

FOLLOWERSHIP, SACRIFICIAL LEADERSHIP AND CHARISMA:
A FOCUS GROUP STUDY OF SURVIVORS FROM THE JONESTOWN
MASSACRE

DISSERTATION
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2011
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Running Head: FOLLOWERSHIP, SACRIFICIAL LEADERSHIP

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Proposal submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland Eastern Shore
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

June, 2011

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study was designed to explore the leader-follower relationship as it relates to the Jonestown massacre survivors. Using the focus group methodology, a total of eight survivors were interviewed to understand the perceptions and attitudes of followers as they relate to the former members of Peoples Temple and the relationship with their leader, Jim Jones. The church followers in Guyana were the victims of the largest mass suicide from the United States at that time. The guiding question for this research was: What attracted you to Peoples Temple? Atlas.ti qualitative analysis software and Boyatzis hand coding method was used to inductively analyze the data. Findings included themes of destructive idolization, willful blindness, unscrupulous leadership, the power of make believe, sacrificial discipleship, and predatory leadership/preyerful followership relationship.

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this dissertation to followers who have been subjected to the rule of an unscrupulous leader. Though the wounds may be hidden in your soul, let not the scars take root and become a wild vine in your heart. But instead, know that you are no longer prey...therefore PRAY...for healing, for peace, for truth, for love.

To Warren, my husband and my best friend who believed in me.
To Mommy and Daddy who were my greatest cheerleaders and encouraged me.
This is for you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I want to give thanks to the Great God Almighty, my Lord Jesus Christ in whom all things are possible. Thanks to all of the participants who supported this research by recounting a considerable amount of pain in the best interest of helping others to understand “followership.” You have allowed me to capture some of your most agonizing and exhilarating moments. To Mac (Fielding McGehee), a special thanks to you as you so willingly extended your support, resources, and wisdom. I can’t thank you enough, and know that I am grateful for all of your support.

There are so many who contributed to the successful completion of this project. At the top of my list, I want to thank my husband Warren for his love, patience and maintaining consistency throughout this journey. Thanks to my parents who sent me to kindergarten reading and writing and instilled the benefits of education and a love for reading early in my life. Thanks to all of my sisters and especially my favorite and only brother who called everyday to share a word of encouragement. To my children, Darrell, Alicia, and Arielle--thank you for teaching me how to “be strong.” As for my grandchildren, it was the many smiles, hugs and kisses from Emmanuel, Cyrie Caleb, Ja’Niya, and Amyiah that sustained me.

Dr. Klenke, your candid personality and encouraging emails are representative of your true dedication and support as my committee chair. For the Humpty Dumpty moments I experienced and you had to reel me back in, pick me up, dust me off, and point me in the right direction—thank you; and let’s not forget the loads of laughs. To my committee members: Dr. Calo, Dr. Gong, Dr. Hoffer, and Dr.

Howe, your ranges of expertise brought about an exclusive team of diversity that gave me balance in my research—thank you.

Last but not least...my prayer posse Ingrid Bullock, Dr. Rolanda C. Burney, Elizabeth Byrd, Robert and Bernetta Davis, Fern and Davitta Ealy, Dr. Sondra Gaines, David and Cheryl Harrington, Don and Joan Hei, Freddye and Dr. Jaye Jackson, Maurice Lee, Joe Waldo, Ken and Diane Williams, and Bobby and Barbara Wood. Your love and support cannot be matched.

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Jim Jones, leader of Peoples Temple in Indiana was one who gained the respect and admiration of many. His following believed that he was more than an average person—to them, the calling on his life exceeded the norm which would impact the world in a mighty way. Jones was formally educated, having received degrees from Indiana University and Butler University. His ministry led him to start a church known as Community Unity in 1954 and two years later opened a church in New Jersey called Wings of Deliverance (Cordell & Cordell, 1998). He did so with the purpose of creating a community for those who were less fortunate than others. This included the unemployed, underemployed, those who were ill and those who had no homes to live in. In 1965, Jones renamed the church Peoples Temple, which he believed was more representative of his vision for the members. Although his church remained in Redwood Valley, a small community in northern California, in early 1970 he branched out into San Francisco and Los Angeles. At that time, his church membership steadily increased to almost 5,000. Years earlier, Jones started developing an agricultural project. This positive, proactive, community project was representative of the Temple members' true commitment to serving in their ministry.

However, Jones' urge to leave California was prompted by negative media reports that highlighted his financial misdealing and sexual misconduct. Local newspapers began running stories about Peoples Temple being involved in illegal activities that included his unusual tactics in curing diseases (O'Connor, 2009).

This created suspicion about the legitimacy of the organization. In fear of having the truth exposed, Jones arranged to move the Temple to Jonestown, Guyana where close to 4,000 acres of land was leased to launch what was called “an agricultural project.”

There were many members who followed Jones. Documentation reveals that the leader of the Temple developed a belief called translation in which he and his followers would all die together and move to another planet for a life of bliss (O'Connor, 2009). Translation was an act of revolutionary suicide which was acknowledged as a very extreme political statement by Temple members (McGehee III, 2009). Additionally, Jones' known substance abuse of prescription drugs caused him to exhibit extreme paranoia about the U.S. government trying to attack Jonestown. In 1978, the “translation” Jim Jones had rehearsed so many times before, was not a rehearsal at all...it was show time. This very act of drinking grape Flavor Aid laced with cyanide – coupled with the assassination of five members of a congressional party at a nearby airstrip and the slashing deaths of a mother and her three children in the Temple's headquarters in Guyana's capital city of Georgetown - took the lives of 918 men, women, and children. But, there were those who survived the worst destruction of human life in a religious cult in the United States at that time. This research focused on the Jonestown survivors to study followership with the intent to unfold themes that may illuminate some of the reasons for the unquestioning followership members of the Temple exhibited and offer new insights into the leadership –followership interdependencies.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this focus group study was to understand the perceptions and attitudes of followers as they relate to the survivors of Peoples Temple massacre at Jonestown. For the purpose of this research, followers were generally defined as subordinates who have less power, authority, and influence than do their superiors and who therefore usually, but not invariably, fall into line (Kellerman, 2008).

Philosophic Assumptions - Ontology, Epistemology, and Axiology

Creswell (2007) asserts that as a qualitative researcher, certain assumptions needed to be made transparent. This style of research involved choosing a qualitative paradigm, also known as the constructivist or naturalistic approach (Guba & Lincoln, 1988), interpretive approach (Smith J. K., 1983), or postmodern perspective (Alford, 1998, p. 2). I structured the process in this focus group study to provide clarity about the four basic concepts on which the philosophical assumptions are comprised of: ontology (the theory of reality); epistemology (the theory of knowledge creation); axiology (the theory of ethics and values); and methodology (the theory of inquiry) (Klenke, 2008). This section discusses these four terms and provides details about the significance of this study.

Ontology

Approaches to defining reality, according to Guba and Lincoln (1988), have been identified as: a) objective reality (naïve realism) – this reality is separate and apart from the perception of it; b) perceived reality – the reality exists, but full knowledge cannot be obtained by any one person; c) constructed reality – this type of reality is what is created in the minds of individuals; and d) created reality –

there is no reality at all but reality can be created. Upon embarking on qualitative studies, researchers welcome diversity in realities. According to Klenke (2008) researchers emphasize a relativistic ontology which posits that there is no objective reality but endorse multiple realities socially constructed by individuals from within their own contextual interpretation. This is realized in studies as researchers use personalized quotes that capture the exact language of the individuals studied to communicate the various perspectives.

Ontology, as it relates to this study is based on human interaction which is the premises of constructed reality. As a researcher, immersing myself in the fullness of the memories and lived experiences of the Jonestown survivors required me to intermingle with those who participated in the study. Interacting allowed me to gain a rich, although not complete, perception of the Jonestown experience. Therefore, the dynamics of constructed reality comes to life through the researcher who imposes the naturalistic inquiry method and the research participants whose responses tell their story.

Epistemology

Epistemology is the branch of philosophy that deals with the origin, nature and limits of human knowledge which focuses on the relationship between the knower and the known (Klenke, 2008). Qualitative researchers conduct their studies in the field inhabited by the participants. Authentic listening of participants' voices is one of the hallmarks of qualitative research. Knowledge is co-created by the researcher and the researched and the voices of the participants carry more weight than the voice of the researcher whose task is to capture their voices.

Axiology

Axiology refers to the role of values and ethics in research (Klenke, 2008). It is the study of values, ethics and morality. My personal values were a part of the basic beliefs that undergirded and affected the entire research process: choice of problems, guiding paradigm, rhetorical framework, data-gathering method, analysis strategy, and even format for the presentation of findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). These ideals are developed through socialization processes as a child moves into adolescence and adulthood and comes into contact with various socialization agents such as parents and teachers. Like most individuals, my core values were firmly established in young adulthood. For this reason, it is important for me to disclose my values and biases in an interpretive biography.

As a child, believing in God (as the true and living God) just seemed to be a natural practice for me. It was effortless. I was raised in a family that instilled Christian principles that were passed down from generation to generation--as we were members of a black church. The black churches are defined as independent, historic, and totally black controlled denominations, that were founded after the Free African Society of 1787 and which constituted the core of black Christians (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). Going to church was not only a part of life, but the way of life. Being a follower of Christ was the only time when being a follower was acceptable in my family.

Church is defined as the interaction of God's people and God's Word mediated by the Holy Spirit (Hermanson, 2009). It is the place to go for fellowship collectively, uplift your spirit, and receive teaching on the scriptures. The Church,

according to Biblical text, is spoken of as a people (often referred to as the flock of Christ), the body of Christ, or the bride of Christ—the church family. However, generally speaking, the term is used to describe a place of worship. Inherent to the black church is the culturally distinctive manner of worship. Praise and worship in the churches I am accustomed to attending include singing songs where drums, guitars, cymbals, saxophones, and tambourines accompany the piano. Dancing is an expression of high praise and thanksgiving, and when a word from the pastor strikes the heart of a member of the congregation, they reply by saying, “Well” in such a melodic fashion. Yes, this is an example of the typical call-and-response that takes place during the sermon. Then there are testimonies from the worshippers who describe their victories through difficult times. Usually, it is the vivid depiction of hardships that lead to establishing various ministries.

As for church, ministries offer more than a way for people to develop or express their talent; they also channel opportunity for using your very own gift as a community servant. In fact, the black church is at the center of the African American community seeking to meet and address the needs of African American people (Byrd, 2003). Ministry work creates a unique way of meeting the community’s needs. According to Malphurs (1996), it is the constant, passionate, biblical core beliefs that drive the (organizations) ministry. Serving in a ministry empowered me to contribute to building a stronger community. In fact, while growing up in the church, being active in ministries was customary. It was a way to participate and convey self expression remembering all of the time that the primary values of being honest, humble and caring, are works that guided all of my

activities. In my house, ministry was a commitment to service. It meant working on a community effort to preserve the greenery that was threatened by new development. I used poetry, to articulate through the eyes of a child, the importance of protecting the environment. Though my poem was one of many letters given to the developers, I delighted in knowing that the impact resulted in the developer planting hundreds of trees as a means of restoration. Ministry work is an act of self sacrifice to give to those who were less fortunate than you. For me, my personal service included spending time helping to care for a young man who was disabled, tutoring young children to read, and collecting canned food to feed the poor. It was within this background of my Christian upbringing that many of my fundamental values were shaped.

Core values are basic beliefs or desired end-states that guide behavior and choices (Holman, 2001). These are the internal mechanisms that give you a check in your spirit when you have a decision to make. Another fundamental value taught to me in the black church was to have absolute respect for the minister. The minister was regarded as the leader, not only in church but also in the community. Therefore, loyalty and honor was a given. Demonstrating honor was bred out of tradition. This was the result from the many times when African Americans, as constant victims of discrimination, sought strength through their faith and church was the place to go. It was the church ministers who were acknowledged as the source of leadership and direction, and providers of trusted information.

Although I believe everyday life situations also shaped my values, growing up military fortified my true understanding of respecting authority. The process of

honing that skill was ongoing and to that effect, I have a certain expectation of the value systems in businesses and churches alike.

Significance of this Research

This research focused on three contexts of leadership. One is sacrificial leadership, and the second has a perpetual negative connotation (Colangelo, 2000)—followership, and the third is charismatic leadership. Using focus groups and individual interviews, I diverted the preoccupation with solely concentrating on leaders to explore leader-follower interdependencies. Theoretically, in addition to adding to the extant literature by additionally exploring the dark side of charismatic leadership through the experiences of the Jonestown, the results derived from this research brought a distinctive understanding of charismatic leadership style and sacrificial leadership theory. Of the copious amount of studies on charismatic leadership, most tend to highlight how followers benefit from the positive outcomes. Leaders who practice this style are visionaries who operate in a manner where innovation is at the center of creating new opportunities and solving problems. Charismatic leaders outline the potential for enhancements in the lives of followers that provide the comfort of superseding their current state of being while mastering the ability to link the needs of those who follow to greater values.

Although these characteristics seem appealing and generate follower enthusiasm, there is a dark side to charismatic leadership. The same benefits mentioned previously, become detrimental when leaders use values to appeal to their disciples while portraying themselves as self-sacrificing individuals when in fact, they are self-serving in their purpose. It is through deception and abuse of

authority that leaders reduce the tactics of motivating followers to methodically provoking them into submission. This research captured the very essence of those who experienced the negative outcomes. It explored self-sacrifice not only as a deceptive practice of the leader, but also from the follower perspective.

Empirically, this study used a qualitative approach which had been deficient in the body of literature as it relates to leader-follower relationships. Colango (2000), in one of the quantitative studies, revealed the need for further research in different kinds of organizations to further investigate the leader-follower relationship. Likewise, this qualitative study concentrated on survivors from a society that operated much like a cult under the guise as a religious organization and deciphered the various leader-follower relationships as they evolved over a period of time. Although, Jim Jones remained the leader of the cult, this study pointed to the differences in leader-follower interdependencies as they relate to: a) a cult leader-follower relationships which involved the appointed leader and his followers; versus b) followers redefined leader-follower relationships when followers emerged as leaders and created a different group of followers. More succinctly, though leader-follower interdependencies changes were situational and the distinctions between the different types of leaders and followers became apparent.

Methodologically, using focus groups and individual interviews, qualitative research allowed this study to explore the lived experiences of the Jonestown survivors which provided further insights into the leader-follower interdependencies. Although similarities as well as differences of opinions were

apparent within the group dynamics, the discussion generated a vast amount of data about the perceptions and attitudes of the survivors. The shared experiences of the former members of Peoples Temple exposed the effects on followers when a leader's charisma is used to attract followers for abusive, self-serving intentions. Furthermore, group interaction stimulated conversation that provided remarkable examples of both positive and negative outcomes as the result of their leader's exploitation of power and cynical mannerisms.

Research Question(s)

The central question that guided this research was: What attracted you to the Peoples Temple? This question allowed participants to describe characteristics of the leader, follower, and organization. The primary research question was partitioned into several sub-questions that also provoked discussion about leader-follower relationships:

1. What personal characteristics were determining factors for making a decision to join The Peoples Temple? ; This question addressed the characteristics of followers to explore the similarities among the survivors and the follower characteristics described by Kelley (1992).

2. What indicators of the event were turning points (emerging leader) for making a decision to leave? This gave insight into the environment which addresses the external factors that impact leadership styles as well as followership;

3. What type of collaborative process occurred where leadership (among the survivors) began to take shape? This related to leader-follower interaction; and

4. What themes emerged from the results of this study?

Summary

“Most accounts of Peoples Temple end in Jonestown on 18 November 1978. But for the people who belonged to Peoples Temple, the story of being a survivor began that day” (Moore, 2009, p. 1). Furthermore, to be a survivor is to have been a follower of Jim Jones and Peoples Temple. Though negative connotations hover around the use of the word “follower,” this chapter gave an overview of the structure of the exploration into gaining better insight into leader-follower relationships as it relates to the survivors of the Jonestown massacre. Also through literature review and data collection, themes that emerged prompted new considerations in leader-follower inter-relatedness.

