracted to the individuals who elicit these evolutionary reactions (Keating, 2011). In sum, Keating reasoned the individuals who are able to elicit both the approach and avoidance reactions in others should be perceived as attractive and charismatic.

This idea converges with leadership researchers' conceptualizations, in which charisma was theorized as a mixture of influence (dominance) and emotionality (approachability). Additionally, Keating (2002, 2011) found gender differences in perceptions of charisma, such that the behavioral expression of charisma was most relevant to women (cf., men): specifically, women whose behavior fit stereotypical gender-role expectations were evaluated as more charismatic. This gender difference is consistent with Eagly et al.'s (2003) finding that transformational leadership was more prominent and effective among female (cf., male) leaders. Overall, this additional conceptualization of charisma continues to paint a picture whereby charisma is embedded within the dimensions of dominance and warmth, complementing and extending leadership literature (e.g., Eagly et al., 2003; Shamir et al., 1993).

Separately, researchers in educational psychology developed an instrument intended to measure teachers' charisma in the classroom (Huang & Lin, 2014). To construct the scale, researchers asked undergraduate students to evaluate their professors using a number of items. Four factors were identified: knowledge of the subject matter, character traits (e.g., responsiveness), teaching techniques (e.g., new and interesting teaching materials), and humor. Importantly, this scale was based primarily on what made teachers successful rather than

charismatic. In other words, the researchers found the components that were relevant to teacher's success in the classroom rather than the components that truly focused on charismatic influence across contexts and situations.

Noting the heavy reliance on leadership in the literature on charisma, other recent work aimed to generalize charisma to lay people. Tkalac Verčič and colleagues (Tkalac Verčič, 2014; Tkalac Verčič & Verčič, 2011) asked university students to rate the charisma of famous politicians and public figures (e.g., Barack Obama) using a novel questionnaire. Despite sampling general respondents, rather than the followers of specific leaders, this work focused on people's impressions of the charisma of well-known leaders, leaving open the question of how individuals evaluate the charisma of targets that do not occupy high-status leadership positions and whether charisma may manifest as an individual difference that may differentiate lay people from each other (cf., Keating, 2002).

Several other psychological constructs indirectly relate to charisma. For example, the concept of individuation, or individual differences in a person's desire to stand out in his or her social and physical environments, can be related to charismatic disposition (Maslach, 1974; Maslach, Santee, & Wade, 1987; Santee & Maslach, 1982). Although charisma was never explicitly mentioned within this framework, the conceptualization of individuation appears to resemble charisma. For example, one investigation found that individuals who score high on individuation emerge as leaders in groups, have outstanding verbal and nonverbal social skills (as measured by the ACT and observer reports), and are more prone to display unconventional behaviors (Whitney, Sagrestano, & Maslach, 1994). All of these traits and behaviors also contribute to leadership charisma (see Antonakis, 2012). Thus, the construct of individuation is similar to charisma. However, the two ideas diverge in at least one critical way. Whereas charisma is inherently a disposition, individuation resembles motivation, or an individual's

internal drive to stand out from the crowd (Whitney et al., 1994). Indeed, not all individuals who wish to stand out from the crowd are charismatic and not all charismatic people have an explicit desire to stand out. This differentiation implies that the constructs are partially independent, while predicting similar outcomes. For example, an individual who wants to be unique and differentiated from the environment may rely on their charismatic disposition to emerge as a leader, producing charismatic effect as a by-product.

Two other constructs, namely warmth and competence of the interpersonal circumplex models of cognition and personality (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Leary, 1957; Wiggins, 1979), are relevant to the conceptualization of charisma and emerge consistently in both leadership and psychological literature. In the circumplex models, warmth encompasses individual's likeability, trustworthiness, affiliation, and emotional positivity. Although the second component may appear to differ between the socio-cognitive and personality circumplex perspectives, it is composed of descriptors marking competence (e.g., Fiske et al., 2007), dominance, and power (e.g., Wiggins, 1979). Furthermore, the circumplex theory suggests that a different mixture of the two major dimensions can describe all traits. Because previous research suggested that charisma is marked by influence (e.g., Avolio & Bass, 1994; Bass, 1985), affiliation, and positive emotions (Conger & Kanungo, 1988), as well as expressiveness, charisma should be positively correlated with both dominance/competence and warmth dimensions within the circumplex models (same quadrant as extraversion). Thus, the circumplex models can be used to additionally contextualize individual differences in charisma.

In sum, although several forays have extended charisma beyond the leadership literature, each has examined a limited aspect of charisma or focused on impressions made of others in positions of leadership. Furthermore, although social and personality psychologists have developed constructs that are closely related to charisma (individuation, warmth, dominance, and

competence), very few studies have attempted to explicitly identify what charisma is. Here, I sought to contextualize charisma as an internal disposition and to develop and validate an assessment that would allow for a more complete account of charisma in everyday life.

3 The General Conceptualization of Charisma

In my conceptualization of everyday charisma, I aimed to capture the main components of charisma that have been consistently outlined in leadership and psychological science. Because previous research has suggested that charismatic leaders have an exceptional ability to influence others, I propose that influence will be a component of general everyday charisma. Specifically, I expect that influence is a component of everyday charisma because people should be attuned to those who give direction (cf., Antonakis, 2011; Tskhay, Xu, & Rule, 2014; Weber, 1922/1978), attract attention (Whitney et al., 1994), motivate others (House & Howell, 1992; House et al., 1991), and create structure within the constantly changing environment (e.g., Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Weber, 1922/1978). Individuals who are able to help others achieve their goals (Antonakis, 2011) and/or make other people feel intimidated (Keating, 2011) will be perceived as influential and charismatic. Importantly, charismatic individuals should be internally predisposed to exert their influence and command over the environment (see Whitney et al., 1994). In this work, I examined whether the disposition towards influence will emerge as a component of charisma, whether naïve and close others will be able to observe this element of charisma, and whether influence will affect leadership and interpersonal outcomes.

Furthermore, given that prior researchers conceptualized charismatic leaders as framing followers' emotions via emotional display and that social psychological literature emphasizes the role of positive emotions in forming everyday relationships (see Keating, 2011; Shiota, Campos, Keltner, & Hertenstein, 2004 for review; see also Friedman et al., 1980), I proposed that

charismatic people would convey a positive disposition to others, thereby setting a pleasant tone in everyday interactions. For example, charismatic individuals may project the image of warmth (Fiske et al., 2007) and trustworthiness (Keating, 2002; Keating & Heltman, 1994; Todorov, Pakrashi, & Oosterhof, 2009), thereby seeming more approachable. Furthermore, charismatic individuals' ability to understand, manipulate, and react to other people's emotions in everyday situations—otherwise known as emotional intelligence—may attract people to charismatics (Hareli et al., 2009). Additionally, this implies that affability further distinguishes everyday charisma from leadership charisma: although prominent public figures can be charismatic yet unkind (i.e. Hitler), friends and acquaintances are rarely charismatic if they are not likable. Thus, in accordance with lay experiences of charisma, general everyday charisma focuses heavily on positive affect. In other words, I believe that people with greater dispositions towards consistently positive emotional expression would be considered to be charismatic (cf., Hareli et al., 2009).

Moreover, I reasoned that charisma must be observable. Because charisma is characterized by interpersonal communication and expressiveness, previous research states that charisma is not only a disposition, but also a perception (e.g., Antonakis, 2011; Avolio & Bass, 1988; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Friedman et al., 1980; Shamir et al., 1993; Weber, 1922/1978). Separately, research on social perception has demonstrated that traits and individual differences manifest in appearance and behavior (e.g., Albright, Kenny, & Malloy, 1988; Borkenau & Liebler, 1993; Connelly & Ones, 2010; Gosling, Ko, Mannarelli, & Morris, 2002; Kenny, 1991). Along these lines, I propose that individuals with charismatic traits will produce consistent impressions of charisma via their expressive behavior (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Friedman et al., 1980; House, 1977; Shamir et al., 1993; see also Antonakis, 2012).

Last, and important in light of recent criticisms of charismatic leadership research (Van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013), it is important to note that my definition of charisma is not tied to a specific context (e.g., leadership) nor is my conception of charisma defined by its outcomes. Instead, my conceptualization of charisma provides a unified account of everyday charisma that opens new avenues for investigating its consequences in a number of domains, including but not limited to leadership.

In sum, because previous research has conceptualized charisma as the ability of an individual to influence others, often through the framing and expression of emotions (e.g., Antonakis, 2012; Bass, 1985; Weber, 1922/1978) and because previous research unanimously stated that charisma is relevant in the interactions with other people every day, I theoretically derive that charisma (i) has an influence component, (ii) has an emotional component, (iii) is observable by people, and (iv) affects real world outcomes.

4 Overview of Studies

Before accepting my newly proposed conceptualization of charisma, I must confirm the validity of its components. I therefore tested my propositions about charisma by conducting a series of studies to examine the different aspects of my theoretical conceptualization.

First, I sought to ensure that the hypothesized dimensions of influence and affability are indeed elements that people think charismatic people possess. If so, I wanted to establish these two concepts operationally via scale construction and validation, providing an operationalization of charisma. To achieve this, I asked lay people in the Pilot Study about the traits that they would ascribe to a charismatic person. I then assessed the overlap between these traits to identify those that the participants perceived to be particularly descriptive of charismatic people. Because I was interested in conceptualizing charisma as individuals' internal dispositions (as opposed to

perceptions of the individuals), I examined these traits as self-descriptors with a new sample of participants by submitting the self-ratings that people provided to an exploratory factor analysis in Study 1. In Study 2, I confirmed the dimensional structure of the new charisma scale as consisting of influence and affability via confirmatory factor analysis and then conducted convergent and discriminant validity analyses in Study 3, ensuring that charisma was a unique construct that was distinguishable from other related constructs (e.g., charismatic leadership, expressiveness). These four studies therefore provided an operationalization of everyday charisma as comprised of influence and affability.

To evaluate the observable nature of charisma, I examined charisma as an expressive and visible disposition in Study 4. Specifically, I examined whether people can accurately perceive individual differences in charisma in brief interactions with others, which are richly imbued with cues to personality and social behavior (see Ambady, Bernieri, & Richeson, 2000, for review). I hypothesized that participants would be able to accurately judge charisma from briefly interacting with each other. Furthermore, in Study 4, I examined whether individual's charisma may be apparent to their close acquaintances, family members, and friends, predicting that charisma's shine will be apparent in close relationships.

To further test the validity of my new conceptualization of charisma, I examined whether charisma might affect one leadership outcome—persuasion (e.g., Cialdini, 1984; DeRue et al., 2011; Judge & Piccolo, 2004; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). To do so, I recruited men and women to read either a weak or a strong argument in favor of a relatively neutral topic, wind power energy. An independent group of raters then evaluated the persuasiveness of the speakers and the messages. I correlated their ratings with the targets' self-reported charisma. I expected different relationships between charisma and persuasiveness according to the strength of the message: weak arguments should seem more persuasive as a function of the speaker's charisma, but strong

arguments should show no relationship as they ought to be sufficiently persuasive on their own. Moreover, there are at least two reasons to believe that the relationship between charisma and persuasiveness would vary across the two sexes. First, previous research demonstrated that charismatic leadership style may be more common among women than men and that women's performance may benefit from charisma more than men's performance (Eagly et al., 2003). Furthermore, because my dependent variable was observable and the sex of the speakers was readily evident to independent raters, I expected that gender stereotypes might augment the relationship between charisma and persuasion (e.g., Carli, 1999; Costrich, Feinstein, Kidder, & Marecek, 1975; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Specifically, because women are stereotyped to be warmer than men, I expected that affability component of charisma would positively predict persuasion for women, but not men. In other words, I expected that the individuals who fit the stereotypes more would be evaluated positively. Thus, in Study 5, I aimed to demonstrate that charisma, defined as an individual difference, should have an effect on one interpersonal outcome—persuasion. In addition to this, Study 5 allowed me to test whether charisma is an observable construct once again (cf. Study 4).

Finally, in Study 6, I examined the incremental validity of my newly developed inventory by examining whether charismatic individuals would be liked more by their interaction partners, independent of other personality traits that affect liking, namely extraversion and agreeableness (Van der Linden, Scholte, Cillessen, Te Nijenhuis, & Segers, 2010). To do so, I recruited dyads of participants and asked them to interact with each other, subsequently providing their ratings of each other's likeability. Therefore, Study 6 aimed to demonstrate that my new measure of charisma could predict not only leadership but also interpersonal outcomes over and above other established measures.

Chapter 2

Pilot Study: Item Generation

In the pilot study, I aimed to identify items that represent the traits of charismatic individuals. In order to develop a scale that would be representative of the consensual public opinions of everyday charisma (Hinkin, 1995, 1998), I asked lay informants to generate the items rather than generating them myself. Importantly, because I had specific predictions regarding the items that the participants would generate (items related to influence and affability), my approach to item generation was both inductive and deductive (Hinkin, 1995). That is, although non-experts generated the initial pool of items, I expected that the ideas that people have about charismatic others would converge with those previously expressed in the strong theoretical tradition of examining charisma in leadership and psychology.

I therefore recruited two groups of participants. I asked one group to list four descriptors of a charismatic person whom they might have encountered in their everyday life, and another group to rate those items for how representative they were of a charismatic person. By focusing on hypothetical individuals, my method allowed me to gather traits that people think are relevant to charisma without biasing the responses by emphasizing the participants' own personalities and characteristics.

The pilot study consisted of two stages. In the first stage, 102 American Mechanical Turk (MTurk; Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011)¹ Workers ($n = 50$ female; Age Range: 19-74 years) were asked to list four characteristics of charismatic individuals encountered in everyday

¹ Although I requested the data from 100 participants on MTurk, I recorded the data from two additional participants who submitted their responses but decided not to collect their compensation. Here, and throughout the manuscript, I included the participants who did not collect their compensation, often resulting in uneven sample sizes.

life. Because I wanted to ensure that participants generated items spontaneously, I did not provide any definition of charisma. However, to increase variability in the items and to avoid single word responses, I encouraged participants to provide detailed descriptions and gave examples of good responses (i.e. if listing the characteristics of a happy person, “smile” would be insufficient but “a big, genuine smile” would be an appropriate answer). The participants received the following instructions:

There are a variety of ways that charisma is communicated to others, both intentionally and unintentionally. We are interested in what characteristics you believe are indicators of an individual's charisma. Please be specific in your answers. For example, if asked what characteristics of a person would indicate that the person was happy, a good answer would be ‘a big, genuine smile’; answers such as ‘a *smile*’ require more detail.

List four characteristics, which you believe may indicate that a person is charismatic. Please be as specific as possible.

At the end of the first stage, I had collected 408 individually-generated descriptors that were grouped into 59 categories by myself and one of my research assistants to simplify redundancies (e.g., the items “good speaker,” “fluent speaker,” and “clear speaker” were categorized under the category “good public speaker”; See Appendix A for a list of categories); four descriptors were dropped because they either did not make sense or were not descriptive (i.e., “ora,” “tall,” “chubby,” “tone). A total of 100 individual items were then generated (See Appendix B).

In the second stage, an independent group of 50 American MTurk Workers ($n = 29$ female; Age Range: 21-72 years) rated each of the 100 items on how well each described a

charismatic person using a 7-point scale (1 = *Not at all Likely*, 7 = *Very Likely*).² I aggregated participants' ratings for each item (Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$). Overall, the participants perceived these 100 items as good descriptors of charisma ($M = 5.26$, $SD = 0.76$). I retained the 40 items receiving the highest ratings ($Min = 5.54$; $M = 5.94$, $SD = 0.24$; Appendix B) to ensure that I had a moderate and variable set of initial items.

² Due to a research assistant's error, participants saw the item "is approachable" twice, resulting in 99 items. I retained only the first rating that participants provided for this item.

