

Student Leaders and Leadership at Dartmouth College

A Study of Student Leaders, Members, and Organizations

PRS Policy Brief 0910-10
March 26, 2010

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This report was written by undergraduate students at Dartmouth College under the direction of professors in the Rockefeller Center. Support for the Policy Research Shop is provided by the Ford Foundation.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Through interviews, surveys, and focus groups this report examines student leadership at Dartmouth College. From the research I identify three main trends for discussion--the differences in characteristics and leadership styles between genders, the causes and practice of authoritarian leadership, and the issue of trust in organizations. Through these trends and general survey results, this study examines several aspects of leadership on campus and provides a foundation for future leadership studies.

1. INTRODUCTION

What makes a Dartmouth student leader? This study examines the personality traits and leadership styles of different positional leaders at Dartmouth College. The paper takes a closer look at a variety of student organizations on campus, from athletic teams and service organizations to prayer groups and fraternities. The study of different types of organizations will help distinguish the leadership styles and personalities among these groups and identify whether there are similar traits among leaders and group members.

Dartmouth College emphasizes the importance and value of leadership in its mission statement: "Dartmouth College educates the most promising students and prepares them for a lifetime of learning and of responsible *leadership*, through a faculty dedicated to teaching and the creation of knowledge." Dartmouth sees itself as an institution to train future leaders and produce alumni who have a "capacity for *leadership*". In order to achieve Dartmouth's mission, it is important to understand how leadership works on campus. The first step towards improving leadership is to understand the leaders--who they are and how they practice their roles on campus, as well as how members of their organizations view them.

This study combines a variety of research techniques to collect data on leaders and leadership at Dartmouth, from which three main themes emerge. The first addresses the gender discrepancies between male and female leaders in terms of perceived intelligence and ambition. The second examines authoritarian leadership techniques, exploring the characteristics of the leaders and groups that use them as well as the factors that lead to this kind of leadership. The final theme focuses on the issue of trust in organizations and questions why trust is a particular characteristic which leaders and members of their organizations see differently.

2. METHODOLOGY

The study is based on data collected from two surveys, focus groups, and personal interviews with student leaders on campus. Both surveys asked respondents, be they leaders or members, to identify their gender, organization name, GPA range, number of other organizations they are involved in, and to rate themselves on a scale of one-to-five on ten different traits, including: intelligence, communication skills, self-confidence, trustworthiness, ambition, outgoingness, friendliness, diligence, ability to be forward-looking, and optimism. These traits are identified in the leadership literature as important

characteristics of leaders and are particularly relevant for a college campus (Northouse, Introduction Ch. 2). The member survey then asked respondents to rate their leaders on the same ten traits, as well as on the agree or disagree with ten statements designed to ascertain whether their leader was democratic or authoritarian. Such statements included, “The leader of my organization... ‘encourages input from group members’, or ‘makes me confident in their leadership.’” Members were also asked to indicate whether they hold official positions in these organizations. The leader survey asked respondents to identify their organization type, number of members in the organization (ranging from less than ten to greater than 50), frequency with which members attend meetings (ranging from always, 100 percent of the time to not often, 0-30 percent of the time), gender of membership (ranging from all male/female to equal mix), and to complete Northouse’s “Leadership Styles Questionnaire” which is designed to ascertain leadership styles.¹

The Dartmouth Leadership Consultant Board, a new student organization designed to “develop and support students in student organization leadership roles at Dartmouth” conducted focus groups for different leaders around campus. I also interviewed individual leaders, following a semi-structured interview format which touched upon certain topics of leadership but maintained an informal structure to make leaders feel comfortable answering questions.