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The literature review of this research focused on three constructs which formed the parameters of my study: followership; self-sacrificial leadership; and charismatic leadership. The leadership myth is referred to by Kelley (1988) as a concept where leaders' position of power grants them the ability to behave in any manner that exudes their authority while overlooking the mistakes, personality problems and damage they may cause to others. It was this definition that began to spark my curiosity into what types of characteristics one may possess that would position them as follower to one who abuses power. "Jonestown has come to symbolize unfathomable depravity, the outermost limits of what human beings can visit on each other and themselves, the ultimate power of a leader over his followers" (1982, p. vii). Therefore, the various aspects of followership seemed appropriate to use as a foundation for exploring the Jonestown survivors.

Self-sacrificial leadership is descriptive of the type of leadership that is not self-serving but rather heralded by followers who view it as a leader's commitment to the organization. Thereby, followers' willingness to imitate the behavior offers little to no resistance; "Jones always said that religious people made the best members because they were the most easily conditioned to self-sacrifice, devotion and discipline" (Reiterman & Jacobs, 1982). Sacrificial leadership adds another dimension to followership through the eyes of the survivors.

To achieve frame alignment, charismatic leaders engage the self-concepts of followers in the mission articulated by the leader (Fiol, Harris, & House, 1999). As

with Peoples Temple, "Rev. Jones was a phenomenon. All about him was a dark, flashing charismatic energy. His sermons usually focused on justice and a new day" (Barranca, 2008). The ease of becoming a victim of Jones' smudged evolution process from mesmerizing to controlling is evident as Barranca (2008) explains, "but for the grace of that one vote (which was needed to combine Peoples Temple congregation with another parish), I might have been in the employ of and swayed by the charisma of Rev. Jim Jones." Charismatic leadership as a framework offers a perspective into the interaction of leader-follower relationships with respect to charisma as a good or bad characteristic.

In addition to delineating the historical perspective and its progression, instruments and examples of characteristics are given to augment clarification in some instances. I also explain my epistemological, ontological, and axiological tendencies as it relates to this research. This literature review draws on theorists dating back to the 18th century as a foundation, introducing arguments from both past and present that are valid as to how I explored understanding the attitudes and perceptions of the former Peoples Temple members.

Religious Institutions and Cults

Peoples Temple has been recognized as a church and as a cult. This segment delineates between the two in a discussion of religious movements. As an organization, a church exists for the purpose of obtaining objectives in an effort to meet ultimate goals (Byrd, 2003). The church/Christian Church is the place of worship set forth by God regardless of the race or ethnicity of any group that has come together with Jesus Christ as the central focus (Byrd, 2003), but division may

exist within those confines. There are however, members who break away desiring to follow a different teaching than the parent group (Hunter, 1998). This is referred to as a sect. A sect is viewed as a cult when the leader wields all authority while requiring total submission from followers (Zerin, 1983). Moreover, according to Rudin (1990) cults are defined as:

"Groups or movements exhibiting an excessive devotion or dedication to some person, idea, or thing. Such cults employ unethically manipulative techniques of persuasion and control designed to advance the goals of the group's leaders to the detriment of members, their families, or the community" (p. 46).

Singer (1995) recognizes the need to take it one step further by describing cultic relationships which are the processes and interactions within a cult as:

"One in which a person intentionally induces others to become totally or nearly totally dependent on him or her for almost all major life decisions, and inculcates in these followers a belief that he or she has some special talent, gift, or knowledge" (p. 7).

Leader-follower interaction of this nature is discussed throughout literature pertaining to religions turned cults. According to Hunter (1998):

"There has been a marked decline in the influence of the family and traditional religious beliefs, with a concomitant liberalization of personal values. The social climate has nourished rejection of cultural and moral standards. This has left adults and especially adolescents with the dilemma of finding values with which to fill this vacuum, so as to be able to resolve old problems and discover new solutions. However, members' susceptibility to the leader's influence can be used as the line of demarcation from a church to a cult" (p. 2).

Defining cults is two-fold. Evangelicals identify groups outside orthodox Christianity as cults because of their aberrant religious beliefs while secular researchers use abusive behavior as the major factor. The United States has not been simply the site of a few random cults but has undergone as many periods of

ferment as any other nation (LaBarre, 1971). Membership in these groups is ever increasing. Ramer (2003) contends that cults such as the Moonies and Peoples Temple members are counterculture groups that attract leaderless children. Still, the common thread is that cults of this nature demand followership.

The values of charismatic leaders that are well intentioned can elevate an organization to new heights, but if they are selfish and poor, they can create cults and effectively rape the minds of followers (deJonge, 2008). Among the charismatic leaders of various cults mentioned in Bass and Bass (2008) was Charles Manson, who, after twenty years of incarceration still manages to have a following of people (predominantly women) with rebellious behaviors. Leaders of this kind tend to prey on the insecure and lonely. These individuals are less likely to take issue with relinquishing their rights to another individual in exchange for strict boundaries and security (Bass & Bass, 2008). Like other charismatic leaders of cults, David Kouresh, head of the religious cult Branch Davidians, crafted a supernatural aura—referring to himself as Jesus and persuading the group to devote their entire life to him. Summarily, he separated them physically and psychologically from the rest of the world as he created their social reality by orchestrating a situation for members to be solely trusting and dependent on him with zero tolerance for defiance (Bordens & Horowitz, 2001). To that end, charismatic leaders in cults reinforce followers' belief in the group values by reinforcing behavior with symbols, rituals, and ceremonies.

Friedkin (2004) argues that death cults are maintained by interpersonal influence systems in which a centralized source of influence, usually a single

charismatic leader, determines the decision premises for the group and persuades the members that there are no viable alternative courses of action other than organized suicide.

Three Major Theoretical Frameworks

Followership

“Understanding why people follow is important to leaders and followers alike.” (Kelley, 1992, p. 50) Kellerman (2008) defines followership as the response of those in subordinate positions (followers) to those in superior ones (leaders). Although both the leader and the follower’s relationship (Rost & Amarant, 2005) and roles are important to every organization, the primary focus of scholars has been on the leader and the leader’s function to motivate the follower (Vondey, 2008). However, the focus on followership in an empirical setting can only add to the understanding of a much discussed, yet minimally examined construct (Tanoff & Barlow, 2002). Therefore, using followership as a framework for my research to explore leader-follower interdependencies as it related to follower behavior and the impact of charismatic leadership on followers added a different dimension to the pre-existing literature. Acknowledging the lack of predominance in followership research, paired with the history of Peoples Temple and the Jonestown massacre provided a backdrop for me to pursue empirical research as a means of understanding the perceptions and attitudes of those who survived.

The phenomenon of leadership and followership is nothing new. We have been conditioned to believe that the position of followers is behind the leader. This dates back to our activity on the playground. One childhood game in particular is

follow- the-leader, where the first youngster in line is the designated leader. The leader moves all around going in any direction that they choose to, while all of the other children follow and mimic everything that the leader does. Any follower who does not obey and imitate what the leader does is “out” and can no longer participate. This goes on until the last follower remaining wins the game. While this is child’s play, it is also an accepted concept in many organizations and cultures.

Early in the 1920s a political and business philosopher, Mary Parker Follett, presented a comprehensive theoretical view of administration of the modern organization. Her education and training in political science steered her focus on formal institutions. She (1949) looked at management and leadership holistically, which symbolized her understanding that differences in relationships should be used creatively to seek common grounds by integrating all parties and opinions as a means of developing human potential. Follett’s standpoint concentrated on putting emphasis on the importance of group inter-relatedness, foreshadowing modern systems approaches. “Of the utmost importance, but which has been far too little considered, and that’s the part of followers...” explains Follett (1949, p. 41) who then recognized the need for research in this area. Follett left an indelible yet essentially invisible mark on leadership theory as she was the first to challenge the “Great Man” paradigm, to link organizational structure to leadership effectiveness, to describe the essence of leadership as a reciprocal relationship, to frame diversity and conflict as necessary to effective leadership, and to include dialogue as an essential integrative leadership process (Klenke, 2008, p. 312). To her credit,

Follett is heralded as the first writer to coin the term ‘followership’ and ‘charisma of purpose’ as opposed to charisma of person.

Although followership was researched during the following years by other behavioral scientists, literature on the subject matter was being ignored from the management perspective (Baker, 2006), but that changed in 1988 with the emergence of Kelley’s *Harvard Business Review* article, “In Praise of Followers” (1988). The essence of the article addressed the need for organizations to shift from the leader-centric focus to being more inclusive of followers. At the time the article was written, the trend in businesses was to downsize in order to survive economically. Downsizing is translated to mean reducing company costs by implementing employee layoffs (Yost, 2009). There are two reasons why companies downsize: either the company has to reduce the number of employees in order to increase its profits by generating the same revenue, or the company is unable to keep up with current market prices due to staff members’ inability to produce goods profitably (Yost, 2009). As a result, organizations are forced to deal with scarce resources. Kelley’s (1988) argument is that while downsizing is an issue, there is a shift in responsibilities. The companies that benefit the most are those where shared responsibility between leader and follower proved to be most effective.

Kelley (1988) divided the followers into two groups. In the first group, there are two types of critical thinking. The critical thinker was described as the individual who considers the impact of their actions, has a willingness to be innovative, and may present criticism. The uncritical thinker is totally dependent

on the leader and will do what they are asked to do without questioning the leader. The second dimension--acting also has two categories. Followers who are active take ownership and initiative, while the passive individual is one who will only execute what the leader tells them to do. Kelly (1988) determined that followers with different motivations can perform equally well, so he measured the behavior that leads to effective and less effective following among people committed to the organization. Kelley brings this point to light in a discussion about the five categories of follower characteristics. Kelley's (1988) five followership patterns were: a) Sheep - passive, lacking in initiative and sense of responsibility. They perform tasks given to them; b) Yes People – Dependent on leader for inspiration. Bosses lacking self-confidence form alliances with this type of follower; c) Alienated Followers are critical and independent thinkers, but passive in carrying out their duties; d) Survivors – are adept at surviving change...they can go with the flow so to speak; e) Effective Followers – independent, self-initiators, risk takers, and problem solvers.

Moreover, cultivating effective followers is critical to the success of the organization. According to Kelley (1988) the goal of every company should be to have effective followers. He posits that developing subordinates involves identifying qualities that make a good follower which are commitment, competency and focus, and courage: a) effective followers are committed to the goal of the organization and not an individual goal; b) their competence and focus supports the company goals by searching for overlooked problems and using their talents to contribute to the team; c) courage involves maintaining integrity, and credibility,

but most of all honesty—especially when unethical practices surface. Kelley (1988) sums it up by noting that if you can think about the many companies that make their profits off of the backs of employees they mistreat, imagine the power an organization can have by fully engaging followers.

The momentum continued in the mid-90's with Chaleff's (1995) work that complimented Kelley's (1988) study. Chaleff (1995) explained, "In many organizations today, there is an important movement away from the extremes of all-powerful leaders and powerless, dependent followers" (p. 1). According to Chaleff (1995), followers engage body, mind, soul, and spirit in the commonly held purpose and vision of the organization. The author goes on to define a dynamic concept of courageous followership that is based on five unique behaviors: responsibility, service, challenge, transformation, and leaving. Courageous followers assume responsibility by discovering or creating opportunities to fulfill their potential and maximize their value to the organization. This type of follower acts in the best interest of the common purpose that the organization serves. Courageous service is imparted by the follower by fully supporting the leader, even to the point of defending them if necessary. They are on one accord with the leader in pursuit of accomplishing the mission and are willing to relieve the boss's workload by taking on additional responsibility. The courageous follower, who takes no issue with challenging the leader when appropriate, will do so if they feel that the leaders' decisions, behaviors, or policies are inconsistent with what is right. The courageous challenge will occur no matter if it stirs up the group by evoking discussion or if the follower experiences rejection as a result. The courageous follower will not

compromise their integrity but rather protect the interest is in those whom the organization serves. The courageous follower who recognizes the need for transformation is one who self-examines and willfully participates in the change process. Lastly, the follower who is courageous takes personal risks by refusing to obey direct orders that are unethical or in direct opposition to that of the leader's, may do so through an appealing process, or last resort, resigning. The decision to do what is morally and ethically correct overrides maintaining their positions. Chaleff (1995) asserts that "whether we are dealing with the ordinary or extraordinary, the challenge a follower faces is significant" (p. 9).

However, at the other end of the spectrum, there remains the challenge because the word *follower* is considered something of an insult, certainly in the United States; it has been shunned by those in the leadership field (Kellerman, 2008). Likewise, Berg (1998) reflected on participant responses from the word association exercise in his previous "Followership" workshops. When asked to write down one's association to the word "follower," the majority responded with words such as: "sheep," "passive," "obedient," "serf," and "lemming. To this point, the length of time followership has been overlooked has only propagated the negative perception that followership carries with it today (Colangelo, 2000). Kellerman (2008) contends that age old problems with word associations have been a hindrance in propelling followership to the level of consciousness needed in leadership discussions. In other words, connecting themes such as followers are less important or followers are mindless member of a mindless herd, a sheep substantiate the very myth that being a follower is not good.

Kellerman's (2008) point is even more exaggerated in the example of the multi-tiered marketing campaign by Audi entitled "Never Follow." This campaign was launched to communicate that the quality engineering behind the Audi A6 Avant was the differentiator between their luxury car and the competition. The multi-tiered campaign included a two-page spread in color, with a body shot of the car and the words "Never Follow" across the front. Additionally, in viewing the online 2 minute-33 second ad for the same campaign, negative associations exude from the message as the final words spoken by the narrator simultaneously flash on the screen are: "We never give up; We never rest on our laurels; We never quit; We never do the expected; We never think that great is good enough; We Never follow" (Audi, 2007). The life of the campaign was from 2002 – 2007. Unfortunately, for too long the concept of followership has gone unvalued and disregarded (Rusher, 2005), even though recent literature is connecting the leader-follower inter-relationship.

Followership traditionally has always been in the background behind leadership. Most leadership theories are largely leader-centric with followers only recently entering into the equation. In fact, only 10 published empirical studies on followership appear in the literature between 1955 and 1988 (Baker, 2007). Baker (2007) described in quantitative measures how the diminutive followership body of literature is when the findings from a search in 26 electronic databases produced approximately 480 unique citations for the period 1928 through September 2004; approximately 50 more have been added through December 2006. Many leadership scholars consider the inclusion of followers in leadership theory a major paradigm

shift. Stech (2008) defines a paradigm as “a way of thinking and operating. It is a system of concepts, assumptions, values, and methods or techniques and is the way in which members of the community who share the paradigm view reality” (p. 41).

Moreover, a paradigm shift has taken place because businesses and organizations are performing tasks in a much different way than in the past. Companies are taking advantage of real time technology as well as understanding that the business sector is operating in a global society. As a result, the traditional views of leader-follower relationships have to change in order to adapt to the ever-changing environments. Stech (2008) describes three types of paradigm:

a) Leader-follower paradigm - A leader in this paradigm is, in any given situation appointed because of their inherent capabilities such as expertise, mental strength, and competency. They take control of both the situation and followers. The leader is described as someone who dominates by taking control of both the situation and followers alike repressing their feelings to focus on molding the followers to do what both parties are set out to do—complete the task (traditionally used in military or quasi-military organizations). Followers under this command are malleable and passive;

b) Organizational position paradigm – Leaders in this paradigm are in a hierarchical organization. The leaders’ role is to manage subordinates while they themselves are subordinates subject to authority. Leading effectively in this case requires leaders to exhibit loyalty to the company and expect the same from the followers. Assumptions are that followers in this capacity must be led due to lack of training, experience, or seniority. However, in most cases, followers do possess

the qualities but are unable to communicate that due to the bureaucratic environment; and

c) Leadership-followership state paradigm – This paradigm is an illustration where the leadership and followership states are occupied by various members of a team based operation. Leaders influence is directly related to a team members level of expertise or knowledge and communication flows from top down as well as bottom up to be effective. The challenge with this paradigm is gaining acceptance as an effective means of cultivating leader-follower relationships by breaking through the barriers of the traditional paradigm (Stech, 2008). However, supporting that effort is the increase in contemporary discussions of followership as a theoretical foundation.