Chapter 3

Study 1: The Factor Structure of Charisma

In the first study, I aimed to establish the factor structure of everyday charisma using descriptors identified in the Pilot Study. Because I conceptualized charisma as an internal disposition, I aimed to design a self-report measure. Thus, I asked participants to report on how well each item described them. Then, I performed the exploratory factor analysis, expecting the dimensions of influence and affability to underlie people's senses of their own charisma.

1 Method

1.1 Participants and Procedure

To work towards developing a scale to measure charisma as a general construct, I first examined commonalities between the 40 items retained in the second stage of the Pilot Study using exploratory factor analysis. Thus, this study identified the unique factors that comprise charisma. I recruited 412 American MTurk Workers ($n = 147$ female; Age Range: 18-89 years) and asked them to self-report on how well each item described them; eight participants were excluded because they gave uniform responses (final sample $N = 404$). For each item, I used the root construction "I am someone who is X" evaluated on a 5-point rating scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*). Because I was interested in the individuals' own senses of charisma, I focused directly on how the attributes that other people perceived to be charismatic may apply to the self. Thus, Study 1 differed from the Pilot Study in that I measured charisma as an internal disposition via report about the self rather than report about hypothetical others.

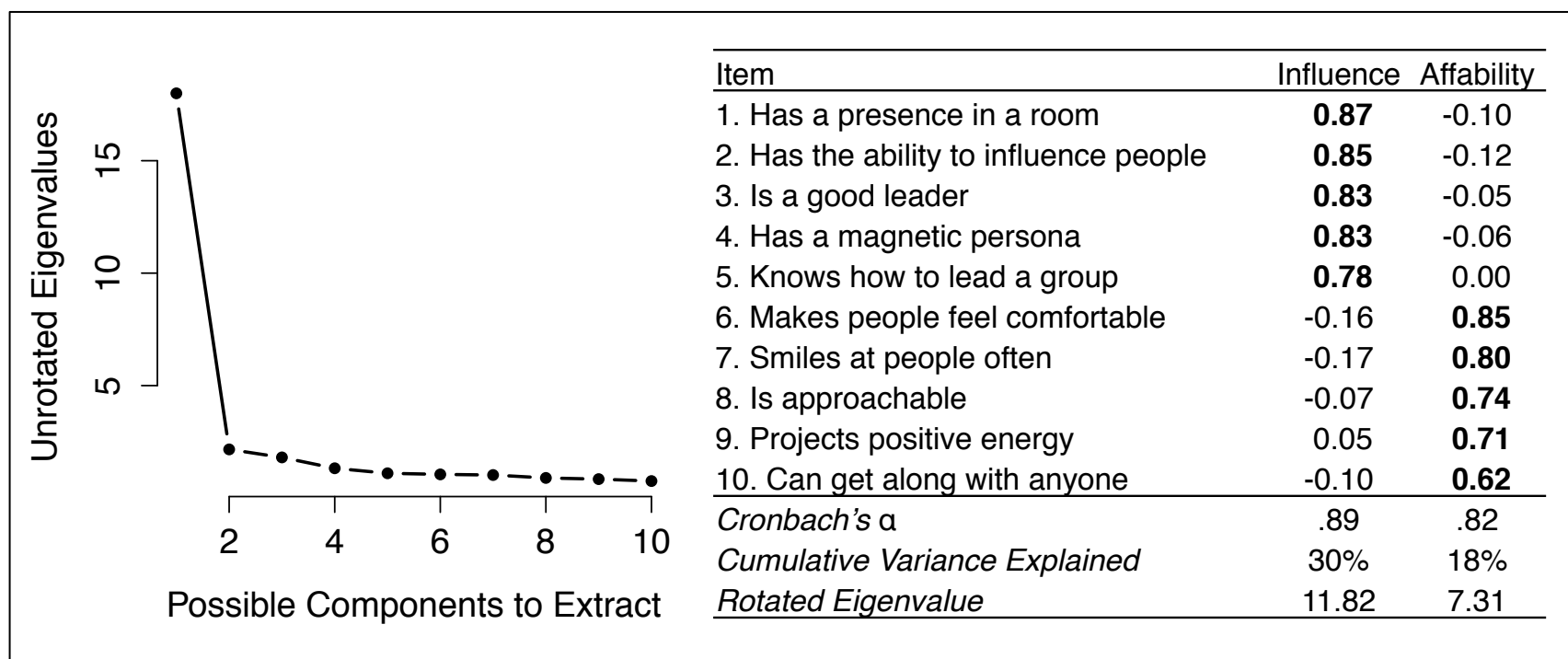
2 Results

I used exploratory factor analysis with principal axis factoring method to analyze the data. Furthermore, I employed a promax rotation (Hendrickson & White, 1964) to estimate the factor correlations because I thought that the factors should be correlated, given that all items were intended to measure charisma. I determined the number of factors by examining the cumulative variance explained, the rotated eigenvalues (Kaiser-Guttman Rule; Kaiser, 1960), and the scree plot of unrotated eigenvalues. Both the cumulative variance explained measure and the Kaiser-Guttman Rule suggested retention of two factors, whereas the scree plot suggested retention of one factor. Additionally, I examined the number of factors to retain via Horn's parallel analysis (Horn, 1965; see also Hayton, Allen, & Scarpello, 2004). Based on 1000 simulations, this analysis suggested retention of three factors, with third factor containing only one item (i.e., "Is approachable"). Ultimately, the decision about the number of factors to retain in factor analysis is subjective. Thus, considering these factor solutions, the .70 factor loadings cut off point established *a priori*, the interpretability of the factors, and my theoretical expertise, I have decided that the two-factor solution was the most optimal and parsimonious.

The data suggested that charisma was composed of two correlated factors: $r = .76$. The first factor explained 30% of the variance (*Eigenvalue* = 11.82) and included self-descriptors related to leadership ability and influence; I named this factor "Influence." The second factor explained an additional 18% of the variance (*Eigenvalue* = 7.31) and consisted of items describing a pleasant and inviting disposition towards other people, which I named "Affability." Nine items, five for influence and four for affability, had factor loadings exceeding .70 with cross-loadings below .17. To balance the number of items loading on each factor, I added an additional item loading highly on affability ($\beta = .62$; "Can get along with anyone"). See Figure 1

for the resulting items and their factor loadings, reliability coefficients, variance explained, eigenvalues, and the scree plot.

Figure 1. Left: Scree plot graphing unrotated eigenvalues for the first 10 components. Right: Item factor loadings, reliabilities, variance explained, and rotated eigenvalues from the exploratory factor analysis (Study 1).



Note. Factor loadings relevant to each subscale are indicated in bold. All factor loadings were standardized.

3 A Brief Discussion

The results of the Pilot Study and the exploratory factor analysis revealed that two correlated dimensions, influence and affability, effectively described self-reported charisma. Influence consisted of leadership ability and one's strength of presence among other people. In contrast, affability consisted of being pleasant and approachable, demonstrating that positive affect plays a significant role in fostering interpersonal appeal within everyday relationships. Although both influence and affability together compose charisma, these two factors are also distinct. I therefore concluded that charisma is a composition of traits related to both influence and affability and used the items constituting these two factors to generate the new measure: the General Charisma Inventory (GCI). Importantly, I also observed that the dimensions specified in the previous leadership literature spontaneously emerged as attributes of charisma outside of the specific context. Thus, I not only developed a measure of charisma in everyday life, but also confirmed the premises of my theoretical definition: charisma is a function of influence and affability and is not limited to leadership context.

Chapter 4

Study 2: Confirming the Factor Structure of the GCI

In Study 1, I created the General Charisma Inventory (GCI), which measures two facets of charisma: influence and affability. Although the exploratory factor analysis indicated a two-factor structure for my scale, it is necessary to confirm that this structure is consistent and stable in a new sample. Thus, in Study 2, I employed another sample of participants and used confirmatory factor analysis to ascertain the two-factor structure of the GCI.

1 Method

1.1 Participants

I recruited 402 American MTurk Workers ($n = 143$ female; Age Range: 18-70 years) to complete the 10-item self-report measure of charisma developed in Study 1.

1.2 Procedure

Participants rated themselves on the 5 items assessing influence (e.g., “I am someone who knows how to lead people”) and the 5 items assessing affability (e.g., “I am someone who smiles at people often”) using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*). I removed 37 participants who gave uniform responses (final $N = 367$).

2 Results

I sequentially fit one- and two-factor measurement models using the structural equation modeling package lavaan in R (Rosseel, 2012). I constrained the variance of the factors to 1 in both models to facilitate model identification. Finally, I used the weighted least squares estimator to account for the ordinal nature of the indicator variables. Although all 10 items loaded on a

single factor ($\beta_s \geq .45$, $Z_s > 8.71$, $p_s < .001$), the overall model fit was far from satisfactory: $\chi^2(35) = 174.18$, $p < .001$. Additional fit indices suggested that the model fit was poor: CFI = .65, RMSEA = .11, 90% CI [.09, .12]. Thus, I rejected the one-factor solution (i.e., with all of the items as indicators of one latent construct) and fit the two-factor structure identified in Study 1, allowing the two factors to correlate. The two-factor model fit the data significantly better than the one-factor model: $\chi^2(34) = 141.28$, $p < .001$, CFI = .73, RMSEA = .09, 90% CI [.08, .11], $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 32.90$, $p < .001$.

To improve the model fit further, I focused on the items' contents and correlations (see Table 1). In doing so, I found that the items "Is a good leader" and "Knows how to lead a group" were highly correlated: $r = .82$; I therefore arbitrarily removed the item "Is a good leader." Next, I removed another item from the influence subscale ("Has a magnetic persona") because it was more abstract than the other items. Additionally, I observed that the item "Projects positive energy" in the affability subscale correlated moderately with the items in the influence subscale (all $r_s > .46$), so I removed the item to minimize the cross-loadings. Last, I removed the item "Is approachable" because it seemed to be more relevant to trait agreeableness than to charisma and I wanted to assure that the GCI possessed discriminative validity (see Study 3 below).

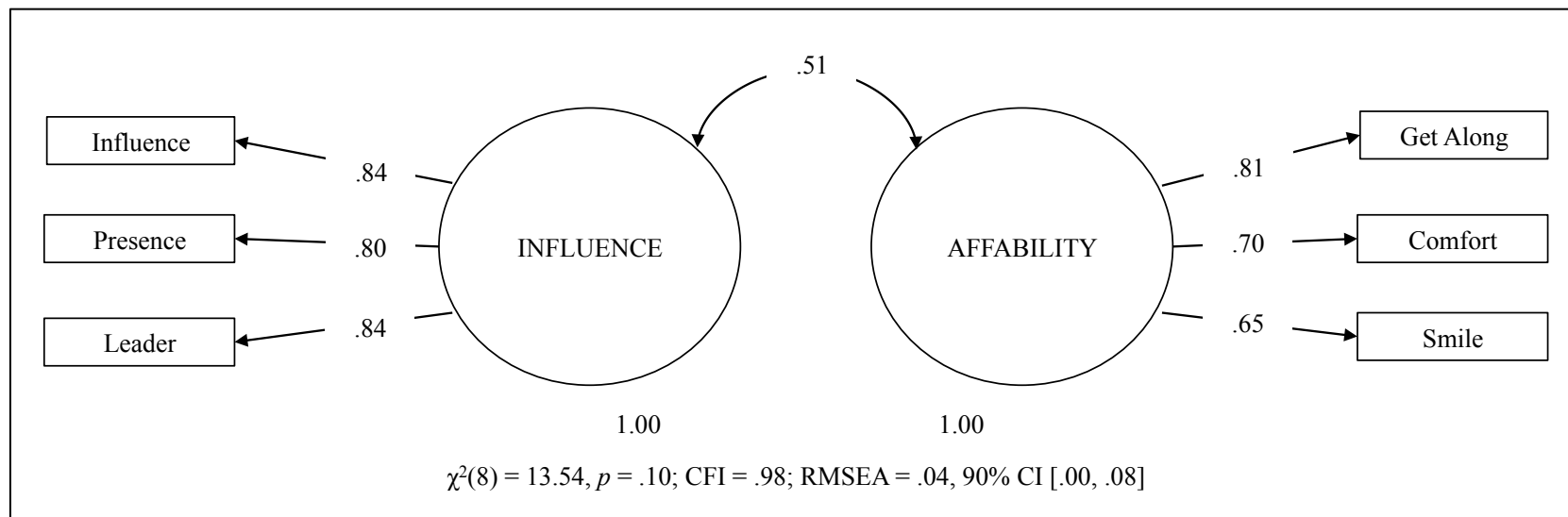
Table 1. Item means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations in Study 2.

Item	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Influence										
1 Has a presence in a room	3.20 (1.07)	.66	.61	.67	.64	.34	.32	.30	.50	.24
2 Has the ability to influence people	3.53 (1.08)		.71	.62	.69	.33	.26	.26	.46	.27
3 Is a good leader	3.37 (1.10)			.63	.82	.34	.30	.30	.51	.33
4 Has a magnetic persona	2.99 (1.12)				.62	.41	.36	.33	.57	.32
5 Knows how to lead a group	3.38 (1.13)					.38	.27	.34	.54	.34
Affability										
6 Makes people feel comfortable	3.75 (0.89)						.51	.47	.55	.58
7 Smiles at people often	3.62 (1.06)							.54	.55	.45
8 Is approachable	3.90 (0.93)								.47	.45
9 Projects positive energy	3.60 (1.07)									.49
10 Can get along with anyone	3.80 (1.02)									

Note. All correlations significant at $p < .001$; ($N = 367$). Items retained following confirmatory factor analysis indicated in bold.

The trimmed two-factor model demonstrated excellent fit, $\chi^2(8) = 13.54, p = .10$, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .04, 90% CI [0, .08], and all items loaded well onto their respective factors. Furthermore, the correlation between the two factors was moderate and significant: $\beta = .51, Z = 10.24, p < .001$, 95% CI [.43, .58]. The trimmed two-factor model fit the data better than a single factor model with each of the six items serving as indicators: $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 127.74, p < .001$. Thus, I established a charisma scale composed of 6 items, three of which assess influence (Influence: *Has the ability to influence people*; Presence: *Has a presence in a room*; Leader: *Knows how to lead a group*) and three of which assess affability (Get Along: *Can get along with anyone*; Comfort: *Makes people feel comfortable*; Smiles: *Smiles at people often*; see Figure 2 for the factor structure and standardized estimates).

Figure 2. The final factor structure established in the confirmatory factor analysis (Study 2).



Note. All coefficients are standardized beta-weights.

3 A Brief Discussion

In the Pilot Study, I collected terms that people ascribed to charismatic others. In Study 1, exploratory factor analysis indicated that charisma was composed of two dimensions: influence and affability. Here, I established this structure via confirmatory factor analysis. In the process, however, several items were eliminated. This resulted in a 6-item measure of charisma—the GCI. Although short, the measure captures a person’s internal dispositions towards charismatic influence and affability. Given that the GCI performed well as a measurement instrument at these initial stages, I proceeded to validate my conceptualization of charisma in the following chapters.

Chapter 5

Study 3: Establishing Convergent and Discriminant Validity of the GCI

Having confirmed the structure of the General Charisma Inventory as a 6-item measure consisting of two subscales (influence and affability), I wanted to ensure that the scale was unique from other individual difference measures. Thus, I tested the convergent and discriminant validity of the GCI in Study 3. Here, I wanted to establish that the GCI was only moderately correlated with other closely related constructs, such as leadership charisma, personality, and emotions. I therefore measured how individuals' scores on the GCI correlated with their scores on the Emotional Intelligence Scale (Schutte et al., 1998), the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1998), the General Confidence Scale (Keller, Siegrist, Earle, & Gutscher, 2011), the Big Five Inventory (John & Srivastava, 1999), the Political Skill Inventory (Ferris et al. 2005), the Conger-Kanungo Scale of charismatic leadership (Conger & Kanungo, 1994), the measure of competence³ and warmth (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007), and the Affective Communication Test (Friedman et al., 1980). Furthermore, I wanted to differentiate my scale from intelligence to assure that individual differences in interpersonal charisma are not simply manifestations of general cognitive ability.