3. DATA

I sent the survey to five categories of leaders on campus: athletic team captains, fraternity and sorority presidents, the heads of religious organizations and service organizations through the Tucker Foundation, and the heads of student groups through the Council on Student Organizations (COSO). A total of 350 leaders were identified, 179 of whom were female. Females composed the majority of leaders for each subgroup apart from Greek houses and religious organizations. Eighty-seven leaders responded and filled out the survey as well as sent in a list of their members. These members were then asked to complete a member-survey about the head of their organization, eliciting 190 responses. Of these 190 members, 60 were executives or officers in their organizations. Leaders were generally upperclassmen, especially Greek leaders and Team Captains almost all of whom were seniors. Member respondents came from all four classes.

4. RESULTS

The majority of respondents fell into three different group types: service organizations with 56 respondents, Greek organizations with 98 respondents, and athletic organizations with 24 respondents. The other completed surveys fell into a variety of categories including religious, performance, cultural, pre-professional and issue/political groups. With these results the majority of the study focuses on the first three organizations--service, Greek, and athletic.

4.1 General Results: Group Structures and Membership

Greek organizations were the largest, followed by pre-professional, athletic, religious, issue-oriented and service groups. The majority of groups have more than 50 members (a total of 30 groups were of this size) compared to 11 groups which have less than ten members, the most common of which are service groups.

Attendance frequency is negatively related to the size of a group, with smaller groups having more frequent attendance than larger groups. This could be due to the fact that small group members belong to fewer outside organizations, thus enabling them to focus on and put more energy into one organization. While leaders of Greek and athletic groups categorized their members as having the highest attendance frequency, this result must be looked at in the context of their group structures. Athletic organizations require attendance, and have a tangible consequence of absence - losing a place on the team. Greek organizations charge member dues, and thus students are more likely to think seriously before joining given the cost. Furthermore, once they have joined, members may feel more of an obligation to attend meetings given their financial investment. Service groups have the next highest attendance, which fits with their small group context and tendency to attract members who are part of fewer outside organizations.

The traits and characteristics of Dartmouth students have some predictive value in determining the types of groups they join and lead. The following tables document the results of a discriminant analysis for members and leaders of different types of organizations on campus. The first table shows how well one can predict the group type of a respondent based on the ten personality characteristics from the survey (including intelligence, ambition, friendliness, etc.). While there may be some concern that certain individuals are part of a variety of groups, the ability to ascertain this information was limited and the general patterns remain valid. According to the following table, the 10 characteristics best predict membership in Greek organizations— with 47.89 percent of respondents correctly categorized as members of Greek houses. Athletic and service members are slightly less predictable than Greek members by approximately five percent.

Table 1. Member Discriminant Analysis

	Service	Greek	Athletic
Service	42.31	28.85	28.85
Greek	25.35	47.89	29.76
Athletic	25.71	31.43	42.86

Leaders in Greek houses and service organizations are more accurately predicted—with 60 percent of service leaders and 50 percent of Greek leaders correctly categorized. Issue/political leaders were even higher at 66.67 percent (although very few issue/political leaders responded). Athletic leaders and leaders of “other” types of organizations were less predictable. The higher predictability of certain leaders such as Greek or service leaders compared to their members comes as no surprise. Given that leaders generally share characteristics with their members, one would expect that members who most embody the qualities and values of the group would be more likely to

become its leader. This could be due to their own motivation or a collective feeling among the group that this individual best represents them based on shared characteristics.

Table 2. Leaders Discriminant Analysis

	Other	Issue/Political	Service	Greek	Athletic
Other	33.33	16.67	16.67	8.33	25.0
Issue/Political	0.0	66.67	11.11	11.11	11.11
Service	15.0	10.0	60.0	5.0	10.0
Greek	0.0	16.67	25.0	50.0	8.33
Athletic	38.71	12.9	9.68	9.68	29.03

With these general results in mind, the paper moves to explore the three main themes from the data in greater detail.

4.2 Theme One: Gender

When analyzing leadership styles and traits, noticeable differences along gender lines emerged for both leaders and members. The differences in self-ratings were of particular interest because they juxtapose other indicators, and yet remain consistent with background literature on gendered leadership and characteristics.