To that end, followership is now becoming increasingly recognized as a very important function of the leadership dynamic, so much so, that the study of followership can no longer be considered something that is shuffled off into the background and then forgotten (Deckert, 2007). Furthermore, this change is echoed by BaBanutu-Gomez (2004) who contends that in order to succeed, leaders must teach their followers not only how to lead, but also how to be a good follower. Followership is a field of study within leadership that references the behavior of followers resulting from the relationship between the leader and the follower (Lee, 1991). According to Lundin and Lancaster (1990), there is a need to eliminate the misconception that effective followership is defined as followers who are second class citizens merely carrying out commands of their leaders. Those who follow possess characteristics such as integrity, critical thinking skills, and versatility

which are also descriptors of effective leaders. Markedly, leadership and followership go together like hand and glove (Nolan & Harty, 2001) and conversations need to take place and include followership because leaders neither exist nor act in a vacuum without followers (Riggio, Chaleff, & Lipman-Blumen, 2008).

While the existing studies have examined a rich panorama of followership topics in the business context, none address followership or leader-follower interdependencies from a religious or cultic perspective. In that case, some of the interdependencies may transfer from business to religious settings or cults with respect to the attachment to the leader being more pervasive as followers' characteristics are more distinct.

As mentioned earlier, Chaleff's (1995) definition of a dynamic concept of followership that is based on five unique behaviors: a) responsibility, b) service, c) challenge, d) transformation, and e) leaving demonstrate that these factors coerce followers to proceed within the group as in Shamir's (1995) research which revealed that charismatic leadership is largely a follower driven phenomenon. Another key factor of interest for this research was follower's performance and their response to leader characteristics. A study by Lewis (2000) explored how the emotions of leaders' own feelings arouse their followers. The expression of sadness by the leader caused the followers to become more fatigued and less enthusiastic compared to when the leader expressed no emotion. Likewise the study also found that when the leader was angry, followers became nervous and found it more difficult to relax (Kellerman & Webster, 2001).

Entering into the discussion of followership is the employer-employee relationship in a cult-like corporate culture. Enron has been considered to be one of the most spectacular failures in business history (Tourish & Vatcha, 2006). The leaders of Enron, Kenneth Lay and Jeffrey Skilling, created not only a vision but an environment that parallels that of a religious cult (Tourish, 2005). Followers were initiated into the Enron-way almost immediately. Candidates applying for a position in the company were hand-picked from a grueling interview process where the second interview required the applicant to attend a “Super Saturday” in the Houston office. There, a 50 minute interview, which included meeting with eight different interviewers in succession with a 10 minute break (Tourish, 2005), was just the beginning. Once on board, Enron projected the organization as one that no other could be compared to.

“A corporate vision whose truth is held to be self evident, which is complex in both form and function, whose tenets cannot be questioned, and whose acceptance is assumed to be indispensable for the organization’s salvation, has the potential to provide considerable intellectual stimulation, and unleash passionate forms of ideological totalism” (Tourish, 2005, p. 5)

Singer (1994) posits that controlling language enables an individual to rule. As with Enron, their vision was communicated in an intellectually stimulating fashion as followers became more accepting of all communication from the leaders as truth. Similarly, Thibadeau, a Branch Davidian (who was at Mount Carmel under the direction of cult leader David Koresh) states: David’s message was incredibly deep, and it rang true with me. The more I learned, the more I felt like I was going through a transformation” (Colloff, 2008, p. 12).

However, Enron employees were heavily persuaded to believe that full dedication to the company was first and foremost. Even prior to being hired, among other cultic conversion techniques, Tourish (2005) notes that:

“Applicants were presented with the ‘vision’ proclaimed by Enron’s leaders, and required to frequently express their solidarity with a dominant and centrally ordained corporate philosophy. They found themselves exposed to a high demand environment, in which it was made clear that those selected would be required to display further levels of inordinate commitment” (p. 7).

This is characteristic of how charismatic leaders bring followers to a level of cohesiveness by increasing the salience of collective identities, thereby intensifying self-sacrificial behavior (Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). While Lay and Skilling condoned a no-bad-news policy, feedback was impossible and dissent was viewed as disloyal. Employees initially entered the premises believing that working for Enron was a higher calling engaging in a mission to fulfill a greater cause. However, as a follower, it wasn’t long before they succumbed to the hostile environment of fear, hopelessness, and submission. “There is little evidence, to date, that Enron’s employees were able to offer significant resistance, least of all resistance that was effective” (Tourish, 2005).

Leadership and followership exist in some capacity in every organization and these practices vary depending upon the person and organizational environment and culture (Dixon & Westbrook, 2003). A major component of leader-follower relationship is the leader’s perception of his or her self relative to followers, and how they, in turn, perceive the leader (Hollander, 1995).

In order for followers to be motivated and committed, followers must understand their role, purpose, and contribution to the overall success of an

organization (Bearden, 2008). These factors coerce followers to proceed within the group. In addition to finding that charismatic leadership is largely a follower driven phenomenon (Shamir, 1995). Hinrichs' (2007) approach to exploring followers involved focusing on influences that might cause them to be more likely to obey the commands of an unethical leader. Hinrich (2007) proposed that the various feedback people receive over a lifetime relating to their own leadership potential, affects their perceptions of their place in the leader-follower relationship. He contended that there is congruency between the feedback which ultimately influences beliefs relating to moral values, and an individual's risk of falling prey to an unethical leader. The susceptibility is the result of the perceived moral responsibilities of leaders as opposed to followers. The main assertion was that followers regard themselves as having a reduced moral responsibility for their actions compared to the leader, and are therefore, more susceptible to participate in unethical behavior. Research (Nissani, 1990) further indicates that once followers accepted the legitimacy of authority, it is much more difficult to resist even the most unethical orders. Social psychological studies conducted by Asch (1951) and Milgram (1974) deliberate the situational forces that encourage individuals to accept harmful authority. Milgram's (1974) obedience studies are arguably the most well-known social psychological research inside or outside the field (Burger, 2009).

In the Milgram study, the participants were led to believe that they were part of an experiment to research the relationship between punishment and learning. There were three roles: the experimenter, the participants, and the learner. The

participants were instructed by an experimenter (who did not use coercive power) to shock a learner by pressing a lever on a device every time the learner answered incorrectly on a word-matching exercise. Each error led to an increase in the intensity of the shock. The shock escalated in 15-volt increments from 15 to 450 volts. In actuality the shocking device was an impressive prop, and the learner—who was never really shocked, was an actor. Yet, the result of this experiment was astonishing. In the end, majority of the participants continued to obey to the end—believing they were delivering 450 volt shocks—simply because the experimenter commanded them to (Blass, 2002). Milgram’s core argument was that an authority figure’s style was not imperative, but more so, when a person’s authority is seen as legitimate, people respond by following orders.

Similarly, in 1971 Philip Zimbardo, a Stanford University psychology professor master minded an experiment to study how psychologically “normal” people would react to role playing as prisoners and guards while being immersed in a simulated prison environment for two weeks (Sherrer, 2009) . An ad in the Palo Alto Times received a response from 70 young male college students answering to the call for volunteers for an experiment on prison life. After a thorough selection process 24 remained as the chosen few. This group was randomly assigned to one of two positions; either prison guards or prisoners. The young men who were elected as prisoners soon found themselves taken to a real jail to be booked. They were then blindfolded and driven to the Stanford University campus where a mock prison, which was the psychology lab, awaited their arrival. Next, the participants assigned as guards were given uniforms and given specific instructions not to use

any form of brutal behavior towards the prisoners but their primary function was to maintain control of the prison.

By day two, the prisoners staged a revolt. In an interview (O'Toole, 1996) Zimbardo recalls,

“Once the guards had crushed the rebellion, they steadily increased their coercive aggression tactics, humiliation and dehumanization of the prisoners. The staff had to frequently remind the guards to refrain from such tactics,” he said, “and the worst instances of abuse occurred in the middle of the night when the guards thought the staff was not watching.” (p. 30)

Zimbardo goes on to give a vivid description of the level of abuse that was carried out by the prison guards. This included forcing the prisoners to use their bare hands to clean out the toilet bowls, encouraging them to become snitches and having them perform degrading scenarios. The outcome of such volatile behavior had such stressful reactions from the prisoners that the researcher was forced to release five prisoners prematurely.

On the fifth day, another psychologist, Christina Maslach (Milgram, 1974) entered into the mock prison. Much to her surprise, she was appalled at what she was observing at the time. For instance, Maslach enjoyed a comical, pleasant conversation with one of the guards waiting to start his shift. She knew there was one guard who was nick-named John Wayne because of his sadistic mannerisms towards the prisoners. After the shift began, she asked someone to point out “John Wayne.” Maslach was surprised to see that the person whom she had just had a charming conversation with, was the same person she was observing who with the prisoners had transformed into a cruel individual. As a result of vocalizing her strong repulsion to the experiment because of the negative impact on the prisoners,

Zimbardo ended the experiment on day six (O'Toole, 1996). The findings from this study demonstrate the powerful effect roles can have on peoples' behavior. These outcomes can also be observed in the hierarchy in Jim Jones established in Jonestown.

We assume destructive leadership involves activity between leaders, followers, and environments but research in this area is insufficient. However, Padilla, Hogan, and Kaiser (2007) have taken an initial step by introducing the toxic triangle which consists of three elements: leaders; followers; and conducive environments. The first component is concerned with the characteristics of destructive leaders. The second component, susceptible followers, emphasizes the need for followers to accept an authoritarian leader. The third domain is the environmental context that envelops leaders, followers, and their interactions (Padilla, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2007). These variables interact in complex ways that jointly produce destructive leadership.

However, examining two constituents such as leaders and followers concurrently would be beneficial. Exactly how superiors justify their abusive behavior, and exactly how subordinates who have any choice at all to explain their willingness to be so abused, remains something of a mystery (Kellerman, 2008, p. 63). What is lacking is research that simultaneously investigates leaders, followers, and environments. Zimbardo (Maslach, 2000) further discusses that at the core of his interest is the process of the transformation of human nature. That leads to the one question that remains on the forefront and that is whether or not a group of mature, self-assured, and socialized followers has the ability to reverse destruction

imposed by a repulsive leader.

Exploration through the early works of Milgram (1974) and Zimbardo confront how the environment and followers regulate the interdependence of toxic leader characteristics and destructive outcomes. During an interview in *Psychology Today* (Maslach, 2000), Zimbardo explains:

“... Stanley’s obedience studies and my Stanford prison experiment are really bookends of the most basic lesson in social psychology—namely, the subtle but pervasive power of situations to influence human behavior, much more so than most of us are aware of.” (p. 34)

Nevertheless, “the extreme obedience Milgram found tells us nothing about the power of coercive leaders to influence their followers, nor does it tell us that authorities are all-powerful beings whose grip on their subordinates is absolute and total” (Riggio, Chaleff, & Lipman-Blumen, 2008, p. 201). This drives home the point that the sting of coercion has its effects on followers, but equally as important is understanding followers’ performance and their response to leader characteristics; in other words understanding the interpersonal realm and its affect on followers. According to Hollander (1992), transactional models of leadership underscore the interaction that takes place between leader and follower is an attribute to effectiveness. In this case, the leader gives benefits to the followers and the followers reciprocate with heightened esteem for and responsiveness to the leader. Jim Jones, as an example, was deliberate in bringing members before the congregation for recognition as a means of maintaining loyalty.

However, followers’ allegiance can also be the result of indirect control. A study by Lewis (2000) explored how the emotions of leaders’ own feelings arouse their followers. The expression of sadness by the leader caused the followers to

become more fatigued and less enthusiastic compared to when the leader expressed no emotion. The study also found that when the leader was angry, followers became nervous and found it more difficult to relax.

Allen and Meyer (1990) go further into explaining the psychological attachment that emerges from the leader-follower relationship based on commitment. They determine three types of commitment: Affective; Normative; and Continuance. Affective commitment is derived from the follower remaining in the relationship with the leader because it makes them feel good. Normative commitment is not necessarily related to how the follower feels, but more so they remain in the relationship because they perceive it is the right thing to do. Continuance commitment is based on a need which means leaving the relationship would be too great of a sacrifice. These levels of commitment describe a progression from willful participation to required participation.

O'Reilly and Chatman (1986) concur but use different levels to describe the strong ties between leader and follower. At the "weakest level", the follower has a psychological tie. At this level the cost of being involved in the relationship are offset by the benefits received. The next level is the "stronger level" where the tie is based on identification meaning that the followers' personal identity is enhanced through the association of being in the relationship with the leader. The last level is the "extremely strong level." This is where the psychological connection is internalized because the relationship with the leader is based on the followers' inherent value they place in the mission in order to accomplish the goal. Unlike the weak and strong levels, in the extremely strong level the leader is more possessive

in nature believing that the follower is “my follower” as the follower believes the leader is “my leader.”

Furthermore, “people follow leaders for both conscious and unconscious reasons and the conscious reasons include: a) hopes for money, b) status, c) power, d) new skills, and e) being part of a meaningful enterprise” (Riggio, Chaleff, & Lipman-Blumen, 2008, p. 215). Our understanding of leadership is incomplete if we do not recognize its unity with followership (Hollander, 1980). Kupers (2007) states that these are the early stages of moving into an integral leadership/followership paradigm, hence, there are lots of open questions and fields of applications to be explored. Smith (2008) continues the argument,

“If we cast a critical eye on Jim Jones, then we must also raise some hard questions about the social process itself, about the structure of authority, and about his followers, especially the well-educated and the religiously committed ones who surrendered personal responsibility, abandoned critical thinking, took him for God, and then expected from him almost everything one expects from the Divinity (p. 1).”

To further depict leader influenced behavior on behalf of followers, Milgram (1974, p. xii) documented, “The essence of obedience consists in the fact that a person comes to view himself as the instrument for carrying out another person’s wishes, and he therefore no longer sees himself as responsible for his actions.” These implications give insight into how followers of Jim Jones engaged in total compliance which included releasing all of one’s worldly possessions and succumbed to coercive persuasion.

Forms of Power

Unlike ethical leaders, unethical leaders who are self-promoting and interested only in personal gain use power to do so (Conger, 1997; Howell & Avolio, 1992).

Moore (2009) states,

“The punishment for violating community rules and norms generally was assignment to the Learning Crew, which was later called the New Brigade. The Learning Crew isolated offenders and made them work extra hours, either in agricultural labor or around the facilities, cleaning and maintaining latrines and walkways, or completing other tasks that needed attention... Offenders had to run from job to job; and they had to request permission to complete ordinary tasks like visiting the bathroom or drinking water, much as in the military” (p. 48).

Therefore, a brief discussion about the various forms of power is necessary to give insight into its impact in the lives of the former members of Peoples Temple.

“The quality of leadership—good, ineffective, or destructive—depends on the individual’s ability to exercise power” (Kets de Vries M. , 1993, p. 22) Most people judge most leader-follower relationships by one all-important measure: by how much power the former exercises over the latter (Kellerman, 2008). The interpretation of the word power varies to different people in different situations. Rahim (1989) defines power as the ability of one party to change or control the behavior, attitudes, opinions, objectives, needs, and values of another party. This implies that the leader is the one with the ultimate power over their followers. Although there have been several classifications of power in the literature, the power taxonomy set forth by French and Raven (1959) coercive, legitimate, referent, legitimate position and expert has held up well in extensive empirical research over the years (Rahim, 1989). While cult leaders openly promise spiritual advancement for those who join them and social benefits for all, in reality avarice,

personal convenience and desire for power are the underlying motives of their founders and/or leaders (West & Singer, 1980).

Coercive Power

Coercive power is the ability to punish and it requires followers to believe that the leader has the ability to impose the stated penalty (French & Raven, 1959).

Some cults are led by authoritative, domineering and ruthless leaders who control the lives of their followers (Singer M. T., 1994), and while that is true, Nye (2009) argues that even a dictator must attract or induce an inner circle of henchmen to follow through with threatening tactics. What French and Raven (1959) refer to as coercive power has recently become more definitive as “hard power” (Nye, 2009). According to Nye (2009), power is an influential tool that can be used to move others in order to get what you want. Getting followers to produce the leaders’ expected outcome can be handled through coercive power—threats, reward power which involves providing incentives, or co-opting which is getting followers to want what the leader wants (Nye, 2009).

Although there may be some instances where situational factors may call for the use of coercive power, Nye (2009) contends that while most corporate leaders are turning away from hard power and progressing to a more integrative and participatory style of leading followers, it is the balance that a leader uses with hard and soft power that converts into “smart power” (Nye, 2009). Unfortunately, Jim Jones extreme abuse of coercive power that was exhibited in his use of strong-arming his following to contribute huge sums of money to the sect (Johnston & Endicott, 1978), caused Temple members to fear him. In the end, circumstances

such as this where power appears to reside entirely with the leader set the stage for danger on behalf of both the leader and follower, as they can be devastated on an impulse by the leader (Chaleff, 1995). However, successful leadership will rest more upon soft power, but the prize will go to leaders with the contextual intelligence to manage the combination of soft and hard power into smart power.