³ Here, I focused on the dimension of competence rather than dominance/power. Notably, within the circumplex model, ambition and dominance/power compose a single dimension/axis (Wiggins, 1979). Furthermore, traits describing ambition appear to be very close in meaning to the competence dimension in the model.

1 Method

1.1 Measures

General Charisma Inventory (GCI). I used the 6-item scale developed in Study 2 to measure the basic interpersonal dimensions of charisma. Thus, the scale had two 3-item subscales examining influence and affability. Both subscales exhibited acceptable levels of internal consistency reliability; specific reliability estimates for each sample are described below. Participants indicate how well each item describes them using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*).

Emotional Intelligence (EI; Schutte et al., 1998). The EI scale consists of 33 items measuring a construct developed by Salovey and Mayer (1990). Specifically, the scale measures the appraisal, expression, regulation, and utilization of emotions in a variety of contexts (Schutte et al., 1998). Participants answer items such as “I am aware of my emotions as I experience them” using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*). Greater scores on this scale indicated greater emotional intelligence. This scale has been extensively validated in the past and demonstrated exceptional internal consistency reliability in this sample (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .98$). Because previous work has suggested that emotional intelligence and charismatic leadership are related constructs (Prati, Douglas, Ferris, Ammeter, & Buckley, 2003; but see also Antonakis, 2003; 2004), I expected to observe moderate correlations with both facets of charisma.

Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1998). I used this scale to examine participants’ affect. The scale consists of 20 adjectives: 10 measuring positive affect (“Strong;” Cronbach’s $\alpha = .89$) and 10 measuring negative affect (“Distressed;” Cronbach’s $\alpha = .92$). Respondents report on their affect using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly*

Disagree, 5 = *Strongly Agree*) with higher scores suggesting greater experiences of affect on either dimension. Because previous research highlights the role of emotions in charismatic leadership (e.g., Bass, 1985; Damen, Van Knippenberg, & Van Knippenberg, 2008; Erez, Misangyi, Johnson, LePine, & Halverson, 2008; see also Keating, 2002, 2011) and because I conceptualized positive emotions to be especially relevant to everyday expression of charisma, I predicted that both the affability and influence dimensions of the GCI would correlate positively with positive affect and negatively with negative affect.

General Confidence Scale (GCS; Keller et al., 2011). The GCS measures general and positive expectations about the ability of social systems to deal with stress, meaning that the scale measures the degree to which an individual feels certain about both the world and his or her idiosyncratic surroundings. The scale consists of six items (e.g., “Our society is well-equipped to solve future problems”) evaluated using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*) such that higher scores indicate stronger beliefs in the ability of systems to deal with stressors in the environment. In my sample, the scale demonstrated good internal consistency reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .89$). Unlike the dimension of positive affect measured by the PANAS, the GCS measures the positive feelings that individuals project outward and towards their environment, rather than those that define their current emotional states. Thus, I predicted that the scores on this scale would positively relate to the affability dimension of the GCI, which I consider to capture the expression of positive emotions towards others (e.g., being pleasant). Because the GCS focuses on confidence in external systems rather than in individuals’ abilities, however, I expected to find a null relationship between scores on this scale and those on charisma’s influence facet.

Big Five Inventory (BFI; John & Srivastava, 1999). This 44-item scale was designed to measure the personality traits outlined by the Five-Factor Model of personality (McCrae &

Costa, 1999): openness to experience (10 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .85$), conscientiousness (9 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$), extraversion (8 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$), agreeableness (9 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$), and neuroticism (8 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$). A sample item measuring extraversion is "I am someone who is talkative," to which a participant would respond using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*). I predicted that all dimensions but neuroticism would positively relate to both dimensions of charisma (as neuroticism tends not to associate with positive emotionality; Shiota, Keltner, & John, 2006) and that agreeableness would relate to affability and not influence because affability primarily describes positive interactions with others and individual's approachability whereas influence measures the degree to which an individual believes that he or she is able to affect others.

Political Skill Inventory (PSI; Ferris et al., 2005). The 18-item PSI is often conceptualized as a measure of leadership charisma, though it was designed to measure the four fundamental dimensions of political skill: social astuteness (3 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$), interpersonal influence (5 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .85$), networking ability (5 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$), and apparent sincerity (5 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$). Participants are asked to endorse each item using a 5-point scale (e.g., "I am good at getting people to like me," 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*) with greater values on each subscale representing greater political skill within each domain. I predicted that both influence and affability would positively relate to all of the subscales, as previous research considered political skills to be closely related to charisma (e.g., Friedman, 1980).

Conger-Kanungo Scale of charismatic leadership (C-K; Conger & Kanungo, 1994). The 24-item C-K scale measures three different stages of charismatic leadership in organizational settings using six subscales. Three subscales [environmental sensitivity (7 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$), sensitivity to group member needs (3 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$), and non-

maintenance of the status quo (2 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$)] measure the environmental assessment stage. One subscale [vision and articulation (6 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$)] measures the vision formulation stage. Finally, the two remaining subscales [personal risk (3 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$) and unconventional behavior (3 items; Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$)] measure the implementation stage. Participants rate how much they agree that each item describes them using a 5-point scale (e.g., "I am an exciting public speaker," 1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*) and greater numbers represent a greater degree of charismatic leadership on each sub-dimension. Thus, because all components of this questionnaire assess leadership charisma, I predicted that each would positively relate to both dimensions of the GCI.

Competence and Warmth. Competence and warmth are both central dimensions of social behavior and personality (e.g., Fiske et al., 2007). I therefore generated a short 11-item questionnaire to assess participants' competence (6 items; "I am someone who is [competent, self-confident, intelligent, skillful, capable, efficient]," Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$) and warmth (5 items; "I am someone who is [friendly, well-intentioned, trustworthy, warm, good-natured]," Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$) to which participant responds using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*; 5 = *Strongly Agree*). Although this scale has not been formally validated, the item-correlations were high and scale items were face valid. Intuitively, I expected that influence would correlate stronger with competence than with warmth and that affability would correlate stronger with warmth than with competence (see also Keating, 2002, 2011).

Affective Communication Test (ACT; Friedman et al., 1980). The 13-item ACT measures individual differences in expressiveness, conveying interpersonal attractiveness or "charisma" (e.g., Friedman et al., 1980). The scale contains items such as "When I hear good dance music, I can hardly keep still" using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*) on which greater scores represent greater expressiveness. The scale was validated in

previous work and demonstrated acceptable internal consistency reliability in the current work: Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$. Because previous research suggests that expressiveness and charisma should be related (e.g., Antonakis, 2012; Friedman et al., 1980; Shamir et al., 1993), I expected that this scale would positively correlate with both influence and affability.

Raven's Advanced Progressive Matrices (Raven, Raven, & Court, 2003). Raven's matrices present participants with a visual pattern that contains a missing section. Participants then choose from 8 parts that they could use to complete the image with the difficulty of the task increasing progressively with each subsequent item. Because the task is visually-based, it is considered to be free of any verbal or cultural influence, thus allowing for an unbiased assessment of intelligence. To avoid participant fatigue, I only used the first 24 items from this measure and computed the number of items correctly solved for each participant. Although intelligence and leadership tend to correlate moderately ($\rho = .21$; Judge, Colbert, & Ilies, 2004; see also Lord, De Vader, & Alliger, 1986), I conceptualized charisma as a personality trait that focuses more heavily on social interactions and interpersonal skills. Furthermore, the trope of the 'lovable fool' (Casciaro & Lobo, 2005) demonstrates that high interpersonal skill and intelligence need not necessarily co-exist. Since theoretical background suggests that traditional concepts of intelligence should not be related to charisma, I formally predicted no relationship between participants' GCI scores and their performance on Raven's matrices.

1.2 Procedure

I recruited four samples of American MTurk Workers. The first consisted of 305 participants ($n = 165$ female; Age Range: 18-74 years) presented with the GCI (influence: Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$; affability: Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$), the EI scale, PANAS, GCS, BFI, PSI, and C-K. The second consisted of 122 participants ($n = 47$ female; Age Range: 19-71 years) who

completed the GCI (influence: Cronbach's $\alpha = .85$; affability: Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$) and the competence and warmth scale described above. The third sample consisted of 150 participants ($n = 65$ female; Age Range: 18-67 years) who completed the GCI (influence: Cronbach's $\alpha = .85$; affability: Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$) and the ACT. Finally, the last sample consisted of 203 participants ($n = 97$ female; Age Range: 18-71 years) who completed the GCI (influence: Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$; affability: Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$) and the 24 items from the Raven's Advanced Progressive Matrices Test.

2 Results

2.1 Relating GCI to Emotions and Charismatic Leadership

Because I made some changes to the scale in the confirmatory factor analysis above, I wanted to replicate the obtained factor structure with a new sample. Thus, I estimated the final two-factor model in which each factor predicted 3 items from the questionnaire. As before, I constrained the factor variances to unity and estimated the covariance between the latent variables (influence and affability). I used the weighted least squares estimator. Overall, the model fit well: $\chi^2(8) = 9.01, p = .34, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .02, 90\% CI [0, .07]$. The factor correlation was moderate and significant, $\beta = .51, Z = 9.37, p < .001, 95\% CI [.42, .59]$, and all factor loadings were high: all β 's $\geq .65, Zs \geq 10.49, ps < .001$. Thus, I replicated the basic factor structure with a new sample of participants.

Proceeding with the analysis of convergent and discriminant validity (see Table 2 for estimates and confidence intervals), I observed moderate positive correlations between influence ($M = 3.45, SD = 0.90$) and affability ($M = 3.89, SD = 0.79$) with emotional intelligence, positive affect, openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, all measures of political skill, and the environmental sensitivity, sensitivity to members' needs, personal risk, and

unconventional behavior dimensions of the C-K Scale of charismatic leadership. Furthermore, the GCI subscales correlated negatively with both negative affect and neuroticism. I therefore observed that charisma was related to positive and negative emotions, the five factors of personality, and the interpersonal dimensions of charismatic leadership and political skill.

Additionally, General Confidence in social systems (GCS) was positively related to affability but not related to influence. I believe that I found this pattern because the GCS assesses the projection of emotions, which is similar to the affability dimension of the GCI. Similarly, because the influence factor of the GCI is focused on the interpersonal context rather than broader social systems, it is not surprising that the relationship between influence and GSC was null. Additionally, the Big Five personality dimension of agreeableness significantly related to affability, as both focus on rather pleasant interactions with others. However, influence did not correlate with agreeableness because the ability to influence others is conceptually orthogonal to being agreeable.

Last, I observed several incidental relationships. The Status Quo Maintenance subscale of the C-K Scale unexpectedly related to affability rather than influence, perhaps because polite individuals (potentially high in affability) may be more interested in maintaining interpersonal harmony than in challenging the status quo. Neither influence nor affability correlated significantly with the vision subscale of the C-K Scale. I speculate that this may be because the vision subscale measures the performance aspect of the vision formation stage (e.g., “I am someone who appears to be a skillful performer when presenting to a group;” Conger & Kanungo, 1994) and does not directly concern individuals’ stable dispositions. However, future research is needed to understand these relationships better.

Table 2. Means, standard deviations, and correlations between each validity measure in Study 3 and the two GCI subscales, accompanied by the 95% confidence interval around each estimate

Measure	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	General Charisma	
		Influence	Affability
Sample 1 (<i>N</i> = 305)			
Emotional Intelligence (EI)	3.72 (0.56)	.56 [.48, .64]	.66 [.59, .72]
Positive Affect (PANAS)	3.72 (0.69)	.50 [.41, .58]	.50 [.41, .58]
Negative Affect (PANAS)	1.85 (0.82)	-.21 [-.31, -.10]	-.26 [-.37, -.16]
General Confidence (GCS)	2.97 (0.90)	.09 [-.02, .20]	.33 [.23, .43]
Extraversion (BFI)	2.99 (0.86)	.56 [.47, .63]	.44 [.35, .53]
Openness (BFI)	3.65 (0.68)	.38 [.28, .47]	.23 [.12, .33]
Conscientiousness (BFI)	3.90 (0.74)	.31 [.21, .41]	.34 [.24, .44]
Agreeableness (BFI)	3.82 (0.70)	.07 [-.04, .19]	.57 [.49, .64]
Neuroticism (BFI)	2.53 (0.91)	-.28 [-.38, -.17]	-.36 [-.46, -.26]
Social Astuteness (PSI)	3.65 (0.83)	.54 [.46, .62]	.52 [.44, .60]
Interpersonal Influence (PSI)	3.60 (0.77)	.57 [.49, .64]	.64 [.57, .70]
Networking Ability (PSI)	3.09 (0.94)	.48 [.39, .56]	.48 [.39, .57]
Apparent Sincerity (PSI)	4.06 (0.75)	.31 [.21, .41]	.44 [.52, .60]
Environmental Sensitivity (CL)	3.64 (0.72)	.52 [.43, .60]	.39 [.30, .49]
Sensitivity to Member Needs (CL)	3.84 (0.77)	.32 [.22, .42]	.52 [.44, .60]
Maintains Status Quo (CL)	3.31 (0.93)	.00 [-.11, .11]	.22 [.11, .33]
Vision (CL)	3.17 (0.92)	.05 [-.06, .16]	.05 [-.07, .26]
Personal Risk (CL)	2.76 (0.98)	.31 [.20, .41]	.19 [.07, .29]
Unconventional Behavior (CL)	3.12 (0.96)	.30 [.20, .40]	.14 [.03, .25]

Sample 2 (*N* = 120)

Competence	4.21 (0.61)	.56 [.42, .67]	.37 [.21, .52]
Warmth	4.12 (0.63)	.18 [.00, .35]	.67 [.56, .76]
Sample 3 ($N = 150$)			
Expressiveness	2.80 (0.53)	.47 [.34, .59]	.43 [.29, .56]
Sample 4 ($N = 203$)			
Intelligence	12.02 (3.79)	-.13 [-.26, .01]	.08 [-.05, .22]

Note. Each dimension accompanied by the abbreviation of the scale from which it came in parentheses.

2.2 Relating GCI to Competence and Warmth

As in Sample 1, I once again confirmed the two-factor structure of the scale; the measurement model fit was acceptable: $\chi^2(8) = 10.99, p = .20, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .06, 90\% CI [0, .12]$. Next, I examined how influence ($M = 3.34, SD = 0.94$) and affability ($M = 3.73, SD = 0.87$) related to competence and warmth. Influence correlated with both competence, $r(118) = .56, p < .001, 95\% CI [.38, .70]$, and warmth, $r(118) = .18, p = .05, 95\% CI [.00, .35]$. However, the association between influence and competence was stronger than the association between influence and warmth: $\Delta r = .38, Z = 4.30, p < .001, 95\% CI [.16, .56]$. Similarly, the magnitude of the correlation between affability and warmth, $r(118) = .67, p < .001, 95\% CI [.56, .76]$, was greater than that between affability and competence, $r(118) = .37, p = .001; \Delta r = .30, Z = 3.82, p < .001, 95\% CI [.21, .52]$, though both were significant.

2.3 Relating GCI to Expressiveness

I again confirmed the factor structure of the scale with a new sample, which showed a satisfactory fit: $\chi^2(8) = 6.82, p = .56, CFI > .99, RMSEA < .01, 90\% CI [0, .09]$. Influence and affability were again significantly correlated: $r(148) = .50, p < .001, 95\% CI [.37, .61]$. Both influence, $r(148) = .47, p < .001, 95\% CI [.34, .59]$, and affability, $r(148) = .43, p < .001, 95\% CI [.29, .55]$, significantly correlated with expressiveness, as measured with the ACT. Thus, the current data suggest that people who scored higher on the measure of charisma were more expressive, supporting the relationship between expressiveness and charisma discussed in previous work (e.g., Friedman et al., 1988; Shamir et al., 1993).