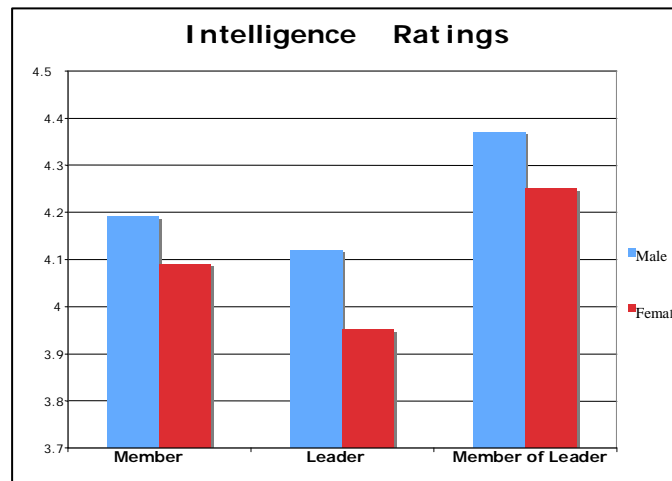


Figure 1. Intelligence Ratings

Females have higher grade point averages (GPAs) than males by 0.23 points, having a GPA of between 3.4 and 3.7. Males have lower GPAs but are in the same 3.4 to 3.7 range. Despite having higher GPAs, females consider themselves to be less intelligent than males in self-ratings. As seen in the graph below, females consistently rate themselves lower on intelligence than males, with female leaders giving themselves the lowest ratings relative to their male counterparts. At first glance one may think that this result is due to false female modesty which could be attributable to societal norms. However, columns 5 and 6 invalidate this explanation since they show that members of organizations also view female leaders as less intelligent than male leaders. Given the

fact that females are the majority of leaders on campus and make up over half of the student body, female students' lack of confidence in their intelligence and the perception among male and female group members that they are less intelligent should be further explored. These results indicate that the discrepancy in ratings of intelligence by gender may be founded on preconceived notions of sex differences among Dartmouth students.

Other studies on intelligence and leadership indicate that these biases are not unique to Dartmouth. A 1996 study of undergraduate students in America, Britain, and Japan found that men rated their IQs significantly higher than women and that both men and women rated their fathers' IQ as higher than their mothers'.² Another study by Furnham and Gasson had similar results--finding that parents who rated their children's IQs rated male children higher than female children. These results imply that actual intelligence may have little to do with its perception, and that preconceived gender notions may in fact determine how people think of themselves and others.

Survey results revealed ambition as another area with some of the wider discrepancies between males and females at Dartmouth. Leaders generally rate themselves as less ambitious than members, a result that could be attributable to a desire for modesty or a propensity for leaders to compare themselves to other leaders rather than the stereotypical student. Female leaders rate themselves as being even less ambitious than male leaders by 0.7 points on a five point scale and yet members rate female and male leaders as almost equally ambitious. These numbers show a disconnect between how people see their leaders and how their leaders see themselves. The fact that females rate themselves lower on ambition is surprising given that they are more likely to be leaders, be involved in multiple groups on campus, and have higher GPAs. These characteristics coupled with the tendency to apply for or be recognized as good candidates for leadership would generally be considered indicators of ambition. Thus, it is possible that social conventions or self-doubt constrain female ambition.

A study done by the Brookings Institution found that in the political realm, lack of ambition often discourages women from running for office or participating in politics. Women are constrained by their own lack of ambition, which is partly based on an undervaluation of their qualifications. In fact, women "are twice as likely as men to rate themselves as "not at all qualified."³ This report raises some issues of concern in light of the survey results at Dartmouth. While females are just as likely to hold leadership positions at Dartmouth, their lack of self-confidence and ambition could prevent them from aspiring to and running for leadership positions in the future. Dartmouth is a safe environment where females are over half the population, and gender stereotypes and male oriented networks are weaker as a result. The percentage of female leaders on campus indicates that women are not inhibited by their gender in attaining leadership positions. However, a variety of professions have different gender dynamics that do not reflect those of a college campus. Many professional industries including business and politics are particularly male-dominated, often producing environments where women face obstacles and resistance in attaining higher positions. The fact that female students rate themselves as less ambitious and are less confident than males could undermine their

potential to overcome future challenges in assuming leadership roles, especially in environments where female leadership is less common.