Legitimate Power

Legitimate power involves the ability to use position and authority within an organization group or team. Followers are compelled to submit because they believe in the legitimacy of the position that the individual possesses. Originally Jones was a member of a Christian denomination. There, he was ordained in the Disciples of Christ (DOC). Unlike other ordination services within the same denomination, the local congregation was allowed to select and ordain a minister of their own. While this may have been recognized as an invalid service to the other family churches, there were those who endorsed Jones' exclusive ordination befitting for someone with special gifts. In fact, according to Kohl (2008), "Jim did have sex with men, but he never admitted that he was bisexual. Instead, he was a power-seeker and used sex as his way to gain additional power over a person - in a very personal way. He did not discriminate (p. 1)." Likewise, other former followers conclude that some of the members of Jones' inner circle were not forced into sexual relations but did so because they felt it was a privilege.

Expert Power

Expert power is derived from the perception that one is knowledgeable, skillful, or talented in a specific domain. So powerful is Jones' influence over some

of the people that after he moved his base of operations to Northern California in 1964, members came by bus from as far away as Seattle for services that included what top Jones aides said at the time were frequent raisings of the dead (Johnston & Endicott, 1978).

Referent Power

Referent power concerns the capacity to be liked and respected by group members. In this case, the follower will comply because of the admiration of the individual in authority. To supporters, Jones is a totally unselfish Christian, a model of love, decency and a concern for the poor and afflicted (Johnston & Endicott, 1978). Additionally, Jim Jones' power was also evident outside of his organization. Early on, Jim Jones was able to ward off many of the accusations against the church because many of the politicians held him in high esteem. Johnston and Endicott (1978), report a high ranking official in the district attorney's office responded to the outpouring of letters: "Politicians are in close contact with Reverend Jones...he delivers large blocs of vote. Peoples Temple is more powerful than most people realize (p. 23)." The substantiation of his power seemed almost synonymous to his inability to err even in the public eye.

Other sources of power have been added to reflect changing social condition. For example, information power acknowledges the pervasiveness of technology in contemporary society. Moreover, Nye and Jisi (2009) present an additional two types of power—hard power and soft power. Hard power refers to the use of threatening coercion as a means of getting others to do what you want and soft power is the ability to shape the preferences of others through attraction. As for

people who are in power, Nye (2009) distinguishes their ability to achieve the desired outcomes from subordinates as being dependent upon three basic methods: coerce them with threats, induce them with payments, or attract and co-opt them. Nye (2009) emphasizes that these forms of power are used in politics as well as everyday life situations.

Sacrificial Leadership

Self-sacrificial leadership concentrates on the behaviors of leaders. Though other disciplines examined self-sacrificial behaviors such as sociologists (Gouldner, 1960), economists (Collard, 1978), and political scientist (Axelrod, 1984), my study focused on the term within the realm of organizational management. Using self sacrificial leadership as a framework allowed me to explore: a) if it encouraged followers to accomplish the mission of an organization; b) did it modify the behavior of the former Temple members; or c) was it used to attribute legitimacy to the leader as a means for the leader to gain influence (Choi, 1998; Choi & Mai-Dalton, 1998; DeCremer & van Knippenberg, 2004; Halverson, Holladay, Kaxama, & Quinones, 2004; Yorges, Weiss, & Strickland, 1999).

Prior to 1980, self-sacrificial leadership appeared in leadership literature using other variations of the term such as selfless leadership (Tead, 1935), and self-humbling (Klapp, 1968). Since then, in the wake of business leadership that has gone awry, there has been an increased focus on leader development of those who deprive themselves for the good of followers and organizations (Boyatzis & McKee, 2005; George, 2003) also described as servant leadership (Greenleaf, 1977), heroic self-sacrifice (Goode, 1978), and altruistic leadership (Kanungo &

Mendonca, 1996). Kanungo and Mendonca (1996) define altruism as any behavior that benefits others regardless of the advantages that the behavior could have for the benefactor. Smith, Organ, and Near (1983) offer another meaning for altruism as a pro-social act towards others in an organization. However, Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce and Neuber, (1997) took a more comprehensive approach introducing altruism as “oneness,” which is an illustration of when the beneficiary (follower) becomes incorporated into the benefactor’s (leaders’) “self.”

However, the previous definitions of altruism, was a major component of an intellectual debate between Avolio and Locke (2002). In an exchange of a series of letters, the concepts of self-sacrifice and selfishness, leader motivation, and follower perception were deliberated. Locke’s position is that leaders can act in a selfish manner for the good of the others. He argues that in order for a leader to be altruistic in the true sense of the word, a profit-making firm would not be able to flourish because of the requirement to relinquish all self-interest, self-attainment, self-gain, and self-promotion. On the other hand, Locke pointed out that a leader who acts rationally can make selfish decisions that may very well be in the interest of others. Selfishness, as Locke explained, does not mean to do as one feels like doing at the time, but rather having a desire to do something does not necessarily mean that it is in one’s actual self-interest (Avolio & Locke, 2002) . Locke concluded that, “The rational leader takes the actions that will make his or her business succeed in the long run” (p. 173).

Avolio (2002) believed that Locke’s definition of selfishness is too idealistic. Avolio (2002) was concerned with the context of which Lock defended selfishness

by leaning on his own context elements of danger, risk, turbulence, etc and questioning the ability of the leader and follower to determine what constitutes self-sacrifice versus selfishness based on their maturity. He also defended his endorsement of Burns (1978) position that “Leaders need a sufficient level of moral capacity to make decisions that will not only benefit themselves but also their followers” (p. 174).

Using the military as a backdrop for an example, Avolio drew on his experience at the West Point Academy and noted that soon after officers have met their commitment to the military, corporate America entices them into private industry with the promise of larger salaries and signing bonuses. There lies the dilemma. The military, selfishly would like to keep the officers as leaders, especially after the investment in training them to lead our armed forces-- while the officers, selfishly consider the benefits for accepting a lucrative position in corporate America. This dilemma led to the challenge for future research to take place in this arena.

The significance to leadership research is the effects from the behavior on leader-follower relationships.

Choi and Mai-Dalton, (1998) define sacrificial leadership in a detailed description as:

“The total/partial abandonment, and/or temporary postponement of personal interests, privileges, or welfare. Such sacrifice is categorized into three groups:

- a.) division of labor,
- b.) distribution of rewards, and/or
- c.) exercise of power.

These three aspects were chosen because they correspond to the three interdependent organizational processes of an economic system, that is, production, distribution, and consumption, respectively. These three subsystems represent a

continuing cycle of economic and administrative processes of organizations” (p. 479).

Further clarification connecting the three categories and self-sacrificial leadership behavior can be seen through examples of how leading a group has the joint responsibility of taking on the challenging task of being held accountable when calamity materializes.

a) Division of labor - As in the case of self-sacrifice in division of labor, the leader assumes the blame even if they are not directly responsible for the disaster. A recent example in the cell phone industry gained worldwide exposure. In 2007, Nam Yong was appointed as CEO for South Korea’s LG Electronics which is the world’s third largest maker of mobile handsets. However, over a three year span the sales continued to plummet. Industry experts reported that the company was unable to compete in the global smart-phone market due to its inability to capitalize on the consumer popularity of high margin. As a result, in September of 2010, Mr. Yong offered the board his resignation as a means of taking responsibility for poor financial performance and management (Duncan, 2010).

b) Distribution of rewards - Self-sacrifice in distribution of rewards occurs when a leader either refuses or delays any bonuses, salary, recognition, or rewards. Other members of the organization who contribute continue to receive compensation (Choi, 1995). The voluntary act of leaders discontinuing or postponing any type of rewards discussed here is an indication of self sacrifice. In March 2007, Delta Air Lines CEO Gerald Grinstein announced that he was refusing any stock, stock options or cash when the carrier emerged from bankruptcy. He was due to receive a \$10 million bonus. Grinstein, who has led the United States’

No. 3 airline since January 2004, said he wanted Delta instead to invest what he would have gotten in post-bankruptcy bonuses, to be used for scholarships and emergency hardship assistance for Delta employees, families and retirees. One commentary noted that, they do not advocate CEO's giving away what they have earned, nor did they believe that his actions would become part of a greater trend, but surely his self-sacrifice was quite impressive and motivating to employees at Delta (EthiSphere, 2007).

c) Exercise of power - The exercise of power (Choi, 1995) depicts how leaders willingly deprive themselves of privileges granted to them because of their authority for the good of the organization. A recent illustration occurred when Vincent Gray, Mayor of Washington, DC along with the District of Columbia's City Council members joined all city workers in taking their four furlough days that have been established for 2011. Furlough days are days that have been designated for all non-essential city employees to take off without getting paid. The furlough days were declared in an effort by the mayor to close the \$188 million dollar budget shortfall he inherited taking office in January 2011 (Craig, 2011).

DeCremer and van Knippenberg (2004) offer another definition for self-sacrificial leadership as a person's willingness to suffer the loss of types of things to maintain personal beliefs and values. Throughout history, there are examples of leaders who have exhibited self-sacrificial behaviors. For example, in 1844 at the age of 25, a slave named Harriet married John Tubman. Her desire to go north and be free was overwhelming. However, her husband did not share her dream to be free and threatened to tell her master if she ran off. Even knowing that John meant

what he said he would do; Harriet left her husband, and as a runaway slave lived in seclusion risking her own life and freedom making eleven trips from Maryland to Canada from 1852-1857 to free over 300 slaves. Likewise, the interest lies in determining how leaders self-sacrificial behaviors (that represent putting the needs of others before their own) (Choi, 1998), has any influence on followers as a means of transforming an organizational situation or crisis.

This form of leadership has been alluded to in the literature over a long period of time (Choi & Mai-Dalton, 1998). More recently Matteson's (2005) examination of empirical studies concerning self-sacrificial leadership revealed that the major premises or tenets of the theory reside on the outcomes of the sacrificial behavior on the perceptions of followers. Additionally, recent research has been conducted to explore whether leader's self-sacrifice positively influences followers' self-esteem (DeCremer, van Knippenberg, & Dijke, 2006).

Literature on sacrificial leadership can be divided into three perspectives:

a) "Transformational leadership (Bass & Bass, 2008) could involve self-sacrificial behaviors for transcendental shifts in the need of followers" (Choi & Mai-Dalton, 1998). Leaders have a two-fold responsibility of creating a vision and inspiring followers to believe in the idea. As great role models of the past such as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. have shown, being inspirational also requires making self sacrifices as an illustration for those who are led. DeCremer, Dijke, Mayer, Schouten, and Bardes (2009) argued that leaders act in the capacity of an exemplar to motivate followers by exhibiting positive behavior as a means of stimulating goals and values that surpass any self interest, thereby protecting the

group's welfare as they conduct themselves ethically in accomplishing their goals.

b) "Leaders should show examples of self-sacrifice to ask followers for similar responses" (Choi & Mai-Dalton, 1998). Business Secretary Vince Cable was astonished to know that the Universities Vice Chancellors salaries had increased by 10%. In comparison to the managers in private sector who had to take pay cuts to keep their firms going, Cable said: "I just get absolutely no sense in the university sector that there is the same degree of realism and self-sacrifice which is going to have to happen if we are going to preserve the university education. (BBC, 2010)" In the end, the provost of University College London agreed to an immediate 10% pay cut, while senior staff pay freezes remain in effect through the following year. Statistics indicated that majority of the vice chancellors and principals followed suit and agreed to pay cuts as well;

c) Charismatic leaders might exhibit self-sacrificial behaviors to build trust, as a means of earning the followers' acceptance as a role model, and to demonstrate loyalty and dedication to the company" (Choi & Mai-Dalton, 1998). For example, the CEO of an organization performing poorly during this recession has decided to reduce his pay to one dollar a year until the company turns a profit. Nevertheless, the loyalty displayed by this executive in taking a pay reduction along with the commitment to turning a profit, is precedence setting.

Furthermore, Choi and Mai-Dalton (1998) conducted a study using the model of self-sacrificial leadership which addresses functions of self-sacrificial behaviors in organizational settings at:

"a) macro level – where self-sacrifice is seen as a starting mechanism that facilitates individual and organizational adaptations to changing situations; and b)

micro level – where self-sacrificial leadership will influence the followers' perceptions and attitudes, specifically their: (1) attributions of charisma, (2) attributions of legitimacy, and (3) intentions of reciprocity behaviors toward the leader” (p. 400).

Using the model of follower's response to sacrificial leadership, the quantitative study included students and industry employees as participants. The survey was a scenario questionnaire using the 7- point Likert scale for participants to evaluate the self sacrificial behavior of the leader of the company (in the scenario). Each response was measured and the results suggested that people share a strong implicit leadership theory (Calder, 1977) about self-sacrifice as part of charismatic leadership.

Furthermore, the effectiveness of self-sacrifice as it relates to leader behaviors is similar in nature to that of charismatic and transformational leadership. Leaders can augment followers' discernment of their obligation to the vision by self-sacrificing (Singh & Krishnan, 2008). Singh and Krishnan (2008) conducted a quantitative study and a scenario experimental study to explore the mediating role of altruism in the relationship between self-sacrifice and transformational leadership, and to look at the effect of all three on followers' collective identity and perceptions of unit performance. Their findings again support Choi and Mai-Dalton's (1998) argument that altruism can be operationalized by two independent constructs. That is to say that self-sacrificial deeds such as “merely giving up” fulfils itself through “concern for others.” Therefore, acts of unselfishness increases the perception of transformational leadership.

However, a review of the literature reveals that the definition of self-sacrifice exceeds just “giving up” (Avolio & Locke, 2002) exclusive of the beneficiary, but

rather brings more of a distinction when the recipient becomes part of the equation (1998). Research demonstrates that self-sacrificial leadership involves more than relinquishing a personal benefit. The previous examples support two points of views. They support Choi's (1998) definition to the extent that self-sacrificial leadership is exhibited when the leader gives up something that is valuable to the individual in the best interest of the group. Likewise, DeCremer and van Knippenberg's (2004) definition is supported because it speaks more to the followers as having the advantage resulting from the leaders' self-sacrifice. This broader perspective is inclusive of the fact that the leader accepts the risk factors involved at the expense of encouraging the recipient, which Choi and Mai-Dalton (1998) contend the point at which the act should no longer be considered self-sacrifice but altruistic.

Another relevant aspect to sacrificial leadership is situational factors. During a crisis, the reason to demonstrate sacrifice is clear, but for a crisis that is non-existent the reason behind the behavior may cast a shadow of doubt with followers in establishing if the act was for personal gain (Halverson, Holladay, Kaxama, & Quinones, 2004). As well, in the event that an organization is not faced with a predicament and a leader exhibits self-sacrificial behavior, the risk increases for the leader to be seen as irrational and lose the trust of their followers.

Another related dimension of leader-follower relationship associated with sacrificial leadership is trust. Instead of self-sacrificial leadership as a concentration, Podsakoff, Mackenzie, Moorman, and Fetter's (1990) study on trust was specific to transformational leadership and follower organizational citizenship

behavior (OCB), a form of cooperation (Katz, 1964; Organ, 1988). Findings state that trust mediated the relationship between transformational leadership and OCB indicating trust may contribute to transforming leader behavior into follower engagement (Pillai & Meindl, 1998).

As with trust, self-sacrificial behavior signifies reciprocated behavior. The expectation of the leader is that his or her behavior would be contagious and the followers will accept the restraints imposed on them. Jones admits in a church service,

“I don’t have new shoes or a new suit, but I’ve got clothes and food and quiet resting places for our people, beautiful senior citizen homes, beautiful children homes, beautiful dormitories, which every one of our youngsters are getting education (Jonestown-Project, 2010) .”

Selflessness entails the follower’s concern for the welfare of the leader and others, even if this behavior results in personal sacrifice to the follower (Beaver, 2008).

"And if the leader is attracted to you, then somehow that cultivates," Jones said during a Temple meeting in 1978. "Well, you ought to know I'm attracted to you, I'm ready to die for every one of you, so that means I'm attracted to you. You follow what I'm saying? I'm attracted to all of you. How much more attraction can you have than to be ready to have your eyes plucked out (Peoples Temple Rally, 1978, p. 1)?"