2.4 Relating GCI to Intelligence

As above, I replicated the two-factor structure: $\chi^2(8) = 6.52, p = .59, CFI > .99, RMSEA < .01, 90\% CI [0, .07]$. Respondents' performance on the intelligence test did not significantly relate to neither affability ($M = 3.94, SD = 0.80; r(201) = .08, p = .23, 95\% CI [-.06, .22]$) nor influence ($M = 3.38, SD = 0.92; r(201) = -.13, p = .07, 95\% CI [-.26, .01]$). This finding might appear to contrast with previous research reporting a moderate correlation between intelligence and leadership (Judge et al., 2004). However, because I conceptualized charisma as a trait-like construct that varies between people of different levels of intelligence and includes both leaders and non-leaders, the absence of a relationship between charisma and intelligence in the present sample was unsurprising.

3 A Brief Discussion

Across the first three studies, I gathered items that people use to describe charismatic people and refined them via exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses. I concluded that interpersonal charisma could be captured in six items, half assessing influence and half assessing affability. I then established the convergent and discriminant validity of the GCI, which largely supported the relationships I hypothesized between my scale's properties and those of conceptually-related measures. Specifically, general charisma correlated with scales measuring positive and negative emotions, basic dimensions of personality, several measures of charismatic leadership, and expressiveness. Furthermore, neither GCI subscale correlated highly with intelligence, suggesting that individual differences in charisma are not redundant with cognitive ability. Similarly, neither competence nor warmth demonstrated exceptionally high correlations (i.e., all $r_s \leq .67$) with influence or affability. These data collectively affirm the GCI as a unique measure of charisma.

Chapter 6

The Observable Aspects of Charisma

1 Study 4A: Charisma in Group Interactions with Strangers

Because I conceptualize charisma as an observable construct, similar to past work (e.g., Antonakis, 2012), I wanted to demonstrate that others would accurately perceive charisma in brief interactions. In other words, I wanted to establish that people would agree in their perceptions of targets (consensus) and that these perceptions would reflect the self-reports of targets' charisma (a measure of accuracy; see Funder, 1995). Thus, in Study 4A, I asked participants to briefly interact with each other in a small group setting in a round-robin design. After the interaction, the participants reported on their own influence and affability using the GCI and rated other members of the group for how charismatic they seemed. Because I thought that perceptions of attractiveness (both physical and interpersonal) would aggregate towards perceptions of charisma along with influence and affability due to an attractiveness-halo bias (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972), I asked the participants to also rate each other on attractiveness. Thus, I aimed to establish the observable and perceptible aspects of charisma in Study 4A. Importantly, this investigation not only allowed me to test whether people perceive charisma (additional multi-method validation), but also allowed me to infer that self-reported charisma manifests in brief, casual, day-to-day interactions. Significant results from this test would suggest that charisma is a general construct that does not require extraordinary expressive characteristics (e.g., high rhetoric common to leaders' public speeches; Shamir, 1995) to be apparent to observers.

1.1 Method

1.1.1 Participants

A total of 187 undergraduate students ($n = 155$ female; $n = 1$ sex unreported; Age Range: 18-31 years) received partial credit in an introductory psychology course for participating in the study.

1.1.2 Materials

Charisma. I used the newly developed 6-item GCI, assessing charismatic influence and affability, to measure the participants' charisma. Participants rated themselves using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*), as in the studies reported above, and then used the same 6-item measure to rate each member of their group.

Attractiveness. Because previous research in person perception shows that attractiveness is an important variable that positively influences judgments of other personality traits (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977), including leadership ability (Re & Perrett, 2014; Surawski & Ossoff, 2006), I decided to take attractiveness into an account. Participants were instructed to rate the attractiveness of other group members using a 7-point scale (i.e., "How attractive is X?") from 1 (*Not at all Attractive*) to 7 (*Very Attractive*).

1.1.3 Procedure

Unacquainted participants were randomly assigned to one of 50 groups of 3-4 persons. Research assistants seated each group in a room and provided each person with a questionnaire packet containing measures described above. Participants were identified using playing cards positioned in front of them on the table (all of the same value but of different suits, such that there was no ordinal ranking of the participants). The participants were asked to indicate their assigned playing card on the first page of the booklet, which I used to identify the participants in

each group. Because I conceptualized charisma as an interpersonal variable that becomes apparent through expressive behavior, the research assistant introduced the group of participants to a short and casual interaction task. Specifically, the individuals in the group were instructed to casually get to know each other using three prompts in the packet (“What do you study?”; “What’s your favorite food?”; and “Describe your dream vacation.”) for 5 minutes. During this brief interaction, the research assistant left the room to allow for a more natural interaction within each group and to time the participants. Immediately after, the participants rated first themselves and then other group members on the two factors of the GCI on the second page of their response booklet, after which they rated each other for attractiveness on a separate page of the booklet.

1.1.4 Analytic Strategy

I first examined the degree to which observers agreed with each other (consensus) in their ratings of targets’ influence, affability, and attractiveness by measuring their agreement using intraclass correlations (ICC), which estimated the degree of consistency in participants’ ratings of targets. This coefficient was estimated within the multilevel modeling framework (Hox, 2010; Kleft & De Leeuw, 1998). Additionally, I estimated the degree to which targets’ self-reported influence and affability related to others’ reports (self-other agreement; Funder, 1995) while controlling for the effects of attractiveness. Table 2 presents unstandardized regression coefficients and their standard errors.

Next, I wanted to ensure that a substantial proportion of the total variance in perceptions of charisma was indeed localized at the level of targets. Thus, I first aggregated participants’ perceptions of influence, affability, and attractiveness into a single variable and used multilevel modeling to estimate the percent of variance in this variable at the target, rater, and relationship

levels (see Malloy & Kenny, 1986). The variance on the target level therefore represents the variance that was due to targets' idiosyncratic dispositions. The rater variance represents the systematic rater response biases. Finally, the relationship variance in perceptions of charisma represents the dyadic relationship between each rater and each target.

Because participants' responses were simultaneously nested within both the perceivers and the targets I used multilevel structural equation modeling to address my primary hypothesis (MSEM; Muthén, 1994; Preacher, Zhang, & Zyphur, 2011). Furthermore, to test my expectation that people's self-reported influence and affability would be related to others' perceptions of charisma, I analyzed the data following the conceptual analytic framework of the Social Relations Model to account for target, perceiver, and relationship variances and effects (Malloy & Kenny, 1986) in a single cross-classified structural equation model (e.g., Baayen, Davidson, & Bates, 2008; Judd, Westfall, & Kenny, 2012; Westfall, Kenny, & Judd, 2014). Specifically, because the total variance in observers' ratings is a product of the target (Level 2A), observer (Level 2B), and the relationship between each target and each observer (i.e., individual ratings; Level 1), I partitioned this variance across three levels. In this analysis, I label participants as both targets (when other group members rated them) and observers (when the participants provided ratings of other group members).

Between-Targets Level (Level 2A). Because I recognized that all observers would, to some extent, agree in their ratings of each target (i.e., they would show consensus), I estimated observer-rated influence, observer-rated affability, and observer-rated attractiveness as latent variables on Level 2A (see Figure 3). These three latent variables were then specified as indicators of a latent perception of charisma. In other words, the model stated that charisma would be partly based on observers' impressions of influence, affability, and attractiveness. Furthermore, because the variance in self-reported influence and affability is an attribute of

targets and not observers, I modeled participants' self-reported influence and self-reported affability as latent variables only on Level 2A, which I correlated as in the studies above. Testing the degree to which self-reported influence and self-reported affability correlated with perceived charisma, I examined the covariances between these three latent factors. Thus, if I found that self-reported charisma (i.e., self-reported influence and self-reported affability) correlated with the observers' impressions of charisma (i.e., observer-rated influence, observer-rated affability, and observer-rated attractiveness) following just 5 minutes of interpersonal interaction, I may conclude that charisma is an observable interpersonal construct.

Between-Observers Level (Level 2B). Because the Social Relations Model specifies that the same observer has a systematic bias in rating all targets, I also estimated latent observer-rated influence, observer-rated affability, and observer-rated attractiveness at Level 2B. As on Level 2A, I assumed these variables to be indicators of a latent charisma factor.

Within Level (Level 1). Even after accounting for the variance due to each target and each observer, I expected that every observer would rate every target idiosyncratically. In other words, the raters would express some degree of unique variability in rating each target. To account for this, I also specified latent variables for observer-reported influence, observer-reported affability, and observer-reported attractiveness on Level 1 with all factors as indicators of latent charisma.

Estimation. The model was estimated using a Bayesian estimator (Muthén & Asparouhov, 2012) in Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 2011). I used this estimator because it is the only one to my knowledge that can accommodate cross-classified multilevel structural equation models. That said, I thought that it would be important to highlight some benefits of the Bayesian estimator here. First, the Bayesian estimates are not evaluated in the context of the normal Gaussian distribution: rather than assuming that the parameters are normally distributed, the

parameter distributions are derived from simulated data, allowing for a more informed and accurate significance testing. Next, the empirical examination of the estimator shows that the Bayesian estimator performs better in the context of small samples (Muthén & Asparouhov, 2012). Additionally, the Bayesian estimator is able to accommodate multiple types of response variables (e.g., interval, categorical), resulting in more accurate estimates in comparison to the commonly used maximum likelihood estimator. Finally, unlike in Frequentists' models that specify fixed parameters, Bayesian models specify random parameters (Muthén & Asparouhov, 2012): for example, instead of constraining parameters to zero, Bayesian approach constrains parameters to be within a vicinity of zero. Allowing the parameters to vary improves the model fit and allows researchers to improve model convergence and accuracy.

The idea for generating the model fit indices in Bayesian approach is that there will be little discrepancy between the simulated data and those obtained by the researchers (see De Schoot et al., 2014): a large discrepancy between indices would suggest model misspecification. The Bayesian approach produces two model fit measures: the difference between model implied and observed χ^2 's and the *Posterior Predictive P-Values (PPP)*. For the first index, the model computes the fit value, χ^2 , for actual data, and compares this value to simulated χ^2 values. Obtaining the difference between these two values on each simulation that is not significantly different from zero (95% CI does not contain zero) suggests that the researcher-implied model describes the data well. The *PPP* index is similar, as it represents the proportion of simulated χ^2 values that are greater than those produced by the actual data. Therefore, the researcher wants to see a *PPP* = .50 to conclude that the model describes the data well. Finally, because the current design is akin to a multilevel modeling framework, I report unstandardized coefficients, accompanied by their standard errors and probability levels.

1.2 Results

1.2.1 Consensus and Self-Other Agreement

As described in Table 3, participants tended to agree with each other when rating targets on influence, affability, and attractiveness. In other words, observers reached consensus in providing ratings of targets across all three measured dimensions. Furthermore, self-reported ratings of influence and affability correlated with observer-rated influence and affability, respectively. These effects remained statistically significant even when including attractiveness in the equations, meaning that people could perceive others' influence and affability independent of attractiveness following only a brief interaction.

Next, I aggregated the raters' perceptions of each target's influence, affability, and attractiveness into a single charisma variable, I found that 32.43%, 36.33%, and 31.24% of the total variance in charisma ratings were a function of target, rater, and their dyadic relationship, respectively. In other words, the variance in perceptions of charisma appears to be approximately equally distributed between target characteristics, rater biases, and the dyadic relationship between each rater and each target. Importantly, this analysis revealed that a large proportion of variance was local to the target level of analysis, suggesting that each target's idiosyncratic dispositions indeed affect other people's perceptions of target's charisma. Equipped with this knowledge, I proceeded to the test of my hypothesis.

Table 3. Estimates of consensus and self-other agreement for influence, affability, and attractiveness in Study 4

	Consensus	Agreement ₀	Agreement ₁
Source	ICC	<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)	<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)
Influence	.38	.28 (.05)	.26 (.05)
Affability	.14	.19 (.05)	.17 (.05)
Attractiveness	.20	-	-

Note. All estimates are significant at $p < .001$. Agreement₀ = original agreement estimate; Agreement₁ = partial agreement estimate controlling for attractiveness.

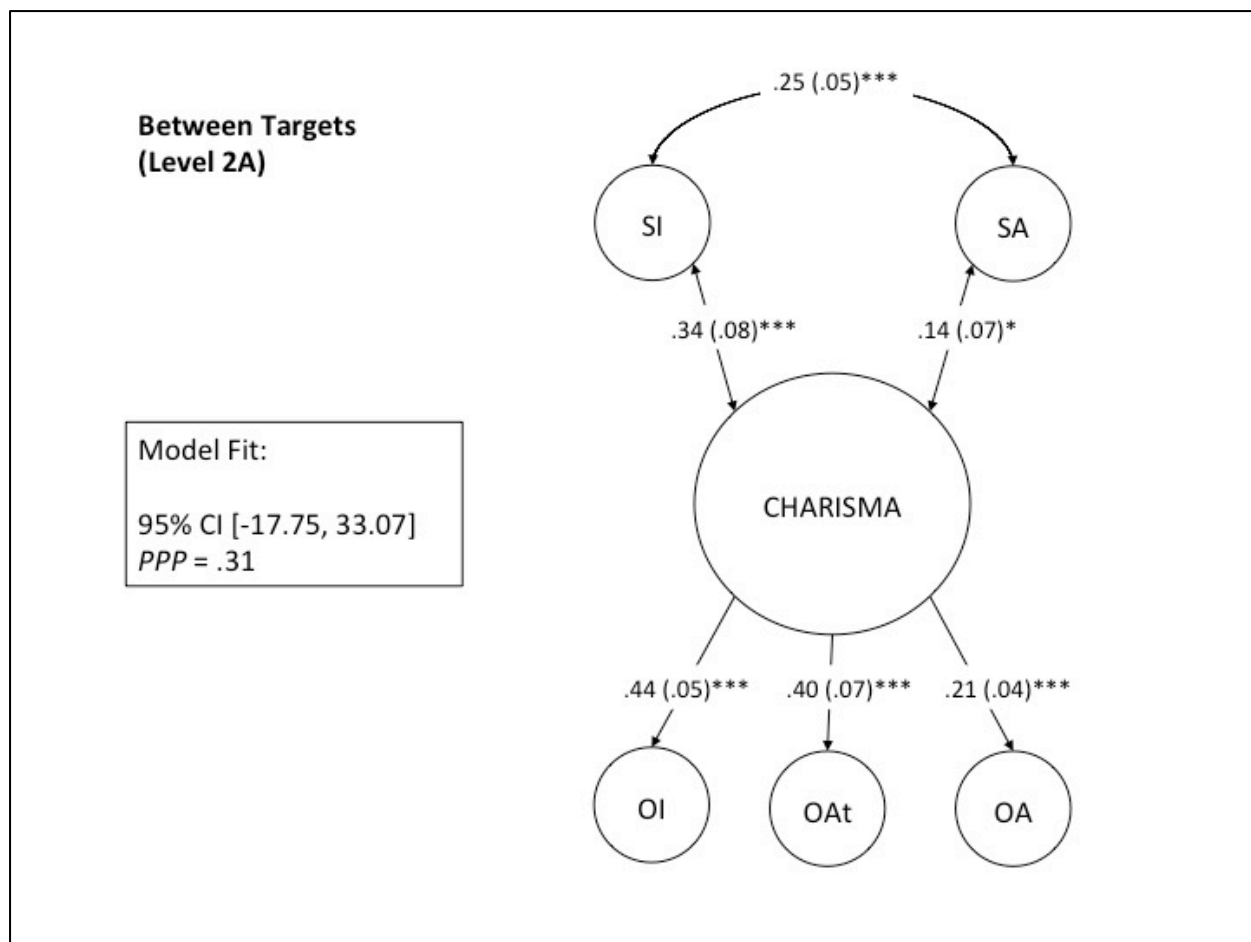
1.2.2 Main Analysis

Model Fit. As described above, I fit the model using a Bayesian estimator in Mplus (Muthén & Muthén, 2011) using *Posterior Predictive P-value (PPP)* and the 95% confidence interval of the difference between the observed- and replicated-sample χ^2 values to assess the model fit (i.e., a *PPP* > .05 and 95% CI that included zero were considered to be indicators of a good model fit; Muthén & Asparouhov, 2012). Overall, my theoretical model fit the data well: *PPP* = .31, 95% CI [-17.75, 33.07].