Table 3. Gender Averages

Mean Ratings by Gender	Male	Female
Ambition Member Rating Leader	4.31	4.33
Ambition Self-Rating for Members	4.23	4.13
Ambition Self-Rating for Leaders	3.56	3.49
Total # other organizations involved in	2.64	2.75
Self Confident	3.78	4.00
Leader Self-Rated Intelligence	4.12	3.95

4.3 Theme Two: Leadership Style – Authoritarian Leaders

This section explores different leadership styles with a particular focus on authoritarian leadership. Authoritarian leaders determine how groups function – including individuals’ responsibilities and tasks - and are less likely to engage in group discussions with their members or subordinates. Such leaders “emphasize that they are in charge, exerting influence and control over group members.”⁴ The positive aspects of authoritarian leadership are efficiency and productivity; however this leadership style can lead to members’ dissatisfaction or discontent with the organization.⁵

According to this survey, few leaders rated themselves high on the authoritarian leadership scale, with female and service group leaders especially low. It is more common for women to be democratic, consistent with the literature on gendered leadership. The table below illustrates the results from a multiple regression analysis of leadership factors on authoritarianism, showing that leaders are more authoritarian when members of their organization are involved in a greater number of outside groups and when they have a large group size. Attendance frequency, however, is positively related to authoritarian leadership. This could in part be due to the nature of more authoritarian groups such as athletic teams and Greek houses where attendance is more common. This trend could also be attributed to the fact that with authoritarian leaders, members may feel more inclined to participate for fear of consequences or reprimand. Consequences for lack of attendance in democratic or laissez-faire organizations may be less tangible.

Table 4. Regression: Characteristics Leading to Authoritarianism

Authoritarian	Mean	P-Value
Constant	15.11	0.018
Member Rate for Leader: Communicative	0.54	0.608
Member Rate for Leader: Trustworthy	-1.05	0.126
Member Rate for Leader: Ambitious	0.69	0.321
Member Rate for Leader: Diligent	-0.76	0.494
Member Rate for Leader: Outgoing	-1.43*	0.007
Number of Other Groups Members Involved In	0.12	0.661
Members Self-Rated Ambition	-0.42	0.363
Attendance Frequency	0.89	0.662
Number of Members	0.23	0.648
Female	-0.38	0.601
Athletic Organization	2.65	0.197
Service Organization	-1.75	0.908
* p-value significant at .01 level, n=87, R-Squared = 0.17		

The negative consequences of authoritarian leadership include leaders’ tendencies not to seek group input or encourage democratic decision-making. As a result, such leaders may appear less approachable and well-intentioned. Furthermore their authoritarian style makes it harder to build a trusting environment with members often feeling disenfranchised and as though their opinions aren’t heard or valued. Authoritarian leaders instruct members to do things rather than work with them or let them make autonomous decisions concerning their responsibilities.⁶ Members’ ratings of their leaders reflect these dynamics with authoritarian leaders receiving lower ratings on trustworthiness and outgoingness.

While leaders who rate themselves as more ambitious are less authoritarian, the same holds true for groups where members rate themselves as more ambitious. This could be a result of leaders using authoritarian styles as a coping strategy for group apathy. Leaders who run large organizations where members are involved in many other activities and do not consider themselves ambitious may find it difficult to mobilize members to attend meetings and take the initiative to work towards group goals.

One positive attribute of authoritarian leadership is that members tend to see their leaders as more communicative. Authoritarian leaders are clearer on what has to be done and how responsibility will be divided up since there is one locus of power rather than a diffusion of responsibility across the group, which is often the case with democratic leadership.