There is, however, not only a reason to expect that displays of self-confidence render a leader more effective, but also that the display of self-confidence enhances the relationship between leader self-sacrifice and follower identification (DeCremer & van Knippenberg, 2004).

Primarily, followership perception has been the central means of measuring the outcomes of self-sacrificial leadership. Of the studies that were performed, few (Choi & Mai-Dalton, 1998; DeCremer & van Knippenberg, 2004; Yorges, Weiss, &

Strickland, 1999), are perceived to be more influential. Follower attributions of charisma were also found to be prominent during the crisis.

Charismatic Leadership

One style of the leadership that engages followers is charismatic, which served as one of the organizing frameworks in my research. The term “charismatic” is used to describe a diverse group of leaders ranging from Stalin, to Hitler, to Ghandi (Fagen, 1965). It is also used to express a specific type of leadership used to cultivate social change as in Fiol, Harris, and House’s (1999) empirical exploration of charismatic leaders. Other leadership scholars have investigated charisma by focusing on leader characteristics, follower characteristics, as well as contextual factors. The intriguing aspect of charismatic leadership is that depending on how charisma is wielded, it can result in either a positive or negative effect on followers. Therefore, realizing the scope of charismatic behavior, I sought out this framework to investigate leader-follower inter-relationships (as it relates to Jim Jones and former Peoples Temple members) in order to delve into charismatic characteristics from both facets.

The word “charisma” is derived from the Greek *charizesthai*, meaning “favor or gift of divine origin” (Oakes, 1997). A historic analysis of the term “charisma,” which was used in the early Christian church in the first century was performed by Potts (2009). He (2009) credits Saint Paul (one of the founders of the Christian church) for bringing significance to the word referring to extraordinary gifts from the Spirit. Potts’ (2009) historic research illustrates a timeline depicting the word “charisma” as having been eclipsed as a religious concept by the end of

the 3rd century; submerged for many centuries appearing sporadically; and reinvented by Weber (1947) in the early twentieth century. Charismatic leaders, as defined by sociologist Weber (1947), are “considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities” (p. 241). Weber (1947) continues to explain that the operative word in this definition is “considered.” It does not matter whether or not the leader actually possesses any supernatural powers, but “considered” is dependent upon the actuality that fully persuaded followers believe the leaders’ exceptional powers do exist even to the point of feeling an obligation to ensue.

Post-Weberian work from the 1970’s argued that leaders and followers behave in a way that is beneficial for both parties (Bass & Bass, 2008). Research shows that followers respond to the perception of charisma in a leader. However, the outcome as it relates to followership, has the possibility to be positive or negative. Charismatic leadership has been separated into two segments. Socialized charismatic leadership (SCL) entails leaders who serve collective interest and empower others, and personalized charismatic leadership (PSL) characterizes dominant leaders with self serving interests, and exploit others (House & Howell, 1992). Even though socialized charismatic leadership has more positive outcomes benefiting the organization as a whole, and personalized charismatic leadership outcomes tend to be detrimental as a consequence, House and Howell (1992) assert that leaders have the ability to concurrently demonstrate both leadership styles.

It is the uniqueness of the charismatic leaders’ message that entices the followers’ attention. Weierter’s (1997) study clarified that the routinized

charismatic message has the potential to arise in situations where a subculture or class of people, because of perceived oppression, question the accepted mainstream reality. This means that charismatic leaders must have a vision that is in sync with followers' values in order for them to trust and identify with the mission. Skillfully crafting a message to attract followers involves timing as well. The moment in which leadership is taking place is a consideration in terms of how it affects a leader's ability to take charge (Bluedorn & Jaussi, 2008). However, followers' susceptibility to charismatic leaders is impacted by a series of events. Indeed, if there is an immediate crisis experienced by the followers, it is predictable for them to want a leader to show them the way. This accounts for those who are in distress or may have poor self images (Conger & Kanungo, 1998). An example is Bass and Bass' (2008) study which demonstrated that a group of young adults who were low in self esteem joined a charismatic cult and within 6-7 months of joining, their self esteem was raised. These results indicated that these young followers accepted the influence of the charismatic leader.

Moreover, Hadden (1997), in a discussion about Weber's (1947) work, defines authority as legitimate forms of dominance that is recognized by followers to be legitimate. The three forms of pure legitimate authorities are: a) charismatic authority; b) traditional authority; and c) legal-rational authority (Weber, 1947). Charismatic authority transpires during a crisis when leaders with an undertaking have a desire to create followership from those who acknowledge the leader as superior (Weber, 1947). Those who follow do so with extreme personal devotion. Traditional authority refers to customary types of inherited or delegated power that

extended to an individual and it is neither challenged nor disputed (Ritzer & Goodwin, 2004). Examples of such leaders are elders, kings, or established religious leaders. Finally, legal–rational authority, resting on belief in the legality of enacted rules, typical of modern bureaucracies (e.g., corporations and public agencies) with their hierarchies of formally defined positions and office-holders appointed by merit (Levay, 2010).

Additionally, Boccialetti (1995), Offerman (2004), and Weierter (1997) are examples of various approaches to charismatic leadership which focused on followers' personality variables. One example is Offerman's (2004) study which used five characteristics in a model as determining factors that affect the degree to which congruency between follower values and the message expressed by the leader moderates the potential relationship: (a) Self-concept clarity is the extent to which individuals have knowledge of aspects of the self such as values and beliefs (Campbell, 1990); (b) self-monitoring is the inclination for an individual to base behavior on either internal or external behavioral cues (Snyder, 1979); (c) self-esteem is based on the value given to oneself (Sullivan, 1953); (d) self-efficacy refers to the strength of belief that one can achieve one's goals or desires (Bandura, 1977); and (e) self-awareness is a transient state influenced by situational factors that promote reflection back on the self (Scheier & Carver, 1980).

These characteristics are seen throughout the literature as in Conger and Kanungo's (1998) work where charismatic leadership is characterized as "an attribution based on followers' perceptions of their leaders behavior" (p. 47). A further review of empirical literature indicated that there are scores of research

where the focal point was charismatic leadership (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Hollander, 1978; Shills, 1965). More specifically, Shamir, House and Arthur (1993) presented the argument in their study that once followers' self-concepts are connected to the assignment which is communicated by the leader, charismatic leadership has its effects. Shamir, House and Arthur (1993) also assert that Meindl's (1990) position was a more critical view point of charismatic leadership theorist because in his opinion they had not taken a more broad approach to research on this topic. Instead, researchers continue to focus on contributing to the notion that charismatic leadership is leader-centered. Contrarily, Meindl's follower-centered approach illustrated how charismatic effects extend beyond interaction between leaders and followers and are the results of followers' social psychological function that is independent of the leaders' characteristics and behaviors.

On the other hand, Shamir et al. (1993) accepted Meindl's findings as complimentary since they conclude that magnetism which is expended to inspire subordinates does not necessarily come from leaders only, but is rather a more inclusive progression. Their discussions on the effects of charismatic leadership indicate that it can occur through informal role models and other peer related social processes. The findings also do not dismiss the fact that charismatic leader behaviors can cause self-engagement as well as leaders instigating inter-follower processes.

Accordingly Bass and Bass (2008) contend that there are five components of the charismatic leadership concept: 1) a person with extraordinary gifts, 2) a crisis, 3) a radical solution to the crisis, 4) followers who are attracted to the exceptional

person because they believe that they are linked through him to transcendent powers, and 5) validation of the person's gifts and transcendence in repeated experiences of success. Adoration, admiration and trust breed the reverence and it is through unquestioning faith that establishes the leader-follower relationship. There are, however, examples of charismatic leadership where followers were attracted to traits of the leader.

Moreover, the traits are able to associate with the ideologies. This exists when loyalty and obedience flow from a belief in the leader's superhuman qualities and their implications, rather than from systematized rules or the power of tradition (Callan, 2003). Conger (1997) refers to this as creating an image of uniqueness. An example in Peoples Temple was described by Johnston and Endicott (1978), in a letter to a reporter that Timothy Stoen, who was then the Temple's attorney and Jones's assistant, proclaimed that he had witnessed Jim Jones revive people stiff as a board, tongues hanging out, eyes set, skin graying and all vital signs absent.

Additionally, research shows that charismatic leaders use this tactic to ingratiate themselves with their audiences (Conger, 1997). Therefore, an opportunity for corrupt behavior can be created for the leader to manipulate information by enhancing the bias in order to achieve the desired response from the followers—which is to totally commit (Bass & Bass, 2008). Although there are many, one typical example of Jones' mastery of maneuvering a situation to gain allegiance from Temple members was the manner in which he exploited his radio broadcast. According to Reiterman and Jacobs (1982), in 1964 Jones altered the religious message to a purely social message combined with detailed criticism of

the Bible. Through self-proclamation, he elevated himself to be an apostle who was responsible for causing thousands to believe in Jesus because of the great miracles of healings, prophecies and discernment he performed in his (Jones') Name (Reiterman & Jacobs, 1982). As expected, the controversy generated by calls from angry listeners led to cancelling the show on air, but Jones took advantage of this occasion to twist the truth. In an effort to gain loyalty from his followers who sympathized with him, he pretended to be falsely accused of being an anti-Christ—a devil and that was the reason they silenced him. As in this case, Jones resorted to manipulating the truth since his authority proved ineffective outside of the Temple.

Additionally, throughout the years, authority as a form of charismatic domination has been the subject of interest. While researchers such as Sigmund Freud and Eric Fromm explored individual charismatic leaders and the impact on their followers (Bass & Bass, 2008; Conger & Kanungo, 1998; House & Howell, 1992; Trice & Beyer, 1986), other charismatic literature takes another approach. Klein and House (1998) contend that charisma resides not in a leader, nor in a follower, but in the relationship between a leader who has charismatic qualities and a follower who is open to charisma, within a charisma-conducive environment.

Using a fire metaphor that included a spark, flammable material, and oxygen, the researchers explored the determinants and consequences of the extent of homogeneity of charisma within a group of followers (Klein & House, 1998). The symbolic phrases were defined as: 1) a spark is a leader who has charismatic qualities; 2) flammable material represents followers who are open or susceptible to charisma; and 3) oxygen is an environment conducive to charisma.

As noted by Klein and House (1998), there were three different responses that addressed which characteristics distinguish followers who are susceptible to charisma: a) suggests that low self-confidence and strong feelings of uncertainty (Conger & Kanungo, 1998) typify followers who are therefore seeking psychological dependence; b) supports Shamir, House and Arthur's (1993) study who argue that congruency exists between followers' values and leaders' vision in charismatic relationships. In a situation of this nature, it is suggested that charismatic relationships subsist because followers mainly agree with the leader from the beginning; and c) proposed that there were insignificant differences in followers in relationships with leaders who possess charismatic characteristics versus those who follow leaders with non-charismatic characteristics (Klein & House, 1998).

In either situation, the literature indicates that the greater the subordinate homogeneity which occurs when the leader treats everyone the same, the greater the homogeneity of charisma among the group. This is also referred to as group level phenomenon (Dansereau, Yammarino, & Markham, 1995). Dedication in work orientation from the follower perspective flourishes in relationships of this kind. "Cinder" subordinates as they are called, have the capacity to intensify charisma among the followers (Kerr & Jermier, 1975). Similarly, Klein and House (1998) posit that the degree to which the subordinate shares a charismatic relationship influences their work orientation. On the other hand, Klein and House (1998) contend that some leaders treat all of their followers the same while some leaders treat only a select few the same and other followers in a different way. It is

suggested that the manner in which the charismatic leader treats them, may be dependent upon the skill-set of the subordinates (Kerr & Jermier, 1975). To that end, charisma is expected to be moderate and variable when followers disagree with principles of their leader and indeed friction and dissent among them is often present in the leader-follower interaction.

Furthermore, a significant amount of charismatic studies indicate a requirement of an elevated need of power for effective leadership (O'Connor, Mumford, Clifton, Gessner, & Connelly, 1995). Charismatic leaders master the ability to appeal to followers with matching ideological goals and those seeking intrinsic satisfaction (Bass & Bass, 2008). The one way to accomplish this is to persuade the follower through inspirational and visionary messages (Kark & Dijk, 2007), which includes taking extraordinary risks and setting personal values inherent in the vision (Matteson, 2006). Though the attractions to leaders of this temperament are beyond ordinary esteem, it is the intense emotional connection felt by the follower that causes obedience to the seductive force.

Similar to Klein and House (1998), Padilla, Hogan, and Kaiser (2007) use the Cuban dictator, Fidel Castro as a metaphoric example to discuss the dynamics of the toxic triangle. For the purpose of this section, I will focus on the first component of the toxic triangle, destructive leaders, to discuss Fidel Castro's characteristics. As an intelligent teen, Castro was also known to have an unusual memory, physical courage, and tenacity for self-promotion. His college years were marked with unsuccessful attempts to lead student groups even though he continued to strengthen his followership. After the fall of Batista, the previous dictator,

Castro along with his supporters quickly took control with false promises of democracy, and an improved lifestyle for all. He carefully and strategically used the media to exploit his charismatic demeanor which he used to attract followers. However, the same charisma he used to win people over is the same characteristic that left Cuba in the hands of a dictator. As Pickel (1998) states:

“The stability of the political order and the capacity of the regime to act can hardly be accounted for in terms of the bureaucratic, unresponsive, and closed system of party rule but is a product of the unique and powerful combination of charismatic leadership and nationalism.” (1998, p. 79)

Extreme Charismatic Leadership

The values of charismatic leaders that are well intentioned can elevate an organization to new heights, but if they are selfish and poor, they can create cults and effectively rape the minds of followers (deJonge, 2008). Developing along side of the conventional charismatic leadership literature is what is referred to as “the dark side,” which describes the negatively connotated personality traits of a leader (Khoo & Burch, 2007). This dark side effect takes place when unethical practices come in to play. Among the charismatic leaders of various cults mentioned in Bass and Bass (2008) was Charles Manson, who after twenty years of incarceration, still manages to have a following of people (predominantly women) with rebellious behaviors. Leaders of this kind tend to prey on the insecure and lonely. These individuals are less likely to take issue with relinquishing their rights to another individual in exchange for strict boundaries and security (Bass & Bass, 2008). To that end, charismatic leaders in cults reinforce followers’ belief in the group values by reinforcing behavior with symbols, rituals, and ceremonies. Friedkin (2004) argues that death cults are maintained by interpersonal influence systems in which a

centralized source of influence, usually a single charismatic leader, determines the decision premises for the group and persuades the members that there are no viable alternative courses of action other than organized suicide.

Furthermore, there are special conditions under which charismatic influence turns lethal (Dawson, 2006). In 1921, Adolf Hitler was a corporal stationed in Munich on assignment to report back on a meeting on the Deutsche Arbeiter Partei (DAP), which was the Germans Workers' Party also known as the Nazi Party (Jacobsen & House, 2001). He later joined the party and was assigned to handle the propaganda activities to increase membership. During this time, his enthusiasm was contagious and he was able arouse a following so strong that Hitler led an attempt to take over the government. Unsuccessful at his attempt, he was given a sentence of five years in prison, but he was released on parole only one year later. Hitler resumed his position and through his rhetorical skills and charismatic behaviors, he was given power by default. In Lepsius' (2006) review of Hitler's rise to power, the author discussed how Germany's leader manipulated the perception of reality through conspiracy theories, and presented himself and National Socialism as the only alternative to chaos. As a result, Hitler, a vicious war criminal, led a countrywide effort and attempted genocide of the Jewish and any non-Aryan race.

DeCremer's (2006) study revealed that followers are negatively aroused when they are under the influence of autocratic leaders and exhibiting loyalty toward the leader is improbable. On the other hand, Ehrhart and Klein's (2001) research suggested that followers most likely to be drawn to charismatic leaders

appear to be attracted to the collective identity and high aspirations articulated by charismatic leaders, as well as the influence and empowerment they can enjoy with these leaders. Such leaders who exhibit a collectivistic approach to orientation and an expressive direction to work and life tend to encounter total compliance from those they lead. Shea and Howell's (1999) examination of previous literature proposed that charismatic leaders increase followers' perceived self-efficacy by communicating high performance expectations, expressing confidence in followers' abilities to contribute to the mission, and emphasizing the relationships between efforts and important values. Indeed the likelihood of leaders encountering resistance is minimized if they grasp what motivates followers to change their behavior (Valikangas & Okumura, 1997).