Hypothesis Tests. I focused on the parts of the model displayed in Figure 3 that test my *a priori* theoretical predictions on Level 2A.⁴ Specifically, I hypothesized that charisma would be apparent to observers as a result of the 5-minute interpersonal interaction. In other words, I predicted that perceptions of latent Charisma would correlate with self-reported influence and self-reported affability. Confirming my hypothesis, participants' self-reported influence correlated with observers' overall perceptions of Charisma: $b = .34$, $SE = .08$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.18, .50]. Similarly, self-reported affability also correlated with observers' overall perceptions of Charisma: $b = .14$, $SE = .07$, $p = .048$, 95% CI [.00, .28]. This study therefore suggests that brief interpersonal interactions are sufficient to allow for reliable perceptions of charisma that correspond to individuals' self-reports. Thus, charisma is an interpersonally-observable construct.

⁴ Notably, influence, affability, and attractiveness loaded onto a single latent charisma factor across all three levels: $ps \leq .01$.

Figure 3. Graphical representation of the relationship between self- and observer-ratings in the round robin interaction task on the between targets level (Study 4A).



Note. SI = self-reported influence; SA = self-reported affability; OI = observer-rated influence; OA = observer-rated affability; OAt = observer-rated attractiveness. * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$. The model parameter estimates are unstandardized.

2 Study 4B: Perceptions of Charisma by Close Others

In Study 4A, I established that just a few minutes of group interaction was enough for people to perceive charisma. Specifically, previously unacquainted individuals could perceive charismatic influence and affability better than would be expected by chance. In Study 4B, I extended this to close relationships, predicting that close acquaintances would also be able to accurately perceive the participants' levels of charismatic influence and affability.

2.1 Method

2.1.1 Participants

The participants were 147 undergraduate students, recruited via the introductory psychology's subject pool. The participants received course credit for their participation.

2.1.2 Informants

Upon arrival to the laboratory, each participant provided the names and contact information (i.e., e-mail address) for three friends, family members, or relationship partners. Research assistants then contacted each informant, asking him or her to complete a short survey (3 minutes) about the participant who nominated them via email (participants' name was provided to the informants). If the informant did not respond to the survey within one week, the research assistants contacted the same informant again, reminding him or her to complete the survey; in total, this procedure was repeated three times. I did not compensate the informants, as recommended in Vazire (2006).

A total of 361 informants (128 female; $M = 31.22$ years old, $SD = 14.97$; 81.86% response rate) responded to the call to complete a survey about the participant. I was able to obtain the data from three informants from 67 participants and from two informants for 80

participants. A total of 28 informants were relationship/romantic partners, 162 were friends, and 164 were family members of the participants ($n = 7$ Other).

2.1.3 Procedure

Participants reported on their influence and affability using the GCI measure two weeks prior to the beginning of the study. When the participants arrived to the lab two weeks later, we asked them to provide the names and email addresses for three informants who knew them well (friends, family members, relationship partners).

The research assistants then contacted each informant asking them to complete the same 6-item GCI about each participant. The informants' responses were matched with those provided by the participants. In total, the data collection took approximately three months. The reliabilities for the self- and other-rated influence (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$) and affability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$) were acceptable.

2.1.4 Analytic Strategy

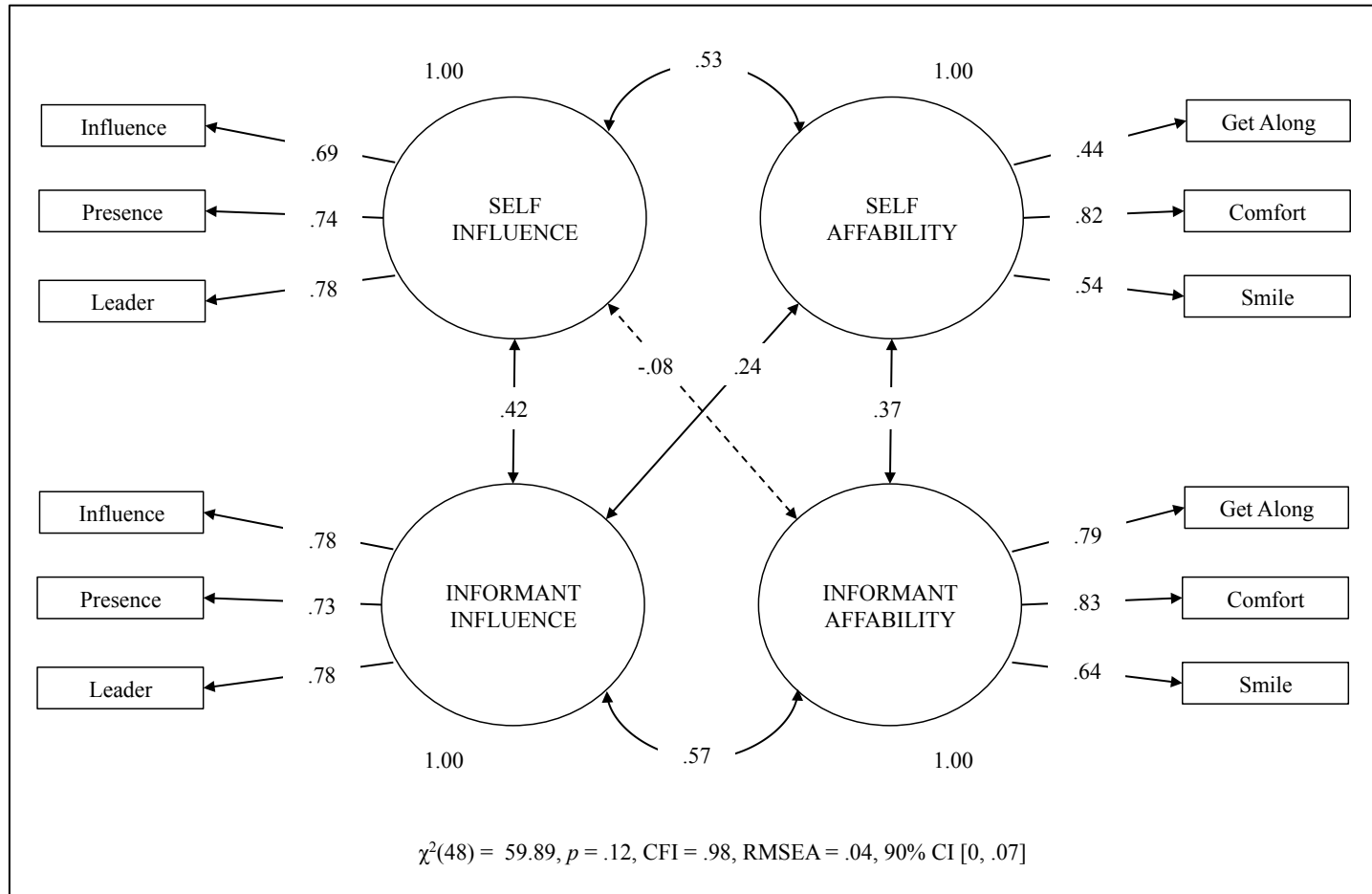
I aggregated informants' responses to GCI for each target. Because I was interested in the covariance between the self- and other-rated charisma, I examined the covariances between self- and other-rated influence and affability in the context of one-level structural equation model. Specifically, I estimated separate influence and affability latent factors for targets and their informants. The factor variances were constrained to 1. All possible covariances between latent factors were freely estimated. Unlike in Study 4A, I was not able to generate a higher order informant-perceived charisma factor here because such estimation needs at least three indicator variables.

2.2 Results

The model fit was excellent: $\chi^2(48) = 59.89, p = .12, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .04, 90\% CI [0, .07]$. See Figure 4 for the graphical depiction of the model and all parameter estimates.

Consistent with my hypothesis, I observed that the informants could accurately discern whether the participants were charismatically influential ($\beta = .42, Z = 4.70, p < .001, 95\% CI [.28, .54]$) and affable ($\beta = .37, Z = 3.77, p < .001, 95\% CI [.22, .50]$), as indicated by statistically significant covariances between self- and informant-reported influence and affability.

Figure 4. The graphical representation of the model examined in Study 4B.



Note. All solid paths are significant at $p < .01$.

3 A Brief Discussion

Studies 1-3 established that charisma is composed of two related constructs: influence and affability. In Study 4A, I added to this by demonstrating that as little as five minutes of everyday interpersonal interaction is sufficient to achieve significant self-other agreement in perceptions of charisma. Furthermore, I next established that although a significant proportion of variance is a function of the unique rater-target relationship and rater biases, approximately 33% of the variance in perceptions of charisma could be attributed to targets' dispositions alone.

Next, confirming my interest in observability of charisma, I found that self-reported influence and self-reported affability predicted perceived Charisma, a factor composed of observers' ratings of influence, affability, and attractiveness. Additionally, I found that charisma was accurately perceived by close-acquaintances in Study 4B. Thus, not only does the GCI appear to be a valid measure of self-reported charisma, but it also seems to reliably index the inferences made by other people. Additionally, the moderate agreement between the self- and other-ratings of charisma underscores the convergent validity of the GCI (i.e., multitrait-multimethod validation; Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Zou, Schimmack, & Gere, 2013). To further determine the validity and utility of the GCI, I wanted to test its predictive ability (i.e., criterion and incremental validity). Thus, I examined how the GCI-measured charisma affects persuasion and liking in Studies 5 and 6, below.

Chapter 7

Study 5: Relating Charisma to Persuasion

Previous research has suggested that charismatic leaders may use a number of tactics to convince their followers of the benefits of their vision (e.g., Bass & Avolio, 1994; House, 1977). Furthermore, I conceptualized everyday charisma as contributing to both leadership and everyday outcomes. Therefore, it is important that I examine whether the GCI relates to an outcome that is as relevant to everyday life as it is to leadership: persuasion. I therefore asked participants in Study 5 to recite either a strong or a weak argument favoring the adoption of windmill-based power generation while being audio-recorded and to self-report their charisma by completing the GCI. New participants then listened to short segments of the recited speeches and rated the targets and speeches for how persuasive they were. Although I expected the speakers and their messages to be persuasive when reading the strong argument, I hypothesized that participants would perceive readers of the weak argument as more persuasive if they were more charismatically influential (i.e., exhibiting higher scores on the influence dimension of the GCI). However, I also expected that participants would perceive speakers as more persuasive when they fit the stereotypes for their gender (e.g., Eagly et al., 2003; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Keating, 2002, 2011). Specifically, I expected that affability would positively relate to persuasiveness for women and negatively relate to persuasiveness for men. In addition to this, in Study 5, I examined whether GCI's dimensions of influence and affability may yield other people's perceptions of targets' charisma.

1 Method

1.1 Participants and Procedure

I randomly assigned 120 undergraduate students ($n = 73$ female; Age Range: 17-48 years; all native English speakers without any distinct linguistic accents) to read either a strong or weak argument supporting the use of windmill-generated energy as if they were trying to convince people of the benefits of wind power over other sources of electricity (e.g., petroleum) while being audio-recorded (see Appendix C for arguments). Participants completed the GCI after they finished reading the passage (influence: $M = 3.62$, $SD = 0.81$; affability: $M = 3.95$, $SD = 0.81$). The assignment to the argument did not affect participants' scores on the GCI (influence: $b = .01$, $SE = .07$, $t(118) = 0.11$, $p = .92$, 95% CI [-.13, .15]; affability: $b = .02$, $SE = .07$, $t(118) = 0.25$, $p = .80$, 95% CI [-.12, .16]). On average, the recordings were 1.17 min ($SD = 0.14$) in length.

An independent group of 600 American MTurk Workers ($n = 215$ female; Age Range: 18-74 years) listened to the students' speeches and rated the persuasiveness of both the message and the speaker (message persuasiveness and speaker persuasiveness, respectively). Due to high overlap in message content, each participant heard only one randomly-selected audio track for an average of 4.85 raters ($SD = 0.95$) per speech. They then answered a free-response question prompting them to describe what the message was about, which I used to confirm their attention and comprehension. Thirteen participants were eliminated from analysis for inaccurately describing the content of the message (e.g., "About a man's life and what not and he believes [sic]"). The participants then answered four questions evaluating message persuasiveness (e.g., "I found the message to be convincing;" $M = 3.91$, $SD = 0.75$; Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$) and two questions evaluating speaker persuasiveness (e.g., "I found the speaker to be convincing;" $M = 3.54$, $SD = 0.92$; $r = .76$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.72, .79]). The participants also rated the

attractiveness of each voice (i.e., “I found the speaker to be attractive;” $M = 3.10$, $SD = 0.95$), which I used to control for a potential attractiveness-halo bias (Dion et al., 1972). Finally, because I wanted to demonstrate that my self-report measure of charisma could predict outcomes beyond mere perceptions of charisma, I asked the participants to also report on each speaker’s charisma (“I found the speaker to be charismatic;” $M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.09$). Participants evaluated all items using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*). Additionally, this holistic measure of charisma allowed me to test whether self-reported influence and affability indeed produce reliable perceptions of charisma as in Study 4. There, I only examined whether targets’ scores on the GCI correlated with others’ evaluations of targets’ standing on the same questionnaire. Although this procedure is valid, it is important to establish that influence and affability can produce holistic impressions of charisma, providing an additional validation for the observability of the construct.

1.2 Analytic Strategy

I analyzed the data using multilevel modeling to account for the variance due to targets, raters, and their relationships; perceptions of message persuasiveness and speaker persuasiveness each served as the respective dependent variables in two separate models. Each dependent variable was examined as a function of condition (1 = *Strong Argument*, -1 = *Weak Argument*), the target’s sex (1 = *Male*, -1 = *Female*), influence, affability, and the interactions of both of condition and sex with influence and affability, while controlling for perceived attractiveness. Next, I added the perceptions of charisma into the model, and specified its interactions with the condition and target’s sex factors to ensure that the GCI predicts outcomes beyond mere perceptions of targets as charismatic. All models included random intercepts for each target and used an unstructured variance-covariance matrix. I computed the degrees of freedom for the

significance tests using Satterthwaite approximation and rounded them to integers (Satterthwaite, 1946). Finally, due to the multilevel nature of the data, I report unstandardized model estimates, their standard errors, significance tests, and probability levels.

The shared variance between the ratings of the speaker persuasiveness and the ratings of the message persuasiveness was relatively high ($r^2 = .50$), however, I have decided to treat the two measures as separate constructs. Aggregating the two measures and using them as a single dependent variable produced results similar to when they were analyzed separately.

Finally, to test whether influence and affability produce holistic perceptions of charisma, I regressed perceptions of speakers' charisma on targets' influence and affability (and their interaction), examining this relationship within each target's sex \times condition combination and controlling for perceptions of attractiveness. Given my conceptualization of charisma as an observable individual difference (see Study 4), I expected that self-reported influence and affability would result in perceptions of greater charisma. As above, I used multilevel modeling to account for the nested structure of the data.