These findings are consistent with the focus group and interview data collected from leaders around campus. A focus group conducted with male and female Greek presidents revealed that presidents considered a principal challenge of their jobs as leaders to be dealing with the apathy of members. As membership increases, presidents expressed the tendency to attract people who are less dedicated to the organization. Furthermore, with more members responsibility diffuses among the group and helps create a sense of

indifference. In large groups, individuals may feel less compelled to be responsible and participate considering the number of other members with equal responsibility. According to one male fraternity president, “apathy is rampant in every facet of everything related to the house.” Three other fraternity presidents echoed this sentiment, as well as two other sorority presidents who were either present at the focus group or interviewed individually. The way that the male and female leaders dealt with this apathy, however, followed the gender divide seen in the data and in the literature.

Past studies have found that female leaders are less likely to “elicit resistance to their authority by challenging norms dictating that women be egalitarian and supportive of others” (Eagley and Carli, 821-822). This implies that women are less likely to invoke authoritarian leadership techniques, as seen in the results above. Women often meet disapproval when utilizing assertive or directive techniques, and thus mix in more traditionally “feminine” behavior such as “warmth or cooperativeness” (Eagley and Carli, 822). On the other hand, male leaders do not experience the same negative response to more dominant leadership techniques and can “gain from dominant and assertive behavior [giving them] easier access to a wider range of leader behaviors that can be tailored to fit the demands of the situation” (Eagley and Carli, 822).

The same patterns hold true at Dartmouth. Several focus group discussions and personal interviews revealed that the male response to group apathy and diffusion of responsibility was authoritarian: “fines, fines, fines”. Male presidents fined members who did not live up to certain responsibilities. In one case, a male leader who had trouble getting members to fulfill their duty of volunteering at a charity event went around the fraternity at 9:00a.m. the day of the event, knocking on members doors in order to wake them up and force them to participate while threatening fines for absence.

Female leaders had an opposite response to group apathy, utilizing democratic rather than authoritarian methods. Faced with the same issue, the President of one sorority read Ken Blanchard’s *Gung Ho*, a book dedicated to learning how to help motivate members of organizations and inspire them. This leader wanted her members to *want* to be involved rather than have them feel forced to do so. Thus she came up with a democratic solution to her problem: she created a programming council giving members free reign to plan their own events. She has found that giving people direct responsibility and the power to determine and plan their own events enables members to organize programming they desire and enjoy. As a result, they feel more motivated to be involved and help create a greater sense of excitement and desire to participate around the house rather than a feeling of responsibility and duty. This female leader believes that by making democratic decisions and increasing transparency, members feel more invested and as though their feelings are being heard. The downside of this emphasis on democratic leadership, however is that it can make the leader’s job harder. This sorority President found that coupled with an increase in democracy came a decrease in efficiency and the ease of decision-making. The fraternity presidents articulated this result as a potential consequence of using democratic methods, citing the near impossibility that a leader could make everyone in a group happy. One fraternity president stated that his strategy was to create the illusion that members have a choice and that their say is heard as a

sufficient way of making them feel involved while accomplishing his own goals more efficiently.

The apathy noted by fraternity and sorority presidents is not systematic of the Greek system but rather of the large size of the majority of such groups. Another male president of a small minority Greek house on campus articulated the different problems of leading a small group, none of which included apathy. He said that with “few members, [they] can’t be apathetic.” This may be an explanation for the tendency for service group leaders to be less authoritarian given the small size of their groups and volunteer nature of the work.

Authoritarian leadership is not the ideal leadership style of a campus leader due to its negative consequences. Authoritarian leaders are seen as much less trustworthy than other leaders. Trust is an important issue in organizations, especially for teams or Greek houses where members are motivated to join with the promise of a community and a bond with other members. Many male leaders find authoritarian techniques to be effective in the short-term with higher attendance rates and the accomplishment of tangible goals. However, these short-term benefits must be weighed against the long-term consequences of eroding group camaraderie and the respect and trust members feel in their leaders. Authoritarianism through fines or mandatory events does not deal with the greater problem of group apathy or address the need for members to take initiative and feel invested in their organization. The female Greek president who used democratic solutions found that these alternatives created a sense of excitement and motivation, which over time has lessened the problem of group apathy.