Unscrupulous Leadership

While leadership research has been consumed with understanding how leaders' behaviors and traits make them effective (Bass & Bass, 2008), gaining more interest are leaders who cross over to the "dark side (Conger J. , 1997).” Leadership of this sort involves those who engage in dysfunctional, dishonest, and corrupt behavior. Meindl, Ehrlich, and Dukerich (1985) discuss the romance and mystery surrounding leadership concepts and the fact that they are necessary for maintaining followership. Schilling (2009) further asserts that it is what managers do in their leadership position that has more bearing on the success of an organization than other aspects such as economic development and employees. However, leaders' who employ self indulging behaviors pose a breeding ground for negative outcomes. In a review of the literature, I have segmented the various

theories of unscrupulous leadership as they relate to this study: (a) negative leadership; (b) toxic leadership; (c) narcissistic leadership; and (d) destructive leadership.

Negative Leadership

In comparison to other fields of leadership research, empirical evidence on negative leadership is still small (Schilling, 2009; Einarsen, Skogstad, Loseth, & Aasland, 2002). Though empirical research is minimal (Einarsen, Skogstad, Loseth, & Aasland, 2002; Schilling, 2009), other theoretical subjects that address the same issues are toxic leadership (Lipman-Blumen, 2005), narcissistic leadership (Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006), and destructive leadership (Einarsen, Skogstad, Loseth, & Aasland, 2002); all of which will be discussed moving through this chapter.

Schilling (2009) uses the term negative leadership in a broad sense which encompasses commonly disliked and denounced behaviors ranging from ineffective to destructive aspects. The number of incompetent managers in leadership position is estimated at 50% according to Devries and Kaiser (2003). This is the result of unconventional hiring practices. Leaders are too often chosen for reasons other than their skills and abilities (Lloyd, 2006) and therefore, being effective is unlikely because of the level of incompetency in managing people. Performing at a less-than-satisfactory pace to meet the goals of the organization is inevitable as they are erroneous but deliberately promoted through the ranks (Peter & Hull, 1996).

Meindl, Ehrlich, and Dukerich's (1985) empirical evidence illustrated that leadership attributions account for both positive and negative outcomes. Despite

the reason why leaders engage in negative leader behavior, it is likely to have negative outcomes for followers and organizations. Hogan and Kaiser (2005) conducted a study in which 65% - 75% of workers considered their bosses to be the worst part of their job. Subordinates, who are the victims of ineffective leadership, encounter a myriad of unfortunate treatment that Schilling (2009) refers to as destructive hierarchical relationships. Caustic office associations are further interpreted as employee dissatisfaction with their supervisor and stress related (mental and physical) impairments as a consequence of managerial harassment. Management activity of this sort decreases the level of trust (Conger & Kanungo, 1998) thereby contributing to the failure of organizations.

Investigating further, Schilling (2009) conducted a qualitative study to investigate the content and meaning of negative leadership in a network of causes, behaviors and consequences, and to analyze the relations between the different behavioral categories. The results were extensive, but my discussion will be limited to “consequences” as it relates to followers in my study. On average, the follower who was subjected to negative leadership expressed dissatisfaction, de-motivation, lack of performance and lack of commitment. Implications demonstrate that the leader-follower relationship eroded as the backlash from negative leadership increased follower vengeance by exhibiting less interest and involvement. This is consistent with the results in the studies conducted by Hoobler and Brass (2006), and Tepper, Duffy, and Shaw (2001) that focused on abusive supervision. Unfortunately, response to subordinate rebellion may increase the leaders’ behavior to gain submission (Andersson & Pearson, 1999). Schilling (2009) concludes that

the severity of consequences as a result of deviant behavior (Duffy, Ganstser, & Pagon, 2002) is critical enough to the point where organizations should be primarily concerned with deterring destructive leadership by utilizing organizational development practices to confronting the issue.

Toxic Leadership

Recent years have seen quite an increase in reports of dysfunctional conduct from leaders in powerful positions in organizations across the board (Walton, 2007). What is clear is that the distinguishing factor between constructive leaders and destructive leaders is ethics (Furnham & Taylor, 2004). However, identifying those individuals most likely to contaminate the organization with disruptive behaviors has become of interest to organizations and scholars researching unscrupulous leadership over the past two decades (e.g., Furnham & Taylor, 2004; Hogan & Hogan, 2001; Moscoso & Salagdo, 2004). United States military has also recognized the concern for assessing leaders who have the potential to exhibit destructive behaviors (DiGenio, 2002; Reed, 2004; Williams, 2005).

In an attempt to define toxic leaders, finding a comprehensive definition of the term (Schmidt, 2008) is difficult since it is used to describe a range of dysfunctional leadership behaviors from dishonesty to cruelty (Hogan & Hogan, 2001). Schmidt (2008) conducted the first empirical study to reduce the ambiguity in defining and detecting toxic leadership. This necessary, comprehensive approach brought clarification of the term in the existing literature by specifying the content domain. The exploration revealed the introduction of the term toxic leader by Whicker (1996) who described the characteristics as one who is self-absorbed with

narcissistic personality traits. This is also confirmed in more recent literature on the subject that reveals narcissistic traits as a component of toxic leadership (Lipman-Blumen, 2005; Lubit, 1997; Walton, 2007; Williams, 2005). Schmidt's (2008) investigation resulted in refining the definition of toxic leadership and validating a scale to measure it.

However, as the most inclusive meaning, Lipman-Blumen (2005), describes toxic leaders as those individuals who by dint of their destructive behaviors and dysfunctional personal qualities generate a serious and enduring poisonous effect on the individuals, families, organizations, communities, and even entire societies they lead (Lipman-Blumen, 2005). More insidious than that of the narcissistic leader is the toxic leader who increasingly exhibits maladjusted behavior but not necessarily in an overt fashion. The toxic leader is categorized as one who is consumed with insecurity to the point of being territorial. The leader is depicted as being psychologically driven to protect their turf, consequently becoming obsessive with the perception that everyone around them is the enemy. For the workplace, this includes colleagues, superiors, as well as subordinates. Driven by their insecurities and power needs (Williams, 2005), if challenged, the toxic leader worsens and becomes an avenger. That is to say, their activity escalates to malicious tactics. Therefore, believing that they are exempt from all rules the toxicity is amplified as they engage in malfeasant behavior such as illegal and unethical practices.

While Whicker (1996) agrees that the behaviors of toxic leaders are provoked by their need to be controlling and dominating, there is another end of the spectrum—unintentional toxic leaders. This type of leader may not possess the

necessary skills to perform the assigned tasks. Though incompetent and possibly careless, the unintentional toxic leaders' contamination to the organization poses negative outcomes.

In an article, Lipmen-Blumen (2005) addresses why people follow toxic leaders by explaining that underpinning desires to fulfill psychological needs causes an individual to seek out authority figures. Relating this to Maslow's (1971) five level hierarchy of needs, the first (lower) level physiological, are the basic needs which include food, air, water, and sleep. The second level is security needs such as steady employment and health insurance. The third level is comprised of friendships and romantic relationships and is considered the social needs. The fourth level is esteem needs consisting of self-esteem and self-worth and the fifth level is self-actualizing where people are self-aware, meaning that the individual is less concerned about the opinions of others and more concerned about personal growth.

To summarize Lipmen-Blumen's (2005) follower magnetism, she begins with the pragmatic set of needs. The first set of needs are existential needs, which is more relevant to my study. These needs address the apprehension about mortality; the uncertainty of how and when death will occur understanding that it is the inevitable. Susceptible followers are engrossed by the oratorical skills of toxic leaders who become their significance and ultimately persuade individuals that they have the power to secure their everlasting life either in this world or another. The second is the point where individuals are seeking, for example, parent or caregiver replacements. One of the reasons people do not leave toxic situations is because of

the benefits (i.e., salary, flexibility, etc.). The third set of needs is initiated from an uncertain, disorderly world or crisis of some sort—where followers seek stability from leaders who assure them of a predictable world. The fourth involves our need to be sheltered from the possibilities of harm. Lipman-Blumen (2005) speaks of any historical moment such as the bubonic plague, which decimated the population that can take its toll. The psychosocial needs are the fifth set that addresses how we respond to our cultural norms for achievement by seeking leadership. Either people exceed the norms and are seen as leaders, or retract upon failure as followers into subcultures of gangs and cults where they feel accomplished, powerful, and protected. The sixth set of needs describes the unfinished and unfinishable world. These needs deal with the ongoing desire to find solutions to local or global problems as they affect our lives every day and for those who do find the answers; followers are willing to pursue such leaders to the end (Lipman-Blumen, 2005). It is through the confrontation of anxieties that arise in the daily lives of individuals that one can easily become vulnerable to toxic leaders who stand ready to furnish a lifeline temptingly baited with grand illusions insulated with fear, misery, and uncertainty (Lipman-Blumen, 2005).

Narcissistic Leadership

Havlock Ellis (1989) first used the term “narcissus-like” making an association to a character in a Greek myth. Narcissus was a handsome young man who fell in love with his reflection and died as a result of becoming consumed with self-obsession. Freud (1931, 1950), however, is credited having coined the word narcissism. Narcissism concerns our feelings about ourselves and how we regulate

our self-esteem (Lubit, 1997). Destructive narcissism (DN) is a term used to describe the behavior of leaders who devalue others opinions, and develop grandiose self-image (Lubit, 1997). This creates a dysfunctional organization because authoritarian empires where one person (or several people) at the head of the organization is not willing to invest in the common good, or display impartiality among the followers (Riggio, Chaleff, & Lipman-Blumen, 2008, p. 56). A strong sense of ego and a high degree of self-esteem are common in nonclinical definitions of narcissism (Paunonen, Jan-Erik, & Sointu Leikas, 2006).

Leaders with narcissistic behavior nurture grand schemes and harbor the illusion that only circumstances or enemies block their success (Maccoby, 2000). The expression “loneliness of command” has been used frequently in the context of leadership (Kets deVries, 1997). This refers to the danger of a leader losing touch with reality as a result of their position in an organization. Individuals who exhibit DN conduct themselves in a manner that lacks empathy for their subordinates. Though most of their power appears to demonstrate strength, it is often a means of concealing a frail sense of self. The greatest concern for DN leaders is to control situations by ensuring that everyone else complies with their self serving nature.

The overwhelming focus of DN individuals on reinforcing their self esteem undercuts any deep attachment to values and leads them to betray convictions in the pursuit of self-interest (Lubit, 1997). Conger (1997) explains that narcissistic leader’s excessive confidence and the desire for heroic recognition encourages them to undertake large, risky ventures-but because of their overreliance on themselves and their cadre of “yes people,” strategic errors go unnoticed. Leadership of this

nature is created when diversity among group members do not exist. According to Lubit (1997), destructive narcissistic leaders are unable to make a connection with any type of values or caring bonds, as they are always in search of self-interest.

Narcissistic leadership, as it relates to followers, tends to be deceptive. In a study that examined the relations between followers' perceptions of leaders' narcissistic personality and behaviors using transformational leadership as a framework Yang (2009), found that leaders high in narcissism who exhibit transformational leadership behaviors are likely to verbalize values and beliefs, a sense of purpose, or the collective mission. It is suggested that since narcissists have self-serving interests, the appearance of pro-social behavior is not genuine but necessary to attract believable to followers.

Although narcissists exhibit an unusually high level of self-love, believing that they are uniquely special and entitled to praise and admiration (Judge, Piccolo, & Kosalka, 2009), there is a good side to such behavior. While not a focus of my research, I will note that empirical research on the subject of narcissism also includes the claim that normal narcissism, defined as a self-centered, self-aggrandizing, dominant, and manipulative interpersonal orientation (Emmons, 1987; Paulhus & Williams, 2002) reflects a psychologically healthy, adaptive personality as measured by self-reported feelings of subjective well-being.

Destructive Leadership

Illies and Reiter-Palmon (2008) define destructive leadership as “harming organizational members, or striving for short-term gains over long-term organizational goals.” This definition is inclusive of leaders who cause damage

within organizations through fraud or deceit, leaders who engage in violent acts to harm people, and leaders who cause destruction through a series of poor decisions. Einarsen et al. (2002) consent to this same position as they argue that in the absence of constructive leadership, destructive leadership abounds. Their distinction is that “destructive” has a more intense meaning beyond the Laissez-fair (Schilling, 2009) style of management where the consequences for such behavior affect the goals and followers alike.

Accordingly Padilla (2007) contends that destructive leadership has the following characteristics:

- a) Destructive leadership is seldom absolutely or entirely destructive;
- b) Destructive leadership involves control and coercion rather than persuasion and commitment;
- c) Destructive leadership has a selfish orientation;
- d) The effects of destructive leadership are seen in organizational outcomes that compromise the quality of life for constituents (whether internal or external to the organization) and detract from their main purposes (Hogan & Kaiser, What we know about leadership, 2005); and
- e) Destructive organizational outcomes also depend on susceptible followers and conducive environments.

To further understand destructive leadership, Einarsen and colleagues (2002), conducted a study using the framework developed by their team with the

understanding that managers aggressively sabotage followers' motivation and comfort as well as the effectiveness of the organization. The framework differentiates between four negative types of leadership styles. First, Laissez-faire leadership is described as having low concern for tasks and people, while the second, tyrannical leadership is considered to have high level of task concern in combination with a destructive conduct towards subordinates (Schilling, 2009). The latter is inclusive of lying, humiliating, and commanding from an authoritative position to get full submission from followers. Although Laissez-faire constitutes ineffective leadership, it is not considered destructive. The third is popular-disloyal leadership style described by Einarsen (2002) as assimilating with the team while ridiculing management in order to complete the task. This kind of leader makes every attempt to avoid extra work for themselves and subordinates. Finally fourth is derailed leadership which involves characteristics where the leader either becomes closely knit with their superiors or loses their position because of their disloyalty to followers and tasks. Aligning themselves with superiors is regarded as impression management (Aasland, Einarsen, & Skogstad, 2003). In the end, the results of the study indicated that tyrannical and derailed leadership are associated with low job satisfaction.

Research Design

In this section of CHAPTER 2, I review literature that pertains to the research design and methods used in this study to include choice of the qualitative paradigm, focus groups and qualitative interviewing. Recently, the quantitative paradigm has come under scrutiny and resulted in a call for alternative paradigms

and methods of inquiry that are resonating in the leadership research community (Klenke, 2008). In order to understand the Jonestown massacre survivors in the context of leadership-followership interdependence, this research used a qualitative approach as it is especially helpful to explore rather unknown and complex phenomena (Conger, 1998). Research of this nature allows the investigator to research the topic from the survivor's perspectives. Utilizing a qualitative method is particularly effective since acquiring culturally specific information about the morals, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of those who lived to tell the story.

Qualitative research methods add value to the study of leadership because they provide extensive, thick description of a phenomenon (Geertz, 1973). Conger (1998) lists the advantages include:

- a) "More opportunities to explore leadership phenomena in significant depth and to do so longitudinally (Bryman A. , 1984);
- b) The flexibility to discern and detect unexpected phenomena during the research (Lundberg, 1976);
- c) An ability to investigate processes more effectively;
- d) Greater chances to explore and to be sensitive to contextual factors; and
- e) More effective means to investigate symbolic dimensions (Morgan & Smircich, 1980)" (p. 111)
- (f) Qualitative research is context- dependent and sensitive

Literature is rich as it pertains to studying Jim Jones the leader, but dedication to followership from the qualitative perspective is a first (McGehee III, 2009).

Klenke (2008) agrees that using qualitative research to investigate a leadership issue

or problem helps us to capture multiple voices and perspectives. Therefore, a quantitative study would not have adequately captured the lived experiences of the research participants, as the statistical analysis of data from a quantitative study provides a numerical value and not words for comparison (Creswell, 2003). For that reason, qualitative methods are useful for providing a portrait and aid in developing further understandings about organizational phenomenon (Fitzpatrick & Wallace, 2006).