2 Results

2.1 Message Persuasiveness

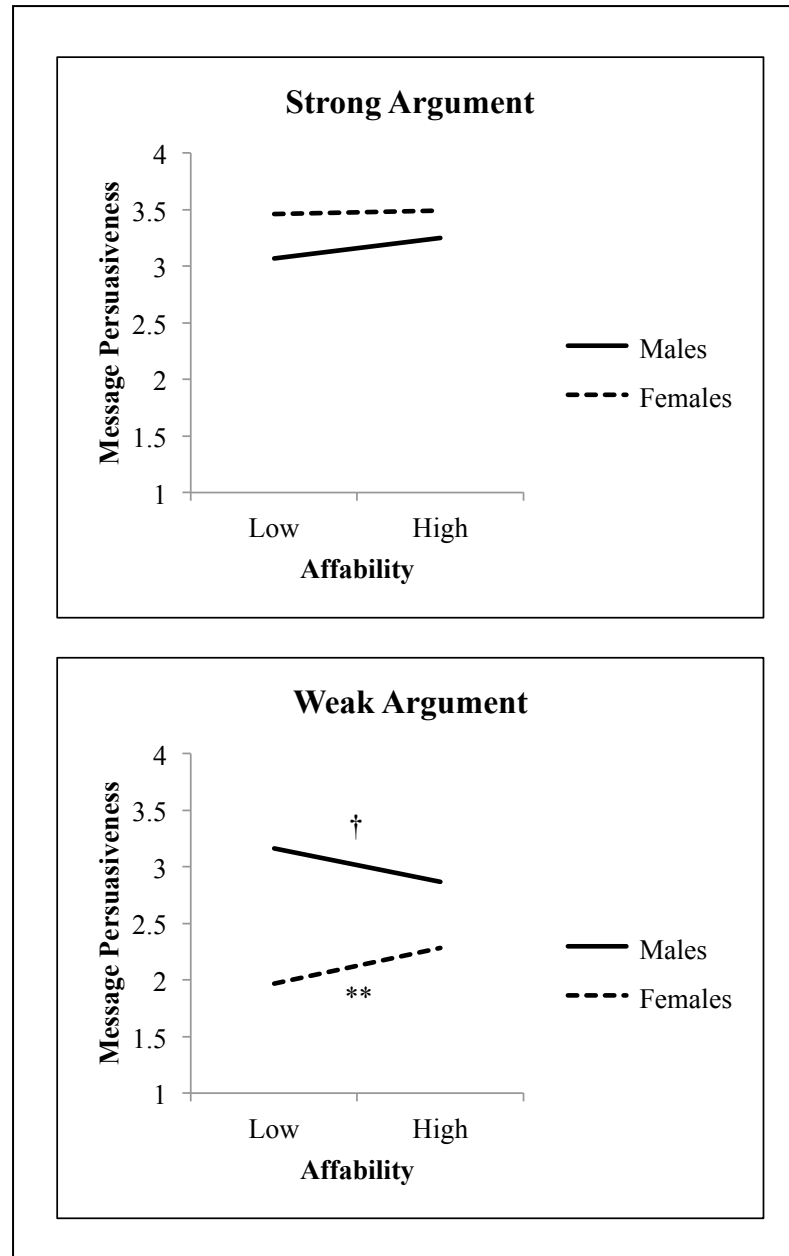
Participants evaluated the strong argument as significantly more persuasive than they did the weak argument, validating the argument strength manipulation: $b = 0.20$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(98) = 6.21$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.14, 0.26]. In addition, participants rated the messages as more persuasive when read by voices that they perceived as more attractive: $b = 0.27$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(574) = 9.02$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.21, 0.33]. Last, and most interesting, I observed a 3-way interaction between target's sex, condition, and affability, which I decompose below: $b = 0.12$,

$SE = 0.04$, $t(97) = 2.73$, $p = .007$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.20]. No other effects (including those for influence) reached statistical significance: $ts \leq 1.89$, $ps \geq .06$.

To understand the significant target's sex \times condition \times affability interaction, I examined the effects of affability on message persuasiveness within each target's sex \times condition combination. For the strong argument, affability did not predict message persuasiveness for either male ($b = 0.11$, $SE = 0.09$, $t(89) = 1.21$, $p = .23$, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.29]) or female ($b = 0.02$, $SE = 0.08$, $t(101) = 0.25$, $p = .81$, 95% CI [-0.14, .18]) speakers. For the weak argument, however, participants perceived the messages as equally persuasive when read by men who self-reported greater and lower affability ($b = -0.18$, $SE = 0.10$, $t(101) = 1.83$, $p = .07$, 95% CI [-0.38, 0.02]) but significantly more persuasive when read by women who self-reported greater (as opposed to lower) affability: $b = 0.20$, $SE = 0.07$, $t(100) = 2.81$, $p = .006$, 95% CI [0.06, 0.34]. Thus, consistent with gender stereotypes, weak messages read by affable women were more persuasive (see Figure 5).

Finally, because I wanted to show that the above effects on persuasion were independent from perceived charisma, I included this variable and its interactions into the model. The model revealed that charismatic speakers were perceived to deliver more convincing messages than their less charismatic counterparts: $b = .16$, $SE = .03$, $t(565) = 4.81$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.10, 0.22]. Although the 3-way interaction between condition, target's sex, and affability remained statistically significant, $b = 10$, $SE = .04$, $t(96) = 2.44$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [0.02, 0.18], perceptions of charisma did not interact with any variable in the model: $ts < 1.70$, $ps > .09$. In other words, the effects of self-reported affability on persuasion remained consistent even when perceptions of speakers' charisma were taken into account, suggesting that the GCI can predict persuasiveness beyond perceptions of charisma.

Figure 5. Message persuasiveness as a function of target's sex, condition, and affability (Study 5).



Note. † $p < .10$, ** $p < .01$.

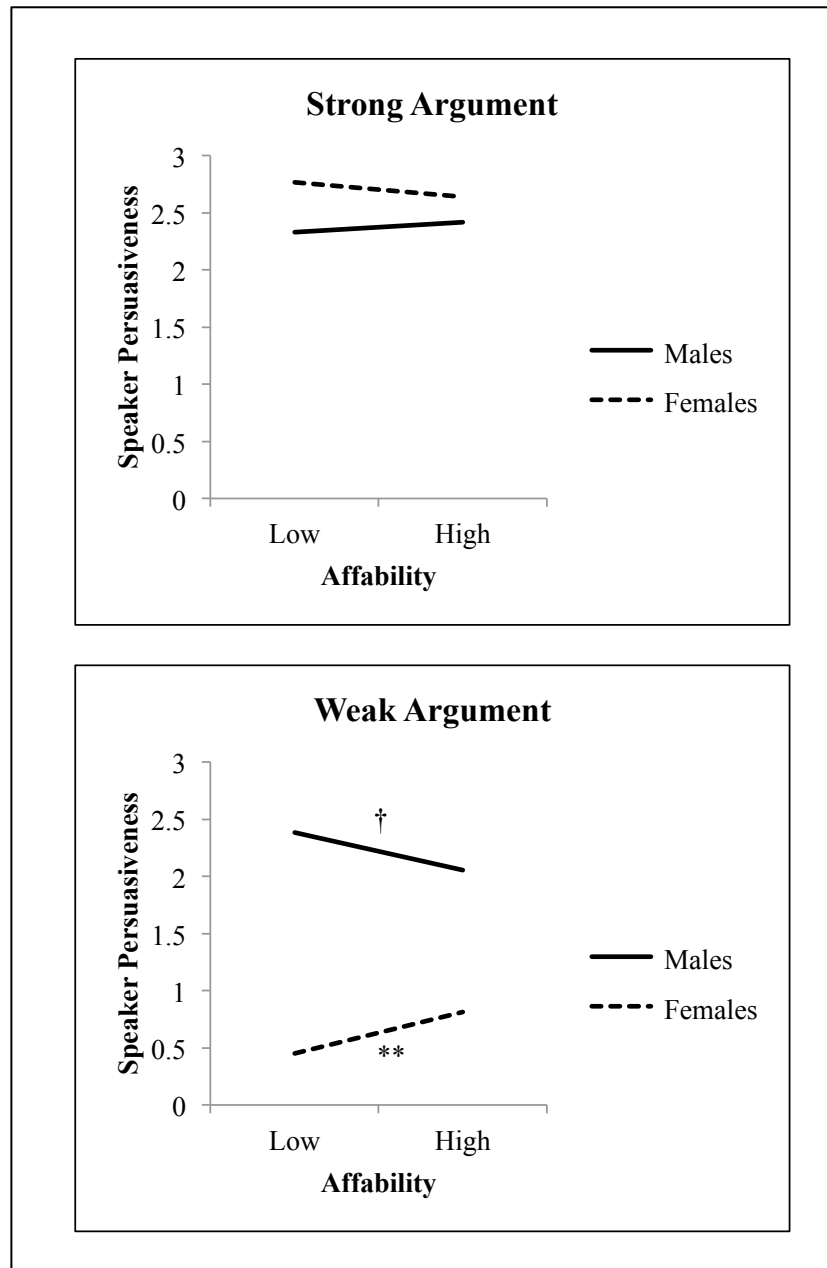
2.2 Speaker Persuasiveness

Similar to the results above, condition affected speaker persuasiveness: raters perceived individuals reading the strong argument as more persuasive than individuals reading the weak argument: $b = 0.17$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(94) = 4.57$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.09, 0.25]. Furthermore, I again found a main effect of attractiveness such that participants rated speakers with more attractive voices as more persuasive: $b = 0.49$, $SE = 0.03$, $t(574) = 14.08$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.43, 0.55]. As with message persuasiveness, a significant target's sex \times condition \times affability interaction emerged (decomposed below): $b = 0.14$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(95) = 2.85$, $p = .005$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.24]. Here, however, I also observed a main effect of target's sex in which participants perceived men to be more persuasive than women overall, $b = 0.09$, $SE = 0.04$, $t(102) = 2.42$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [0.01, 0.17], and a significant condition \times influence interaction (decomposed below): $b = -0.10$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(95) = 2.00$, $p = .049$, 95% CI [-0.20, -0.00]. No other effects reached significance: $ts \leq 1.50$, $ps \geq .14$.

I first examined the target's sex \times condition \times affability interaction by estimating simple slopes for affability within each target's sex \times condition combination. Consistent with my hypothesis, affability did not affect either male ($b = 0.06$, $SE = 0.11$, $t(87) = 0.53$, $p = .60$, 95% CI [-0.16, 0.28]) or female ($b = -0.08$, $SE = 0.09$, $t(99) = 0.81$, $p = .40$, 95% CI [-0.26, 0.10]) speakers' persuasiveness when they read the strong argument. Once again, when the argument was weak, participants rated men who had self-reported greater affability as no more persuasive than men reporting lesser affability: $b = -0.20$, $SE = 0.11$, $t(99) = 1.80$, $p = .07$, 95% CI [-0.42, 0.02]. However, the participants rated women who self-reported greater (cf., lesser) affability as more persuasive when they were reading a weak argument: $b = 0.22$, $SE = 0.08$, $t(98) = 2.79$, $p = .006$, 95% CI [0.06, 0.38] (see Figure 6). Affability therefore interacted with gender to affect

ratings of persuasiveness in stereotype-congruent ways, mirroring the effects for message persuasiveness reported above.

Figure 6. Speaker persuasiveness as a function of target's sex, condition, and affability (Study 5).



Note. † $p < .10$, ** $p < .01$.

Next, I decomposed the condition \times influence interaction by testing simple effects within each condition. Speaker persuasiveness did not significantly vary according to influence when the participants read strong arguments: $b = -0.08$, $SE = 0.07$, $t(93) = 1.04$, $p = .30$, 95% CI [-0.22, 0.06]. Speakers who scored higher and lower on influence sub-dimension of the GCI were perceived as equally persuasive: $b = 0.12$, $SE = 0.06$, $t(97) = 1.86$, $p = .07$, 95% CI [0.00, 0.24].

As above, I examined whether these effects would be consistent when I include perceptions of charisma into the model. Again, I found that those individuals who were perceived to be more charismatic were perceived to be more persuasive than their less charismatic counterparts: $b = .37$, $SE = .04$, $t(568) = 10.21$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.29, 0.45]. However, charisma did not interact significantly with other variables in the model: $ts < 1.92$, $ps > .06$. Importantly, both target's sex and condition still moderated the relationship between affability and perceptions of speaker persuasiveness: $b = .11$, $SE = .05$, $t(93) = 2.36$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [0.01, 0.21]. In other words, the newly developed measure of charisma predicted persuasion over and above perceptions of charisma.

2.3 Speaker Charisma

As predicted, more attractive targets were perceived to be more charismatic: $b = .71$, $SE = .04$, $t(573) = 18.85$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.63, 0.79]. However, neither influence ($b = .02$, $SE = .06$, $t(104) = 0.40$, $p = .69$, 95% CI [-0.10, 0.14]) nor affability ($b = .09$, $SE = .06$, $t(104) = 1.54$, $p = .13$, 95% CI [-0.03, 0.21]) affected perceptions of charisma on their own. The main effects were qualified by a significant three-way interaction between target's sex, condition, and the GCI's influence dimension, however: $b = .11$, $SE = .06$, $t(105) = 1.99$, $p = .05$, 95% CI [0.00, 0.22]. No other effect reached traditionally accepted levels of statistical significance ($\alpha = .05$): all $ts < 1.54$, $ps > .13$.

In decomposing the three-way interaction, I found that greater influence made women who read the weak argument to appear more charismatic: $b = .20$, $SE = .09$, $t(108) = 2.27$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [0.02, 0.38]. Furthermore, in the same condition, participants perceived more affable women to be more charismatic: $b = .18$, $SE = .09$, $t(107) = 1.99$, $p = .05$, 95% CI [0.00, 0.36]. Neither influence nor affability affected perceptions of charisma in other target's sex \times condition combinations: $ts < 1.17$, $ps > .24$.

3 Discussion

Individuals' self-reported charisma affected their persuasiveness over and above perceptions of charisma, but with some nuances. When the argument was strong, a speaker's self-reported charisma had no impact on the evaluations of persuasiveness. Specifically, charismatic affability affected speaker persuasiveness but in different ways for men and women. Men's affability did not affect their persuasiveness but women self-reporting greater affability were perceived to be more persuasive. This pattern is in concordance with gender stereotypes: women are typically expected to be warm and pleasant, whereas men are expected to be emotionally neutral and agenic (e.g., Bem, 1981; Carlson, 1971; Keating, 2011). Women who fit this expectation better seemed to be more effective at persuading others and men did not benefit from affability much.

Beyond these insights, the present data also allowed for a demonstration of the predictive validity of the GCI beyond perceptions of charisma. Although listeners knew nothing about the role of speaker charisma as a factor in these studies, they were more persuaded by individuals who were more charismatic, as measured by the GCI. This result is noteworthy, given the importance of persuasion to previous theories and research on charisma in leadership. It helps to validate the present measure by showing convergence with past work and by predicting an

external outcome, namely persuasion, which is both interpersonal and common to everyday life.

In addition, the current data allowed me to examine whether the GCI's influence and affability could produce perceptions of targets as charismatic. The data suggest that greater self-reported influence and affability produced reliable perceptions of greater charisma only for women who read the weak argument. Indeed, previous research found that perceptions of women (cf. men) as charismatic was dependent on fitting the traditional gender expectations (Keating, 2002, 2011). However, other research suggests that women (cf. men) may also need to fit the stereotypes associated with their contextual roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002; see also Rule & Ambady, 2009). In the context of persuasion, therefore, people may attribute greater charisma to women who fit the expectations of both their social role and gender. Naturally, this tentative explanation needs to be subjected to further empirical testing. That being said, it remains unclear as to why I did not observe similar effects when targets read a strong argument and future research is necessary to explain these discrepancies. Speculatively, it could be that persuasion is a 'strong' context and men tend to be stereotyped to be stronger than women (Eagly & Karau, 2002). If so, we may conclude that perceptions of charisma are only relevant in the context where weakness and uncertainty is perceptually apparent, consistent with previous leadership literature that suggests that charismatic leaders emerge in times of uncertainty, instability, and crisis (Antonakis, 2012). Still, future research may shed additional light to these curious findings. In sum, this delineation suggests that the individual differences in influence and affability can produce perceptions of measured charisma, albeit with some nuances; indeed, perceptions of charisma may be contingent on the context.