Given that group apathy was a challenge cited by leaders across groups and genders, I turn to consider why group apathy forms in the first place. At a school like Dartmouth where according to one president, “everyone expects you to be a leader”, many students articulate a pressure to be part of multiple organizations and groups. The consequence of this pressure is that instead of devoting themselves to one organization they care about and work to improve, students spread themselves thinly over a variety of organizations. In these cases it is much harder for groups to accomplish their goals since attendance frequency declines and group apathy becomes pervasive. As a result, many leaders and especially males utilize authoritarian techniques, which can eventually erode group motivation even further, making participation in an organization feel like more of a duty rather than a positive choice and experience. Thus before evaluating the consequences of authoritarian leadership on campus, one must consider the roots of why such techniques are used.

4.4 Theme Three: Trust

Trust is one of the most important leadership traits. According to an international study by House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman and Gupta, trust is one of the most valued traits for outstanding leadership.⁷ Northouse articulates how integral trust and integrity are in influencing and inspiring followers. A lack of trust can have grave consequences, for “if

people do not trust a leader, the leader’s influence potential is weakened” (Northouse, p. 25).

Despite its importance, trust in leadership has surfaced as a controversial and problematic issue, especially in U.S. business and politics. A recent poll found that about half of all corporate managers around the world do not trust their leaders.⁸ More than 80 percent of Americans articulated that they had “only some” or “hardly any” trust in leaders of major corporations, and 69 percent agreed that they “just don’t know who to trust anymore”. This lack of trust negatively impacts working environments by eroding the feeling of community and making the environment feel “stressful, threatening, divisive, unproductive and tense” (Hurley). On the other hand, high levels of trust create environments which are described much more positively as “fun, supportive, motivating, productive and comfortable” (Hurley).

In this survey, trust was a personality trait that consistently surfaced as an issue in Dartmouth organizations. As seen in the following charts, trust was the only category among individual groups and across types of organizations where members repeatedly rate their leaders lower than leaders rate themselves. Members generally think very highly of their leaders, rating them closer to the top of the rating scale (5) than they rate themselves on all categories, apart from trust. A comparison of how leaders self-assess their trustworthiness with how their members rate them reveals that members see leaders as less trustworthy than their leaders see themselves.