According to Conger (1998), “In reality, qualitative research must play an important role no matter what stage we are in the investigation of leadership topics. The main reason is the extreme and enduring complexity of the leadership phenomenon itself” (p. 108). Supporting that argument are Avolio and Bass (1995) who contend that in understanding how leadership behavior evolves, researchers must concentrate on how leader behavior is disseminated within the group as well as among group members. On the other hand, the predominant use of surveys in quantitative research does not allow capturing other factors such as intra-psychic or group or organizational or environmental factors that can impact leader behavior (Yukl, 2009). Likewise, quantitative does not lend itself to measuring interaction (Lantis, 1987). “Quantitative methods are designed largely to capture a reality that is composed of concrete and objective structures and remain ineffective in a subjective, ever-shifting reality where human beings shape its creation” (Conger, 1998). Therefore, the flexibility of qualitative research was a suitable methodology for understanding the perceptions and attitudes of the participants in my study.

According to Bryman (2004):

A significant catalyst for qualitative research on leadership may have been the growing interest in the second half of the 1980s onwards in leadership in relation to organizational symbolism and sensemaking, which are issues to which an interpretive strategy are particularly well suited (p. 731).

Creswell (2007) asserts that the focus of all qualitative research should be about understanding the phenomenon being explored rather than solely on the reader, the researcher, or the participants in the study. The emergence of qualitative research is acknowledged for enhancing our understanding of the relevance of language for leadership as well as allowing us observe the worlds of senior leaders. Doing so has brought forth a new appreciation for qualitative researchers to delve into other new arenas of leadership such as shared leadership, e-leadership, and environmental leadership (Bryman, 2004). Although qualitative research has encountered its criticism of bearing a strong resemblance to quantitative research when it comes to various case study cross-sectional designs, it does not retract from the benefits of giving a voice to the reality of what it takes to be a leader, their behaviors, challenges, and experiences (Bryman, 2004).

A principal advantage of qualitative methods is its ability to generate large quantities of very rich textual data. The use of qualitative analysis software helps to sort through this process, which I found quite useful as I navigated through the process of interacting among the different design components such as the theories, research questions, and methods (Maxwell, 1996). Taking this course of action allowed me to probe to explore the unexpected and to see the unexpected (Conger, 1998).

Focus Groups

In the social sciences, focus groups are a more recent development than

methods of collecting data such as surveys, questionnaires, and one-on-one interviews (Barnett, 2002). This form of data collection is used to offer valuable insight and generate knowledge in unknown areas. According to Winsor (2008), focus groups provide a platform that captures the very essence of participants' knowledge. Morgan (1988) agrees that focus groups are under-used in social research, although they have a long history in market research. Although there are numerous advantages for using qualitative research, Conger (1998) argues that one major shortcoming of qualitative research is its heavy reliance on interviewing as its principal methodology. However, using this interviewing technique is gaining recognition.

Morgan and Bottorff (2010) shed a whole new light as they contend that there are many different options for conducting a focus group, which gives the researcher the autonomy to select the method that is the best fit for meeting the goals of the research. Innovation combining technology and creativity is taking focus group interviewing to a whole new dimension.

Cooper and Yarborough (2010) are health researchers who used photography as a means of collecting qualitative data to gather information about health related issues in rural Guatemala. Their research was segmented into two phases. The participants, who were birth attendants, were selected using purposeful sampling. During phase one the focus group was conducted in the traditional manner. These healthcare practitioners participated in a discussion about health related issues in their communities. Phase two consisted of the same group of participants and took place several months later. However, during this time the focus group was tasked

with responding to photographs that were taken by a sub-set of the first focus group. The photos had been taken during an intervention period that provided images of the various concerns as it related to their communities. This type of focus group is referred to as the photo-voice method and it was during this session that participants produced a level of intensity that was far more revealing. The findings suggest that photo-voice provides more in-depth data and the potential for bringing out additional information that might not emerge during traditional interviews or focus group discussions (Cooper & Yarborough, 2010).

Another technique involved using telephone focus groups and traditional face-to-face groups (Frazier, Miller, Horbelt, Delmore, Miller, & Paschal, 2010). According to Krueger and Casey, (2000) telephone focus groups have come under heavy criticisms because they lacked non-verbal communication. Other disapprovals with this method include the fact that the moderator's capacity to control the discussion is minimized. Although the opposition is noted, there are benefits that are associated with using telephone focus groups. For instance, participants willingness to speak freely about sensitive issues (Cooper, Jorgensen, & Merritt, 2003); especially since they are unable to view the moderator, and the inability of the moderator to be seen decreases social identity prejudices and fears (Lea, Spears, & Watt, 2007; Joinson, 2001). In the end, the positive aspects of the dual focus group sessions proved to be a very useful example for conducting qualitative research as the results concluded that the quality of the data was equivalent for both the telephone and traditional focus groups (Frazier, Miller, Horbelt, Delmore, Miller, & Paschal, 2010).

Furthermore, combining traditional focus group interviews with other methods continues to expand in creativity. The use of traditional focus groups was used to explore the use of multiple medications from the elderly patient perspective (Moen, Bohma, Tillenius, Antonov, Nilsson, & Ring, 2009). In this study twelve traditional focus groups were held using a digital recorder, a moderator, and a note taker (who was also the observer⁰). Each session was transcribed verbatim. The nature of the group dynamics was analyzed using a framework developed by Lehoux, Poland and Daudelin (2006) and NVivo qualitative analysis software was used throughout the content analysis. Following the constant comparison method, the researchers concluded that both sets of data were equally rich.

Moreover, Creswell (2007) states, focus groups are advantageous when the interaction among interviewees will likely yield the best information. In this method, a small group of participants gather to discuss a particular issue under the guidance of a facilitator (researcher) who often plays a detached role (Klenke, 2008). The facilitator is sometimes referred to as a moderator. As the facilitator, I have the responsibility of establishing an organized discussion with the sample group in an arranged location where they feel most comfortable to share their experiences. This provides an opportunity for me to monitor interactions within the group as well as distinguish how they may be influenced by others in a group situation (Gibbs, 1997). Due to the limited amount of time that was available to have access to the survivors, conducting focus groups was practical because it yielded a tremendous amount of unique data in a short period of time.

Compared to individual interviews, which aim to obtain individual attitudes,

beliefs and feelings, focus groups elicit a multiplicity of views and emotional processes within a group context (Gibbs, 1997). Focus groups can be used, for example, to examine not only what group members think but also how they think and why they think in a given way, their understandings and priorities (Klenke, 2008). “The debate continues about the number of focus groups conducted, but there is consensus regarding the number of participants required to compose a focus group; six to eight participants represent the optimal number” (Crabtree & Miller, 1999, p. 118). The benefit is having the capacity to maneuver the group dynamics in such a way to produce thoughts that provide a greater discernment into the issues to be discussed.

In summary, focus groups have advantages and disadvantages. For instance, group interaction brings forth a dynamic where the participants’ sharing can be supportive thereby stimulating others to participate in the discussion (Kaplowitz & Hoehn, 2001). Patten (2007) points out that the focus group stimulates discussions that would not occur in two-person interactions and encourages participants to explore similarities and differences of opinion. For example, the whole idea of a focus group is to obtain a group dynamic so that people feed off one another. On the other hand, members of the group may fail to exchange all of their information which may be a result of the fact that some people may dominate while others lurk. Dominant group members can initiate peer pressure where other group members feel intimidated and their responses will be incomplete or biased (Kaplowitz & Hoehn, 2001). Another disadvantage, exists when people who speak the same language get together, they often use short hand descriptors that the researcher does

not understand (Barbour, 2008). However, in the end, focus groups offer the researcher an opportunity to analyze a collective management of data that is not attributed to any individual, as well as offering the participants the opportunity to share their own point of view on the subject matter (Murdoch, Poland, & Salter, 2010).

Qualitative Interviewing

The interviewing process will include the use of unstructured and semi-structured questions. Klenke (2008) refers to this as in-depth qualitative interviewing. Modeled closely after unstructured interviewing, which will be discussed later, semi-structured interviewing includes both open-ended and close-ended questions. Moderators, though neutral, are encouraged not to show too much approval (Kreuger, 1988), so as to avoid favoring particular participants. Therefore, I developed a series of questions (see Appendix D) that promote flexibility while concentrating on issues surrounding the research questions.

Likewise, studying the survivors of Jonestown presented an opportunity to capture their viewpoints as they relate to followership. They became a source of empowerment that could be seen as reflecting alternative scientific paradigms by acknowledging reality as being filtered through local, historical, contextual, and multiple lenses instead of emphasizing the importance of scientific objectivity and interpersonal detachment (Klenke, 2008). Czarniawska (1998) has argued that storytelling is an important facet of pulling the research puzzle together. Her philosophy is that there are metaphors in each story. Participants hold an abridged account of what happened which allows the researcher to understand and interpret

underlying meanings that can be hidden in the data used to tell the larger story Czarniawska (1998) states, that it is the interviewee who reveals the plot (structure) and main concepts (metaphors) of the story during narrative interviews. This serves as confirmation that the interview must be constructed in a way that provides a rich understanding of their sense of reality during the experience.

With that in mind the technique of face-to-face unstructured or open-ended interviewing will be used. Unstructured interviewing is designed to elicit an authentic account of the interviewee's subjective experience (Klenke, 2008). In doing so, having a rapport with the participant is critical in order to establish a sense of mutual trust. This can be facilitated by empathetic listening and egalitarian relationships between interviewer and interviewee (Klenke, 2008). The interviewing process for studying the Jonestown survivors as it relates to sacrificial leadership and followership involves digging deep below the surface to gain true understanding of the lived experiences of the research participants. As a result, each interview was recorded to ensure that all data was acquired in its entirety.

In an effort to present an oral history, I spent a considerable amount of time capturing the participants' personal reflections of the event, its causes and effects. Each survivor had the opportunity to provide: diaries of their recorded experience; any letters sent by loved ones or friends; photos; and memory boxes containing mementos. I also kept a record of field notes. Through this process, the emerging narrative was guided through the lens of a follower who survived a religious cult massacre.

Ethical Consideration

My research involved interviewing human participants. Therefore, obtaining permission to allow them to participate in the study was required. I completed the required Institutional Review Board (IRB) forms and forwarded the document to be reviewed by the University of Maryland Eastern Shore (UMES) IRB board to ensure adherence to APA ethical principles. Included in my forms was specific documentation that detailed: a) participant consent; b) confidentiality; c) participants anonymity; and d) participant privacy and right to withdraw from the study at anytime (Creswell 2007). After receiving my certification indicating successful completion of the online course, an email was sent to each participant detailing the process.

Throughout all phases of my research process sensitivity, compassion, and ethical considerations were my priorities (Creswell, 2007) understanding that the subject matter in this study was one that had the potential to ignite a substantial amount of emotion. Therefore, I was always mindful during each stage which included securing a location (field site), gathering personal and emotional data that reveal life details, and requesting participants to give considerable time to the project.

To protect the anonymity of the participants, all recorded interviews and corresponding transcriptions were stored on a password-protected computer and backed up on thumb-drives which were locked in a file cabinet in my home. Upon completion of the data analysis, all data containing information related to my research was removed from the computer. All information containing participant

identification will be kept strictly confidential.

Summary

In the past, followers were dismissed as being passive and insignificant. However, through the years, theorists have come to understand that the leader-follower relationships produce cross directional behavior that impact the success or failure of any organization. CHAPTER 2 provides a literature review for this study. The literature review represents research conducted using religious institutions and cults as context. Religious institutions, as in the case of the Christian Church, consider the edifice a place of praise and worship to the Lord. However, disagreements in doctrine lead to the creation of sects and when an authoritarian leader requires total commitment from its members; that is the determining factor of a sect turning into a cult.

While leaderless prospects are often sought by cult leaders, followers become submissive victims as a result of their charismatic wooing. Also covered are the theoretical frameworks: followership characteristics which are discussed as well as the elements, including the various types of power, that produce behavior that dilutes followers' critical thinking skills. The various characteristics are key components that influence outcome; sacrificial leadership is discussed in terms other than religious such as businesses and military where it is unveiled as a humbling technique used by leaders to show commitment to a cause with hopes that followers will do likewise; and the charismatic leadership literature is divided between those characteristics that leaders possess and are skillful in promoting a vision, creating a purpose and causing followers to feel ingrained as part of the

cause or the dark side of charisma where those same characteristics are converted to the extreme types of unscrupulous leadership causing followers to surrender to authority.

Finally, qualitative research was discussed as the most beneficial means of gathering rich textual data. Although group dynamics advantages and disadvantages are weighed, discussions of this nature generate valuable information which captures the diverse opinions and memories of the events. In all, the theories were considered as a basis for this qualitative study and even though majority of the literature referenced business industry, each framework discussion is a journey from the norm to the dark side.

CHAPTER 3 – METHOD

Introduction

In this chapter, using focus group and individual interviewing as a method for this study is discussed. Additionally, participant selection and interview protocol development provide a detailed description of the data collection process. While qualitative research provided an opportunity to get a better understanding of reality, the objective was to explore leader-follower interdependencies as they relate to followership, self-sacrificial leadership, and charismatic leadership.

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem (Klenke, 2008). This qualitative study used interviewing methods of the Jonestown survivors in a focus group setting. This research is limited to the expressions and responses of the survivors of the Jonestown massacre. Focus group and interviewing activities included both male and female survivors. In cases of limited amount of time to research participants, conducting focus groups unveiled a tremendous amount of unique data in a short period of time. The interviewing process included the use of unstructured and semi-structured questions.

Furthermore, the focus group interviews were augmented by oral histories offered by survivors and collected by the researcher. In an effort to gather an oral history, I spent a considerable amount of time capturing the participants' personal reflections of the event, and its causes and effects. Each survivor had the opportunity to provide: diaries of their recorded experience; any letters sent by loved ones or friends; photos; and memory boxes containing mementos. I also kept

a record of field notes. Through this process, the narrative was guided through the lens of a follower who survived a religious cult massacre.

Limitations and delimitations

- a. Limitations – refer to restriction in a study over which the researcher has no control. For example, you may be limited to only a narrow segment of the population you wish to study, or you may be limited by the method you elect to use.

The main limitation to the study was the sample that evolved from the selection method. As mentioned previously, there are two types of survivors but this study focused on former Peoples Temple members who left prior to the move to Jonestown and the actual Jonestown survivors who escaped the massacre. To date there are approximately 80 survivors who escaped from Jonestown. Due to the nature of the closed society which encompasses the survivor community, initial access to communicating with them directly was restricted, which was beyond my control.

- b. Delimitations – imply limitations on the research design that the researcher has deliberately imposed. These delimitations usually restrict the populations to which the results of the study can be generalized (Ruderstam & Newton, 2001, p. 90).

There were three delimitations on the design of this research: a) Sampling - although the focus groups are not representative of a much larger inferential population because of the sampling method, the participants in this study were restricted to former members of Peoples Temple only. No members of other

cults participated; b) Theories - using followership, sacrificial leadership and charismatic leadership as a theoretical framework established the realm by which this study was conducted; c) Method – as the qualitative researcher, I was part of the investigation participating as an in-depth interviewer and facilitator of the focus groups. However, my level of involvement was balanced by having the ability to remove myself from the situation to focus on the ‘multiple perspective stories and the participants’ (Creswell, 2007) to analyze the meanings of the experiences.

Research Participants

This study employed purposeful sampling where all participants were intentionally selected (Creswell, 2007) based on the fact that they are Jonestown survivors and can potentially make a contribution to emergent theory. Purposeful sampling is used in qualitative studies for researchers to look for participants who would be rich sources of information (Patten, 2007). In choosing the participants, a purposeful sampling strategy known as maximal variation sampling was used. According to Creswell and Clark (2007), the central idea of this type of sampling is that the diversity in backgrounds of those who are chosen will provide a good qualitative study due to the different views on the key concept being explored.

During a conversation with Fielding M. McGehee III (2009), author and primary researcher for the Jonestown Institute in San Diego, California, he stated that there is a distinction between the survivors. One group consisted of those who were members of Peoples Temple but had not followed Jim Jones to Guyana, South America. The other group was comprised of those members who were in

Jonestown and escaped the mass murder-suicide in 1978. In this research, the sample included eight interviewees that were Jonestown survivors who escaped the massacre. Finally, access to the participants in the study required me to travel to California to conduct the focus groups and interviews.

Interview Protocol

In a qualitative study, “research design should be a reflexive process operating through every stage of a project” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 24). For this study, I used the (Central Research Question, Theory Question, Interview Question) CRQ, TQ, IQ/II: Pyramid Model (Wengraf, 2001, p. 63) as my interview protocol to develop the questions that was used in the focus groups sessions held in November 2009 and January 2010.