Chapter 8

Study 6: Relating Charisma to Liking

In Study 5, I showed that the GCI could predict a classic outcome of leadership: persuasion. However, given that I intended the GCI to measure charisma more generally than what has been captured in traditional measures of leadership charisma, in Study 6, I examined its capacity to predict a more common charismatic outcome: interpersonal liking. Building on my tests of the GCI's discriminant validity in Study 3, I tested whether the GCI would predict liking above and beyond other liking-predictive personality traits; namely, extraversion and agreeableness (Van der Linden et al., 2010). To do so, I assigned dyads to briefly interact and then report their liking of each other. I expected the interactants' GCI scores to predict how much their partner liked them over and above the variance explained by their extraversion and agreeableness scores, measured using the BFI.

1 Method

1.1 Participants

I recruited 160 participants (122 female; 77 White, 75 East Asian, 6 South Asian, 2, Pacific Islander; Age Range: 18-45 years) from the introductory psychology subject pool and the local community. The participants received either course credit or monetary compensation for their participation.

1.2 Measures

Charisma. I used the 6-item GCI to assess charismatic influence and affability. Participants provided self-ratings using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly*

Agree), as in the studies above. Both influence (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$) and affability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$) demonstrated acceptable reliability levels.

Big Five Inventory (BFI; John & Srivastava, 1999). I used the same 44-item measure of the Big Five personality traits from the convergent and discriminant validity analysis: openness to experience (Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$), conscientiousness (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$), extraversion (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$), agreeableness (Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$), and neuroticism (Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$). Participant responded to scale items using a 5-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*).

Liking. Liking for the partner was evaluated via a 10-item scale post interaction (see Procedure below and Appendix D). The participants responded to items such as "How much do you like your partner?" using a 7-point scale (1 = *Not at All*, 7 = *Very*). I averaged the scores for the 10-items such that greater numbers represented greater liking for the partner. The scale was reliable: Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$. Because liking ratings were not normally distributed, I squared them to achieve normality.

1.3 Procedure

I placed previously unacquainted participants into pairs upon their arrival in the laboratory, where they were led into a dyadic interaction room and seated across from each other. A research assistant provided the participants with 12, 3 inch \times 5 inch notecards. On each card, I printed one of the 12 closeness-generating questions developed by Aron, Melinat, Aron, Vallone, and Bator (1997). Although the closeness-generating questions were originally designed to increase in the degree of intensity and disclosure, I only used the question from the first set and shuffled the cards for each dyad. Taking turns, each participant first asked his or her interaction partner the question printed on the card and then answered the question him- or

herself. The participants were given 10 minutes and encouraged to go through as many cards as possible. The research assistant left the room after providing the participants with the task instructions, timing and monitoring the interaction from a separate room. Once the participants completed the closeness-generation task, I moved them into separate rooms and provided them with the BFI, GCI, and Liking measures among several other self-report questionnaires used as fillers (See Appendix F). See Table 4 for means, standard deviations, and Pearson's product-moment correlations.

Table 4. Means, standard deviations, and Pearson's product-moment correlations between the dyadic interaction partners' liking of each other, Big Five traits, demographic characteristics, and GCI subscale scores in Study 6.

Variable	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Liking	24.91 (8.23)	.09	.09	-.12	.00	.07	.07	.09	.06	.07	.21**
2. Agreeableness	3.77 (0.58)	–	.18*	.07	-.29***	.36***	.16*	.07	.00	.00	.03
3. Extraversion	3.13 (0.81)		–	.12	-.23***	.13	-.09	.03	-.05	.03	-.06
4. Openness	3.52 (0.41)			–	-.10	.12	-.04	-.16*	-.08	.17	.03
5. Neuroticism	3.14 (0.78)				–	-.31***	.10	.03	-.04	-.06	.09
6. Conscientiousness	3.38 (0.65)					–	.07	-.06	.08	-.09	-.10
7. Sex	–						–	-.07	-.11	.08	.04
8. Age	20.23 (6.92)							–	.04	.10	.10
9. Race	–								–	-.03	-.13
10. Influence	3.59 (0.77)									–	.37***
11. Affability	3.93 (0.78)										–

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Sex: 1 = *female*, -1 = *male*; Race: 1 = *Caucasian*, -1 = *Not Caucasian*.

1.4 Analytic Strategy

I used multilevel modeling to estimate a random intercept for partners nested within dyads using an unstructured variance-covariance matrix via the lme4 package in R (Bates, Maechler, Bolker, & Walker, 2013) with Satterthwaite degrees of freedom rounded to integers, grand-mean centering all continuous predictors and effect-coding all categorical predictors. I estimated a series of hierarchically nested multilevel models and evaluated the improvement in model fit using the overall variance explained index (R^2 ; see LaHuis, Hartman, Hakoyama, & Clark, 2014). I began by regressing partners' evaluations of targets onto their self-reported extraversion and agreeableness scores to test the predictions based on past work (Van der Linden et al., 2010). I then added the other BFI traits (i.e., openness, neuroticism, and agreeableness) to the model, followed by targets' demographic characteristics (sex, race, and age) to serve as controls variables. Finally, my critical test comprised adding targets' influence and affability scores to measure whether they provided a significant degree of additional explanatory power, demonstrating the GCI's incremental validity.

2 Results

Overall, my final model including participants' GCI scores predicted the greatest amount of variance in how much their interaction partners liked them, $R^2 = .10$. Notably, this was significantly greater than the variance explained by any of the preceding models (see Table 5). Only adding the GCI produced a significant improvement in model fit, $\Delta R^2 = 0.05$, $F(2, 149) = 4.30$, $p = .02$, suggesting that including the GCI explained additional variance in partners' liking over and above targets' Big Five personality traits and demographic characteristics. Indeed, only participants' affability scores significantly predicted how much their partners liked them, $b =$

2.02, $SE = 0.90$, $t(148) = 2.25$, $p = .03$, 95% CI [0.26, 3.78], whereas none of the other parameter estimates were statistically significant, $ts \leq 1.44$, $ps \geq .15$.

Table 5. Unstandardized parameter estimates, model fit statistics, and significance levels for a series of nested multilevel regression models predicting people's liking for their interaction partners in Study 6.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Predictor	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>	<i>B (SE)</i>
Intercepts				
Partner A	26.01 (0.91)***	25.91 (0.92)***	25.41 (1.03)***	25.36 (1.01)***
Partner B	23.77 (0.93)***	23.88 (0.93)***	23.50 (1.00)***	23.65 (1.00)***
BFI Scores				
Agreeableness	0.51 (1.12)	0.43 (1.21)	0.14 (1.24)	0.07 (1.24)
Extraversion	0.70 (0.78)	0.80 (0.80)	1.00 (0.81)	1.07 (0.81)
Openness		-2.41 (1.55)	-2.16 (1.57)	-2.32 (1.61)
Neuroticism		0.19 (0.89)	0.20 (0.89)	0.04 (0.90)
Conscientiousness		0.65 (1.07)	0.60 (1.07)	0.80 (1.08)
Demographics				
Sex			0.88 (0.77)	0.80 (0.77)
Age			0.03 (0.09)	0.03 (0.09)
Race			0.73 (0.64)	0.85 (0.64)
GCI Scores				
Influence				-0.41 (0.93)
Affability				2.02 (0.90)*
Model Fit				
R^2	.01	.04	.05	.10
ΔR^2		.03	.01	.05*

Note. $*p < .05$. Partner A and Partner B labels were randomly assigned to the participants in each dyad. Liking ratings were squared. Standard errors of unstandardized regression coefficients in parentheses.

3 A Brief Discussion

Individuals' self-reported affability predicted the degree to which other people liked them when they got to know each other by disclosing personal information in dyadic interactions. Moreover, the inclusion of affability and influence explained an additional 5% of variance in liking over and above the combined contribution of the participants' self-reported Big Five personality traits and demographic characteristics. Although I expected that all of affability, influence, extraversion and agreeableness would predict liking based on previous theoretical and empirical research (Van der Linden et al., 2010), I found that only affability predicted interpersonal liking in this particular task.

The null effects for influence, extraversion, and agreeableness surprised me. Asking the participants to take turns disclosing personal information for just a brief period of time may have precluded the opportunity to influence each other. Perhaps longer or less structured interactions might reveal the effect of influence on interpersonal liking. The task may have similarly disrupted the relationships of extraversion and agreeableness with liking. For example, because participants were meeting for the first time, they may have been more motivated to appear agreeable. Additionally, introverted and extraverted individuals might have been relatively indistinguishable because the relatively structured nature of the task and the regulated speaking time. My findings contrast with those of previous research that demonstrated small-to-moderate correlations between agreeableness, extraversion, and liking (Van der Linden et al., 2010). However, there, liking was evaluated via classmate nominations and may have thus been informed by the raters' previous experiences with each other. However, these speculations are tentative and require future research to empirically resolve the differences between the present and past findings. Null results notwithstanding, I have here demonstrated that at least one

component of charisma (affability) predicts an important interpersonal outcome, showing that the GCI possesses incremental validity beyond other, related measures (i.e., extraversion and agreeableness).

Chapter 9

General Discussion

Previous research suggested several conceptualizations of charisma (e.g., Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1977; Friedman et al., 1980; House, 1977; see also Antonakis, 2012, for review). However, no research has yet provided a comprehensive and operational definition of this construct (Van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013). Surveying the leadership and psychological literature, I theorized that general charisma can be described via individual differences in influence and affability. Results from the series of studies reported above empirically confirmed this conceptualization. Naïve participants described a charismatic person that they might encounter in everyday life as influential and affable (Pilot Study). That is, leader-like but also kind and approachable. Using these data, I constructed a self-report measure of charisma via exploratory (Study 1) and confirmatory (Study 2) factor analyses, which identified and confirmed two dimensions of charisma—Influence and Affability. This allowed me to establish a new measure of individual differences in charisma applicable to leadership and non-leadership settings: the General Charisma Inventory (GCI).

To distinguish the GCI from other constructs, I examined its correlations with other measures (Study 3), showing that my measure was conceptually related to, yet distinct from, the traits described in the Five-Factor model of personality (BFI), from General Confidence (GC), from Charismatic Leadership (C-K), from Political Skills (PSI), from Emotional Intelligence (EI), from Positive and Negative Affect (PANAS), from interpersonal competence and warmth, and from nonverbal expressiveness (ACT). Additionally, the traits measured by the GCI were independent of intelligence, as measured by Raven's Advanced Progressive Matrices. Furthermore, I observed that brief (Study 4A) and prolonged (Study 4B) interpersonal

acquaintanceship allowed for consistent perceptions of charisma that were reflective of targets' individual differences in charisma, confirming that charisma is indeed an observable construct.

Next, I examined whether my conceptualization of charisma as a two interpersonally-oriented individual differences could produce robust effects on persuasion beyond mere perceptions of charisma (Cialdini, 1984; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). In Study 5, I found that women self-reporting greater affability were perceived as more persuasive speakers and that their arguments' contents were perceived as more persuasive when reciting a weak argument in favor of wind-power. In contrast, no similar effects were observed for men. This pattern of results follows the gender stereotypes, suggesting that women may benefit from the effects of dispositional charisma when behaving in ways that fit social expectations (see Eagly & Karau, 2002). Moreover, these findings demonstrate that aspects of charisma measured by the GCI may have predictive validity for individuals' everyday experiences beyond simple perceptions of charisma made by others; albeit, these effects appear to be dependent on the context.

Finally, in Study 6, I demonstrated that charisma, and specifically its affability facet, could predict interpersonal liking over and above extraversion and agreeableness, variables that previous researchers have identified as predictors of interpersonal liking (Van der Linden et al., 2010). Using dyadic data, I found that people liked their partners more if he or she reported being more affable. Curiously, charismatic influence, extraversion, and agreeableness were not reliable predictors of liking. This could be the result of the interaction setting: the "closeness-generation" task (Aron et al., 1997) was structured such that it did not allow for an explicit display of extraversion. Because individuals were simply following the prompts that I have provided, there may have been little room to be agreeable as well. Interestingly, the affability dimensions still emerged as a predictor even in this structured context: people who smiled at other more often, made the atmosphere more comfortable, and those who reported being able to

get along with people were perceived as more likeable. Therefore, I believe that active agreement or disagreement may not be necessary for charisma to emerge; it is the individual's disposition towards affability and kindness that predicted liking. These data furthermore that at least one component of charisma predicts tangible, real world outcomes, beyond the traits that are said to represent warmth and competence (i.e., agreeableness and extraversion, respectively). Thus, charisma is distinct enough from warmth and competence to uniquely produce important everyday outcomes.

Therefore, across seven independent studies, I have demonstrated that charisma is a personality construct that can distinguish individuals in everyday life. First, in Study 1 and 2, I found that Influence and Affability were the two dimensions that people utilized when thinking about charismatic others and describing themselves. Next, I found that both charismatic influence and affability were distinct from other previously studied constructs, highlighting the uniqueness of my scale. In Study 4, my data showed that people make accurate and reliable perceptions of charisma following brief interactions and long-term exposure to each other, meaning that the charismatic personality shines in the interpersonal interactions. Finally, in Studies 5 and 6, I have shown that the affability component of charisma predicted important life outcomes over and above other measures, showing importance of studying the construct in the context of everyday interpersonal interactions.

1 Theoretical Implications

Previously, Weber (1922/1978), House (1977), Bass (1985), and Conger and Kanungo (1987) provided conceptualizations of charisma in terms of its effects within leadership, managerial, and organizational settings. However, none of their models defined or operationalized charisma as a construct in its own right, focusing instead on effects of charisma

in the context of organizations (Van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013). Furthermore, all major theoretical frameworks of leadership viewed charisma as one of several prototypical leadership styles (Lord, Foti, & De Vader, 1984; Tskhay et al., 2014). In contrast, my conceptualization of charisma focused on individuals' dispositions that were independent of behavioral outcomes and extended beyond leadership (e.g., Tkalac Verčič & Verčič, 2011). In other words, I was able to identify and operationalize the components of charisma and to demonstrate that they are relevant in early and more prolonged interpersonal interactions and in the domain of persuasion and liking. Thus, the current research suggests that charisma can be defined and measured as an individual difference that is relevant to all individuals and not only to leaders.

Naturally, my conceptualization of charisma also included leadership. Indeed, the characteristic that distinguishes charismatic leaders from other subtypes is the presence of charisma. Thus, leaders who adopt a charismatic leadership style should be evaluated as charismatic with greater frequency than leaders who do not adopt this style. The current definition of charisma as a disposition may therefore help to capture such differences by moving charisma away from being conceptualized only within leadership towards greater consideration in people's daily lives. Thus, the present work may complement and extend previous research on charismatic leadership by helping to identify the underlying elements that are inherent to charismatic leadership (e.g., Antonakis, 2012; Tskhay et al., 2014). The expression of a charismatic personality could therefore be one precondition for the emergence of charismatic leaders in organizations.

Indeed, I have demonstrated that observers' and acquaintances' accurate judgments of charisma require at least some exposure to an individual's expressive behavior. Results of the round-robin task in Study 4A demonstrated that only 5 minutes of casual interaction was enough for participants to deduce the other group members' self-reported influence and affability and

that a significant proportion of variance in the ratings of charisma could be attributed directly to targets' dispositions. Supplementing this, the results of Study 4B showed that long-term acquaintances were accurate when judging targets' charisma. Finally, in Study 5, I found that people evaluated women who self-reported greater influence and affability to be more charismatic in the context of persuasion. Thus, integrating previous work showing that personality can be accurately inferred from behavior (e.g., Gosling et al., 2002; Tskhay & Rule, 2014) and that charisma may partly manifest in expressive behavior (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Friedman et al., 1980), I have demonstrated that charismatic people have a persistent and consistent pattern of expression that is reliably perceived by others. Charisma may therefore not only be a product of perception, but the expression of charisma may be a manifestation of individual differences in charisma in everyday life. Thus, I consider expressiveness to be a product of individual differences in charisma, rather than charisma itself (cf. Friedman et al., 1980).