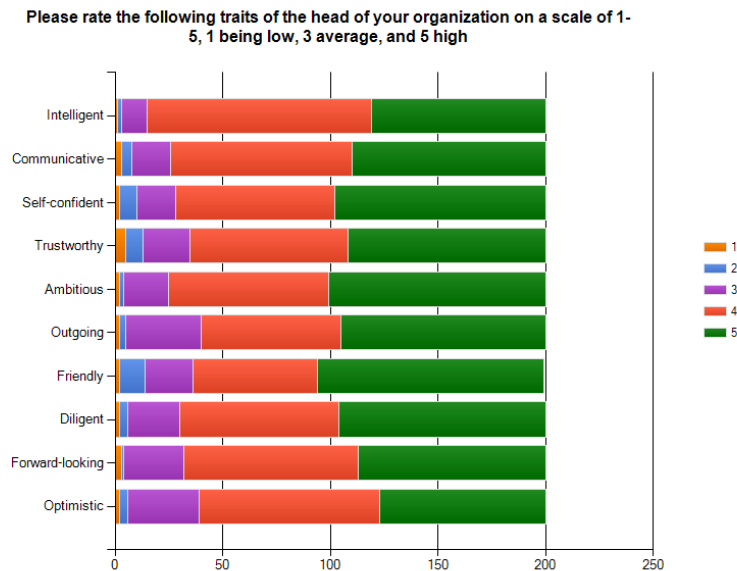


Figure 2. Members Rating Leaders

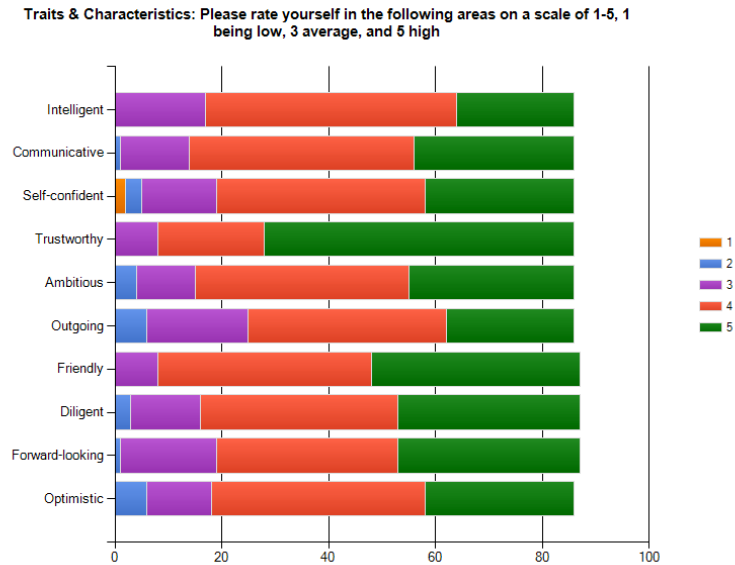


Figure 3. Leaders Self-Rating

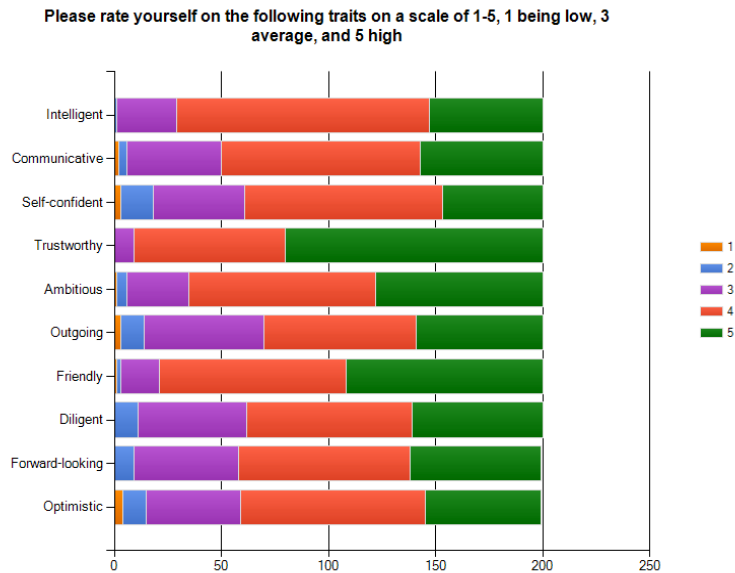


Figure 4. Members Self-Rating

Trust is a quality that both leaders and members seem to care about--both groups of individuals rate themselves the highest in trust. Leaders in particular rate themselves almost one point of a five-point scale higher on trust than on any other category. At first I thought there might be some bias with leaders underrating categories such as intelligence or self-confidence in an attempt at modesty. However, one would think that friendliness, similar to trust, is a category where most people feel comfortable dismissing such concerns. Additionally, how members rate the trustworthiness of their leaders is positively related to how leaders rate themselves, and thus these metrics are correlated.

This result begs the question of why members of organizations at Dartmouth do not think their leaders are trustworthy.

Table 5. Trust Averages

Trust	Mean	P-Value
Service Leaders	0.15	0.685
Greek Leaders	-0.02	0.891
Athletic Leaders	0.06	0.887
Leader Self-Rating of Trust	0.09	0.456
178 observations, R-Squared = 0.01		

A regression of trust on dummy variables for different types organizations shows that service members rate their leaders as the most trustworthy, followed by athletes. Members rate Greek leaders as the least trustworthy. Greek leaders also rate themselves as the least trustworthy of all leaders, averaging 4.36 / 5 whereas service leaders rate themselves as an average of 4.82.