Moreover, the final two studies showed that individual differences in charisma affect persuasion and liking. These findings not only help to establish the criterion and construct validity of the GCI, but also show that charisma can be distinguished from its effects. Indeed, one of the main criticisms of charismatic leadership is that conceptions of charismatic leadership are somewhat circularly derived from organizational and leadership effects (see Van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013; see also Antonakis et al., 2011). For example, charismatic leadership has been operationally conceptualized as leaders' idealized influence over followers (Avolio & Bass, 1994). This conception, though parallel to the current work, focuses on the effects that charisma has on people. In my definition, I conceptualized charismatic influence as an individual differences variable and persuasion as an outcome of having greater influence.

Thus, I observed the effects of influence on life outcomes (i.e., persuasion) and conceptualized charisma as a construct that is distinct from its effects.

2 Limitations and Future Directions

The present work is not without limitations. For example, it is clear that the original scale items were constructed from a sample obtained from Amazon's Mechanical Turk. This sample may be biased in their perceptions of charisma, as it represents a very specific segment of population who participate in research studies for a relatively low compensation (Paolacci & Chandler, 2014). However, it appears that people on MTurk perform very similarly to college students on personality measures, alleviating serious concerns about the data quality (Paolacci & Chandler, 2014). Indeed, I was able to reproduce the same factor structure of the GCI regardless of whether the participants were Amazon's Mechanical Turk's workers or college students. Nevertheless, it remains unclear who the Workers were thinking about when coming up with their descriptor items, whether they were using implicit theories about charismatic leaders, or whether they referred to a male or female prototypes when reporting on the traits that make other people charismatic (e.g., individuals more readily think about male leaders; Hogue & Lord, 2007). Interestingly, regardless of what the participants were thinking, my theoretical reasoning converged with participants' free responses, suggesting that charisma indeed may be primarily defined by individuals' ability to influence other people and to be affable. The examination of implicit theories of charisma may be necessary to further understand how charisma is represented in the mind.

Furthermore, given the evidence reported in studies on the perception of traits from multiple cues (e.g., Zebrowitz, 1997), it may be useful to explore how charisma can be communicated through various behavioral channels (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; Tskhay &

Rule, 2013; 2014). For example, it remains unclear whether charisma can be perceived in a zero-acquaintance paradigm from appearance alone or from the thin-slices of nonverbal behavior (e.g., Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; Connelly & Ones, 2010; Tskhay & Rule, 2013). Furthermore, previous research has examined perceptions of leadership charisma from both verbal and nonverbal cues (Bono & Ilies, 2006; Friedman et al., 1980, 1988; Mio, Riggio, Levin, & Reese, 2005). It would therefore be critical to investigate whether the expanded definition of charisma that I have offered here may show greater or more nuanced consistency across various modalities of perception, as compared to previous studies on charisma. Studies 4A, 4B, and 6 provided evidence that charisma could be inferred from live interactions and Study 5 showed that it could be reliably judged from audio samples. Systematic comparison of these and other channels (e.g., gestures, natural speech samples, or appearance; see Tskhay et al., 2014) could provide insights as to how charisma is expressed outside the context of leadership.

Related to this point, I did not examine how charismatic disposition translated to perceptions of charisma. Thus, it remains unclear what mechanisms underlie self-other agreement in charisma. Previous literature suggests that charismatic leaders are able to entice and motivate the followers towards organizational vision (e.g., Antonakis, 2011; Avolio & Bass, 1989; Conger & Kanungo, 1987). Similarly, personal charisma can also touch on the internal psychological dispositions of people, empowering and motivating them to achieve personal goals, overcome hardships, and ultimately leading them to construe the charismatic person as likeable (cf. Study 6), trustworthy (Todorov et al., 2009), approachable, and warm (Fiske et al., 2007). Furthermore, because charismatic individuals are, on average, more emotionally intelligent (Study 3; Goleman, Boyatzis, & McKee, 2013; Prati et al., 2003; cf., Antonakis, 2003; 2004), they may “touch” other people’s emotions via expressive emotional display (Cherulnik, Donley, Wiewel, & Miller, 2001; Tskhay et al., 2014). In turn, this expression of emotions may

lead to perceptions of charisma. Although this is only a small sample of potential mediators that may explain self-other agreement in perceptions of charisma, it is critical to examine them empirically in order to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the construct (Van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013; Yukl, 1999).

Additionally, although I have examined how perceptions of voices affects persuasiveness in Study 5, showing that affability was beneficial for females and detrimental to males, I did not examine the specific voice characteristics that charismatic people may possess. Previous research, for example, demonstrates that men and women differ in their voice quality (e.g., Feinberg, DeBruine, Jones, & Perrett, 2008; Klatt & Klatt, 1990; Titze, 1989) and that voice characteristics affect perceptions of attractiveness, dominance, and leadership (Feinberg et al., 2008; Gardner, 2003; Puts, Gaulin, & Verdolini, 2006). While this is not directly detrimental to the findings of Study 5, I believe that it would be crucial to examine whether variations in voice quality affect persuasiveness. The investigations into the nonverbal cues that communicate charisma have been previously overlooked by much of leadership and social psychological research (cf., Gardner, 2003) and therefore present an excellent avenue for future research that integrates linguistics, nonverbal behavior, communication, and personality research.

Next, I observed that the GCI was not correlated with intelligence, measured via Raven's Advanced Progressive Matrices. Because I measured charisma as a disposition that focused on interpersonal skills and not other forms of intelligence, I expected a null relationship between these variables. However, one may reason that greater intelligence should be related to charisma as both a disposition and as a perception (Antonakis, 2011; Judge et al., 2004; Lord et al., 1986). For example, more intelligent people may have a deeper insight into their level of charisma and thus develop charismatic traits over time to influence their environment. Furthermore, people may evaluate more intelligent and quick thinkers as more charismatic (e.g., Von Hippel, Ronay,

Baker, Kjelsaas, & Murphy, 2015). Although I do not know exactly why the current findings diverged from previous work, I speculate that this could be due to the measurement of intelligence that I have used in this work. Specifically, Raven's Advanced Progressive Matrices measure individual's analytic skills, disregarding exceptional verbal skills, which is one of the hallmarks of charisma (e.g., Avolio & Bass, 1988; Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; House, 1977; Von Hippel et al., 2015). Therefore, I anticipate that charisma would be related to intelligence assessments that include verbal skills component. However, the examination of the relationship between charisma and intelligence remains an open question for future research.

Finally, though I conceptualized charisma as an individual differences variable that influences the impressions of charisma made by other people, I did not examine the impression formation process directly, focusing on the self-report measure. Naturally, like other trait-level constructs, no single study or series of studies can explain all of the complexity of why some people may be perceived to be charismatic whereas others would be perceived to be socially awkward. Nevertheless, I was able to uniquely identify the dispositional aspects of charisma, further advancing the theoretical and empirical understanding of this fascinating construct. Researchers should consider the individual differences in charisma when examining how impressions of charisma arise and sustain themselves over time.

3 Conclusion

In the present studies, I defined charisma as it manifests in the context of everyday life. Specifically, by drawing on previous literature and asking lay people, I conceptualized charisma as a composition of observable internal individual differences in influence and affability. I also defined charisma in operational terms by constructing and validating the General Charisma Inventory. Thus, I demonstrated that charisma (i) is composed of influence and affability, (ii) is

observable, (iii) is distinct from other traits, (iv) is a trait that can be defined separately from the outcomes it produces, and (v) is a trait that is relevant in the everyday situations. I believe that the investigation of charisma in daily life is important for disentangling a construct previously understood primarily in terms of its consequences for leadership and hope that other researchers will share my enthusiasm about the potential new lines of research that this new conceptualization may elucidate.

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Appendix A: Categories in the Pilot Study

The 59 categories that were generated in the Pilot Study.

Category Name	Category Name	Category Name
agreeable	genuine laugh	nice hair
animated body gestures	genuine smile	optimistic
appearance (groomed)	genuine/honest	outgoing
approachable	good conversationalist	people want to be friends
articulate	good listener	persuasive/inspiring
attracts people's attention	good public speaker	physically attractive
calm	handshake	polite
charming	happy	popular
competent	helpful	posture
confident	humble	powerful 'aura'
dominant	humour	proud
emotional intelligence	intelligent	self-awareness
energetic	interested in others	smooth
engaging	interpersonal understanding	strong
extroverted/social	kind	successful
eye contact	leader	superficial/disingenuous
facial expressions	loud voice	talkative
fair/just	makes others feel important	unreasonable

friendly

motivated

warm

fun

mysterious

Appendix B: Item Ratings in the Pilot Study

Means and standard deviations for charisma ratings of the 99 items retained in the Pilot Study.

Retained Items			
	Rating		Rating
Item	<i>M (SD)</i>	Item	<i>M (SD)</i>
Is charming	6.34 (0.98)	Is an eloquent speaker	5.94 (1.10)
Knows how to engage others in a conversation	6.30 (0.86)	Befriends others quickly	5.94 (1.06)
Is engaging	6.28 (0.81)	Is social	5.92 (1.16)
Has a presence in a room	6.28 (1.03)	Has high self-esteem	5.92 (0.99)
Is able to talk to anyone	6.24 (0.89)	Is alluring	5.92 (0.88)
Has a magnetic persona	6.20 (0.86)	Is full of life	5.90 (1.15)
Has an ability to influence people	6.20 (1.12)	Has a witty mind	5.82 (1.21)
Has an effect on people around them	6.16 (0.93)	Makes people feel special	5.78 (1.33)
Projects positive energy	6.16 (0.93)	Is optimistic	5.72 (1.05)
Is articulate	6.14 (0.88)	Is able to establish rapport with others	5.72 (1.33)

Communicates clearly	6.14 (0.95)	Has a powerful 'aura'	5.68 (1.56)
Can get along with anyone	6.14 (0.97)	Is approachable	5.68 (1.19)
Makes people feel comfortable	6.14 (0.93)	Is extraverted	5.68 (1.13)
Looks at people directly	6.08 (1.12)	Displays skills and abilities	5.66 (1.15)
Smiles at people often	6.06 (1.00)	Is a good leader	5.64 (1.17)
Captures attention when entering the room	6.06 (1.15)	Is invited to parties	5.60 (1.55)
Makes people laugh	6.02 (0.94)	Knows how to lead a group	5.58 (1.39)
Keeps eye contact while speaking	6.00 (1.01)	Is an engaged listener	5.58 (1.30)
Is inspiring	5.98 (1.02)	Is willing to lead people	5.58 (1.39)
Is vibrant	5.98 (1.13)	Understands human emotions	5.56 (1.21)

Excluded Items

	Rating		Rating
Item	<i>M (SD)</i>	Item	<i>M (SD)</i>
Is warm	5.54 (1.20)	Makes other people feel important	4.92 (2.27)
Is smooth	5.54 (1.36)	Has a genuine smile	4.90 (2.49)
Has many friends	5.52 (1.42)	Is always happy	4.88 (1.98)

Is genuine	5.50 (1.50)	Has good posture	4.88 (1.38)
Is elected as a leader	5.48 (1.53)	Is proud	4.88 (1.41)
Is interested in others	5.46 (1.20)	Is kind	4.72 (2.01)
Has animated facial expressions	5.46 (1.55)	Is selfless	4.66 (1.62)
Is genuine	5.46 (1.46)	Is a good public speaker	4.62 (2.42)
Is fun	5.44 (1.36)	Is outgoing	4.60 (2.52)
Is self-aware	5.42 (1.20)	Is friendly	4.58 (2.52)
Is motivated from within	5.38 (1.29)	Is competent	4.50 (2.27)
Is driven	5.36 (1.35)	Is dominant	4.48 (1.46)
Is helpful	5.30 (1.39)	Is energetic	4.44 (2.35)
Has animated body language	5.28 (1.41)	Has nice hair	4.44 (1.51)
Is strong	5.26 (1.40)	Is popular	4.42 (2.43)
Is polite	5.26 (1.38)	Is humble	4.34 (1.97)
Volunteers to lead people	5.24 (1.36)	Is a good conversationalist	4.28 (2.73)
Is fair	5.22 (1.23)	Is a good listener	4.28 (2.25)
Is gracious	5.22 (1.57)	Is intelligent	4.26 (2.45)

Is successful	5.18 (1.40)	Has a loud voice	4.26 (1.54)
Has a firm handshake	5.16 (1.46)	Is confident	4.20 (2.76)
Is expressive with their hands	5.14 (1.29)	Is well-groomed	4.20 (2.45)
Is understanding	5.12 (1.53)	Is calm	4.20 (1.65)
Has an infectious laugh	5.12 (1.53)	Has a laidback attitude	4.16 (1.50)
Is agreeable	5.10 (1.40)	Is physically attractive	4.02 (2.38)
Is sharply dressed	5.08 (1.48)	Is talkative	4.02 (2.43)
Has swagger	5.08 (1.72)	Is mysterious	3.54 (1.80)
Has sex appeal	5.02 (1.55)	Is superficial	3.00 (1.91)
Is able to grab attention	4.98 (2.62)	Is disagreeable	2.32 (1.54)
Has a good sense of humor	4.94 (2.41)		

Appendix C: Argument Scripts in Study 5

Strong Argument

Wind power is a form of energy that we should be considering more seriously. It's currently the fastest-growing source of electricity production in the world. A single wind turbine can power 500 homes – and there's enough wind in Canada to power the country 10 times over.

Right now, coal power is a very popular energy source. However, the coal we rely on pollutes our atmosphere with harmful emissions such as sulfur, lead, and carbon monoxide. In contrast, wind power is environmentally friendly and doesn't release toxic chemicals into the air.

Also, unlike most forms of energy, wind power uses virtually no water, so it saves water resources. By 2030, Canadian wind power will have saved nearly 30 trillion bottles of water, and we can save even more energy if we keep building wind turbines! Think of the positive impact that wind power can have – it keeps our environment clean and saves our other resources.

Weak Argument

Wind power is a form of energy that we should be considering more seriously. There's a very popular novel about a futuristic society that powers its cities with only wind energy. This futuristic world is a clean, green place with lots of grass, flowers, and fresh water. It sounds like the perfect place to live in. Canada could become cleaner and greener by getting most of its electricity from wind power too.

Plus, there are more and more energy conferences every year praising the effects of wind power on the environment and the economy. Countless numbers of experts – such as scientists, professors, and technicians – at these conferences talk about how wind energy can positively

impact the earth and change the world for the better. All the experts believe that wind power is good.

The world has the potential to be both technologically advanced and environmentally friendly – we just have to be open to new energy sources like wind power.

Appendix D: A Measure of Liking Used in Study 6

1. How much do you like your partner?
2. How likely is it that you would become friends with your partner?
3. How comfortable do you feel with your partner?
4. How much would you want to interact with your partner in the future?
5. How much did you enjoy interacting with your partner?
6. How sociable was your partner during the interaction?
7. How involved was your partner during the interaction?
8. How much during the interaction did your partner elaborate on his/her thoughts about the topic of conversation?
9. How much do you think your partner likes you?
10. How strong of a connection did you feel with your partner?

Appendix E: A List of Measures Used in Study 6

- I. Pre-Interaction Face Categorization Task (Tskhay & Rule, 2015)
- II. Symbolic Racism Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002)
- III. Identification with Humanity Scale (McFarland, Webb, & Brown, 2012)
- IV. Big Five Personality Inventory (McCrae & Costa, 1999)
- V. Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994)
- VI. Post-Interaction Questionnaire
- VII. Past Contact Scale (Islam & Hewstone, 1993)
- VIII. Social Network Scale (Smith, 2002)
- IX. Charisma Scale (developed here)
- X. Post Interaction Face Categorization Task (Tskhay & Rule, 2015)
- XI. Demographics