The distinction between these groups is particularly interesting since service groups have smaller memberships and less authoritarian leaders. Greek groups are by far the largest with many houses having well over 100 members, and based on focus group discussions they have the greatest problem with attendance and apathy. Athletic leaders receive high trust ratings; this comes as no surprise, given the bonding and time commitment involved in team sports.

The patterns concerning trust could be related to authoritarian leadership. According to R.M. Kramer, an author on organizational trust, authoritarian leadership styles may indicate to members of organizations that their leaders don't support their ideas and instead do what is good for them. However, authoritarianism cannot be the sole basis of this rating discrepancy. While authoritarianism is inversely related to trust, leaders did not rate themselves as uniquely high on authoritarianism and tended to utilize such techniques selectively, also utilizing other types of leadership.

Another explanation for issues of trust could be based on the importance of strong relationships. Kramer cites that "trust is more likely in stronger relations...[and] distrust is less likely" (Kramer, p. 237). Given the nature of large organizations such as fraternities or sororities, it is difficult for Greek Presidents to develop strong relations with all their members. They each discussed the challenges of meeting the huge time commitments required for their respective houses. Fraternity and Sorority leaders also cited a second major challenge of leadership--satisfying a diverse group of members. As one leader noted, "it is impossible to make everyone in the house happy". Thus, when leaders make decisions that individual members disagree with, these members may view their leaders as less trustworthy.

The importance and consequences of trust or lack thereof can be seen by members' subjective comments in reply to an open-response prompt for additional statements. One female sorority president received particularly positive reviews, with one out of every

eight open responses from a member of her organization. Members seemed to find her particularly effective and noted her ability to build close relationships with house members. She was rated an average of 0.25 points higher on trust than other leaders, and this trust was reflected in the overwhelmingly positive comments on her leadership and the strong bond of the organization. One member cited the frequency and strength of female leadership among members of this sorority, who are “Student body presidents, vice presidents, class presidents, [leaders of] Haiti relief, and [leaders of] community service initiatives”. She attributed this strong leadership to the bond of the house and support that the members lend to one another. Thus in this case, it seems as though the leader’s bond with her members provided a foundation of trust and strong relationships which helped motivate and support other members of the house to undertake their own leadership initiatives.

On the other hand, one athletic leader who was rated particularly low on trust by members of his organization was deemed a “fundamentally horrible person” and was elected because he was a senior on the team. This shows that member’s trust and opinion of their leaders are clearly related - with trustworthy leaders creating positive environments and eliciting positive group opinions, and untrustworthy leaders doing the opposite. These examples show how important trust is in the interplay of these member-leader relationships, influencing how members view their leaders and the bond and support created within an organization.

5. CONCLUSION

The results of this study point to particular areas of concern when examining leadership at Dartmouth. Gender discrepancies for both leaders and members with females viewing themselves as less intelligent and ambitious may have future consequences for women of Dartmouth. The tendency for students to be highly involved in a multiplicity of groups and activities can have a negative bearing on group dynamics and goals, and prevent certain organizations from forming strong bonds. The trust between leaders and members should be further explored given that trust has the ability to bond groups and motivate other members to take on their own leadership roles. Overall, in interviews and open-ended responses, it is clear that students at Dartmouth believe their campus leaders are exceptional individuals, and that these leaders are highly dedicated to their organizations. Potential areas of improvement identified in this study could only make leadership on campus stronger, bringing Dartmouth further in its goal of producing alumni with a “capacity for leadership.”

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¹ Northouse, Introduction p. 48

² Furnham, Hosoe and Tang, p.1

³ Fox and Lawless.

⁴ Northouse, Introduction p. 41

⁵ Northouse, Introduction p. 41

⁶ Northouse, p. 40-45

⁷ Northouse, p. 20

⁸ Hurley.