The pyramid model requires the Research Purpose to be defined using objective(s) and the Central Research Question suggests three or more theory questions that I wanted the focus group and individual interviews to answer. The model also bears a clear distinction to convey that theory-questions are not interview questions (Wengraf, 2001). As a general rule the interviewer, in most circumstances, does not ask theory questions. It is the theory-questions that drive the interview questions. Another distinction is that theory-questions are crafted in a theory language that best conveys the framework, while the interview questions are constructed in a language suitable for the participants to understand (Wengraf, 2001).

Answering the questions above allowed me to formulate the questions and prepare for the final development of the interview protocol using the Pyramid

Model. As a realist, I formulated a series of questions based on information gathered during my pilot study, and my research from the Alternative Considerations Jonestown and Peoples Temple website; keeping in mind that Hollander (2004) contends that research fails to consider how the composition and setting of a focus group affect the manner in which participants present themselves and what they are willing to share. Other sources of the interview questions included reading articles, reading transcripts from tapes recovered from the Jonestown compound, and viewing documentaries.

I developed the interview questions based on the idea that the questions should non-suggestively activate research participants' personal ideas and experiences (Schilling, 2009) of Peoples Temple and Jonestown. In using the Pyramid Model, I prepared a protocol that was three-fold; to address the overall central question and, to address specific topics that were related to the three frameworks of my research. The central question (CRQ) sets the tone for the model and the theory questions (TQs) are designed with the intent that the interview questions (IQs) will help answer. The interview protocol concentrated on areas that I was interested in regarding the participants' experiences as former Peoples Temple members. I wanted to be sure that the participants' experiences were relating to the foundational theories, yet flexible enough to engage the group in free flow conversation, so the protocol was divided by framework: a) followership; b) sacrificial leadership; and c) charismatic leadership. I was aware of the need for following up the interview question with probing questions to make sure that a common understanding between me and former Temple members was achieved

(Wengraf, 2001). I was, however, quite flexible because the protocols were altered during the individual interviews due to other significant information provided by the participant.

Data Collection Procedure

Procedures for data collection primarily consisted of collecting responses to the interview questions in the interview protocol. In line with organizing the focus groups, McGehee (2009) recommended that the sessions be held with no more than 3-4 people.

I originally contacted a Jonestown survivor directly, and was later recommended to proceed by employing the support from the Alternative Considerations of Jonestown and Peoples Temple. That exchange led to the development of a list of potential participants. After providing details of the study in an email, I then created an invitation that was sent to one participant who acted in the capacity of a conduit to forward all information to prospects. In the email, I first invited the participant to take part in my study conducted by the university I attend. From there, I introduced myself, informed them that I would be facilitating focus group sessions, and detailed the purpose of my study. The letter also invited each participant to read my article that was published in the 2009 Jonestown Report for more details. Included in the email were the specific dates, times, and location of the focus groups. The most critical aspect of the email was the part that notified them of the fact that their participation was confidential and voluntary, and that they had a right to withdraw from the study at any point. Finally, contact information for me and the participant who acted in the capacity of the “participant group lead”

was provided. A copy of the email can be seen in Appendix C.

From that list, a total of eight former Peoples Temple members volunteered to participate in the study. I traveled to San Francisco, California in November 2009 for one week which was during the week of the Jonestown annual memorial. This specific time was recommended because that was a time when the former Temple members would be in town for the event. During that week I spent time at the San Francisco Historical Society doing research on Peoples Temple and Jonestown. One week seemed to be a short time, so I pre-arranged my visit to the Historical Society by connecting with a representative that was dedicated to the Jonestown material. Being very specific about my research, the representative had an enormous amount of materials available and ready. Time was of the essence and what I was not able to capture in my journal notes, I made notation on forms to have the information sent to me. While in California, I was also given a poem and a short story written by a survivor, the 2009 edition of The Jonestown Report, and a book.

Additionally, I attended the Jonestown Memorial Service the morning after the first focus group. At the service, there was a tree draped with a very long black ribbon that had the name of every man, woman and child who lost their life on November 18, 1978. It also included the name of Jim Jones. I kept the memorial service literature and captured photos of the ribbon draped tree and the Jonestown memorial headstone. I also made a second visit in January 2010, to San Francisco, California for three days to facilitate the second focus group and interview.

Participants in this study were asked a series of questions (see Appendix E) that allowed them to describe their experiences while they were members of Peoples Temple. Each sample was allowed to discuss life before and during the church's membership, during their membership, and characteristics of Jim Jones' leadership.

Focus Group Data Collection Procedures

Two focus groups were held at the home of one of the survivors in California. The location was offered to host the event because it is regarded, among the survivors, as a place of familiarity, warmth, and convenience. I conducted the two sessions by first restating the consent form particulars that disclosed to participants' that the sessions were voluntary which gave them the liberty to opt out of the focus group at anytime for any reason, especially if they felt uncomfortable.

Additionally, before allowing every member an equal chance to respond to each question, confidentiality was emphasized. Further explanation of the process concerning concealing names, and securing all documents and electronic recordings was discussed in the session. Field notes were taken during the focus groups and individual interviews for the purpose of asking follow-up questions, probing questions, and to use in the event that the digital recording was not successful or complete (Creswell , 2007). However, the probing questions were only used when appropriate. The objective for me as the facilitator was to put the participants at ease by creating a safe haven for all members to speak freely without apprehension. For the list of the research questions in the interview protocol that I developed for participants to respond to, see Appendix E.

One focus group took place the evening before the anniversary of the Jonestown disaster and the second one was held two months later. Although each session had different participants and time periods, what was parallel was the interaction among the survivors which is the major strength of the focus group method. When the members entered into the house, they recognized each other-- some only from childhood memories. There were sounds of laughter while hugs and kisses were exchanged. Yet, in the span of only a few minutes the mood changed-- and continued to do so in an unpredictable, exhilarating roller coaster ride style – while memories of people and events careened around the room.

Originally planned to meet for 60 minutes, both groups were extended beyond the allotted time. This was the result of what transpired during the exploration of a sensitive subject matter. As the facilitator, I followed the interview protocol and guided the discussion using reflection and probing techniques to ensure that all of the fundamental issues were addressed. There was considerable variation between the groups with regard to how the questions were introduced. In view of the fact that both groups consisted of members who had not shared their Peoples Temple experience previously in a forum such as a focus group, the facilitation process provided a platform whereby group members were learning information for the first time. It was this new knowledge that allowed them to finally connect some of the dots in their life after 30 years. Therefore, each group's sentiment demanded that they have a: time to cry, time to laugh, and time to refrain.

Individual Interview Data Collection Procedures

Two individual interviews were held; one face-to-face interview in a local hotel and one over the phone. The first individual interview was with a survivor who escaped just hours before the fateful moment and lost nine family members in Jonestown. This interviewee was also eager to participate in the focus group, because like the others, this was an opportunity to share the experience in a venue where they could be honest without the threat of being exploited. The focus groups also provided a chance to hear about other former members experiences. The second individual interview was taken over the phone. This participant is a close family member of Jim Jones who was in Guyana at the time, but not at the Jonestown compound when the deaths occurred. Each discussion followed the same interview protocol as used in the focus groups.

Transcription of Individual Interviews and Focus Group Sessions

I captured the data from each session using a digital voice recorder. A total of eight completed interview protocols were collected and transcribed verbatim in two formats: (1) Microsoft Word documents for hand coding and (2) Microsoft Rich Text Format for use with *Atlas.ti* (Archive for Technology, the Lifeworld, and Everyday Language), which is qualitative analysis software developed at the Technical University of Berlin, Germany (Muhr, 1991). On average, the individual interview textual transcripts were approximately 30 pages type-written double-spaced, while the focus groups averaged 72 pages type-written double-spaced for a total of 205 pages. I used member-checking for both the focus groups and the individual interviews and sent each participant the transcript that included the

questions and their responses to ensure their accuracy. A copy of the focus group letter emailed to the participants can be seen in Appendix G.

One participant offered a correction to the transcribed response, not because of an incorrect transcription, but based on the recollection of an event that was shared during the focus group. After thinking about an incident spoken about during the focus group session, the participant remembered that one individual previously mentioned was not there and should not be included. Likewise, although all of the participants verified their transcripts, several focus group members expressed disappointment about not having the privilege to read the document that contained all of the responses.

A total of four separate documents per format were labeled as follows: Focus Group 1, Focus Group 2, Individual Interview 1, and Individual Interview 2. All of the data were stored on password protected hard drives and three password protected jump drives that were stored in a locked file cabinet. Separate, transcribed documents were needed to effectively and efficiently enter and load responses into the *Atlas.ti*, as this method assisted in code, theme, data clustering development and organization (Flowers-Ashton, 2008).

Pilot Study

My pilot study was completed in March of 2009 through the internship portion of the Organizational Leadership PhD program. After getting approval from the participant, a series of open ended questions were crafted to use in the interviews. This process served as a fact finding mission for the purpose of investigating: 1) the history of the Peoples Temple, 2) a description of the time and

era when Peoples Temple moved to San Francisco, California, and 3) recommendation on how best to reach out to the survivors as potential participants for this study.

Validation of Themes with Transcripts

Although the original transcripts were returned to each participant for review of the content to ensure that all of the information was correct, an additional validity check was necessary. Therefore, after the voices from the focus group participants were categorized to support the emerging themes, the document was again returned to each survivor to be certain that their experience was communicated appropriately. Klenke (2008) confirms that validating the data in this manner supports the authenticity of the research by determining whether the essence of the experiences relating in the interview has been captured correctly. The researcher emailed a copy of the document that was thematically categorized containing the individual responses. Allowing time for review and reflect, the survivors were given a week to respond. (See Appendix G).

Data Analysis Process

Each focus group and individual interview for this study produced data that were developed into a series of themes. Rich data also help me gain deeper understandings of the interrelationships and connections among core elements of an experience through the use of detail, context, and interpretive description (Merriam, 2002). A concentration on the participants lived experiences as members of Peoples Temple and Jonestown inhabitants was the blue print for exploring leader-follower relationships. More specifically, my objective was to examine the data to

unfold themes that may enlighten some of the reasons for unquestioning followership. I selected content analysis of the transcribed interview protocol to provide the opportunity to capture the thoughts, values, and credence of the participants.

Content analysis was born out of the need for the church to protect its authority against nonreligious material being printed in the late 1600s (Krippendorff, 2004). “It is a technique that involves data reduction methods, comparable to factor analysis in quantitative research, which seeks to make sense of an amount of qualitative material by finding core consistencies and meanings” (Patton, 2002, p. 1). Similarly, Neuendorf (2002) defines content analysis as “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics.” Though this method is often used for quantitative purposes, it can also be principally qualitative. Wallace (2007) states that the use of content analysis as a qualitative method opens the research up to much more robust findings and interpretation. Unlike traditional quantitative content analysis, using a qualitative content analysis, also referred to as QCA (Allen, Kennedy, Wilson-Glover, & Gilligane, 2007) was substantiated by the need to have each unit of analysis at the level of the whole message, which resulted in a macro-analysis of whole messages and episodes of interaction, as opposed to a micro-analysis of single words and phrases.

While examining the data, the central approach employed was a constant comparative method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 73) where I reviewed transcripts, and field notes, identified major themes, based on frequency of mention, and developed an initial coding scheme. Each incident in the data was compared with

other incidents for commonalities or dissimilarities and grouped accordingly. The researcher functioned as the primary tool for extracting and interpreting the data in an iterative process; collection and analysis are performed simultaneously (Merriam, 2002).

Data analysis integrated continuous reshaping and refining of the data as newly identified themes emerged. Therefore, the major findings of this study were organized into major themes and sub-themes.

Summary

Focus group and individual interviewing are designed for the purpose of developing and improving knowledge about a phenomenon. This chapter consisted of a discussion on how the participants were deliberately chosen based on their previous membership in Peoples Temple, which brought diversity into the discussions. I used information from my pilot study which provided insight into how I should approach the participants as well as determining what areas should be explored as it relates to the theoretical frameworks. In line with the Pyramid Model utilized in the design of the interview protocol, a series of interview questions directly related to each theory was represented.

Upon completion, all of the formalities for contacting participants were made and I then travelled to San Francisco with a full itinerary from a visit to the Historical Society, to the Jonestown Memorial Services, to the host site for the interviews—one focus group, and two individual interviews. Minor challenges I encountered in facilitating more than one interview, caused me to hold a second focus group on a return trip to California.

Data from two individual interviews and two focus groups were compiled and prepared for analysis using Atlas.ti, a qualitative software, and Boyatzis' method of hand coding. Going through the process from a) collecting data, to b) compiling data, to c) analyzing data was a constant reminder that qualitative research requires ethical practices to also be implemented when transcribing, validating, and storing the data which includes maintaining confidentiality and data security. All of these measures were taken to ensure privacy.

CHAPTER 4 –DATA ANALYSES AND RESULTS

Introduction

The data were analyzed using (a) Atlas.ti and (b) a thematic hand coding analysis which according to Boyatzis (1998), is a way of seeing. Insight into the focus groups and individual interviews began to unfold as the technique of taking transcripts of raw data through the coding process. The culminating activity of interpreting pages and pages of data began with detailing participant demographics and ends with emergent themes.

Demographic Data of Participant

The participants represented a diverse group with respect to race, gender and age. A total of eight (8) survivors participated in the study. In all, 62% were females and 38% were males. The average age of the group was 57. Of the five (5) females, two (2) were 60 or over and three (3) were between the ages of 50 and 59. As for race, two (2) were bi-racial, one (1) was African American, and two (2) were white. For the three (3) males: one (1) was 60 or over, two (2) were between 50 and 59. Additionally one (1) was African American and two (2) were white. Below are Tables 4.1- 4.1.4, which provide the demographic data of the survivors of the Jonestown massacre who volunteered to participate in the study.

Table 4.1 provides the demographic breakdown of the participants from Focus Group 1. There were four participants. Three (3) were female and one (1) was male. Two of the participants were white and two were bi-racial. Additionally, two (2) were between the ages 50-59 and two were 60 or over.

Focus Group 2 was unique in its make-up because one of the participants from Focus Group 1 also contributed to the discussion. Although dual focus group participation was not expected, I agreed to have the survivor take part for two reasons; a) the attendees were different from those in the first group, and b) like Focus Group 1, none of the members in Focus Group 2 had ever participated in a focus group before nor had they discussed life in Peoples Temple in such a setting. As seen in Table 4.1.2, there were a total of four participants: Three (3) of whom were females and one (1) male. Three (3) of them were between the ages 50-59, while one was 60 years of age or older. Two (2) participants were African American, one (1) was white and one (1) was bi-racial.

The remaining tables depict the demographic data for the two individual interviews. The interviewee in Table 4.1.3 was a bi-racial female between the ages 50-59. This survivor also participated in Focus Group 1. Table 4.1.4 participant was a white male between the ages of 50-59. The same interview protocol was used during the individual interviews. However, some questions that did not apply were not used at the discretion of the researcher.

Table 4.1 <i>Participant demographic data</i>			
Focus Group 1			
Participants	Gender	Age Range	Ethnicity
Participant #2	F	60+	White
Participant # 5	F	50-59	Bi-Racial
Participant #8	M	60+	White
Participant #6	F	50-59	Bi-Racial

Table 4.1.2			
<i>Participant demographic data</i>			
Focus Group 2			
Participants	Gender	Age Range	Ethnicity
Participant #3	F	50-59	White
Participant #4	M	50-59	African American
Participant #5	F	50-59	Bi-Racial
Participant #7	F	60+	African American

Table 4.1.3			
<i>Participant demographic data</i>			
Individual Interview 1			
Participants	Gender	Age Range	Ethnicity
Participant #6	F	50-59	Bi-Racial

Table 4.1.4			
<i>Participant demographic data</i>			
Individual Interview 2			
Participants	Gender	Age Range	Ethnicity
Participant #1	M	50-59	White

Transcription of Individual Interviews and Focus Group Sessions

In qualitative studies, the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2007). Therefore, I captured the data from each session using two Olympus WS-500M digital voice recorders (one for backup). A test run using the recorders was done to ensure that the equipment was working properly. After ensuring that all equipment was ready, the recorders were placed on the table in the center of the group and the sessions began.

Coding Process

Computer Assisted Coding Using Atlas.ti

Approaching this sort of study dictated the use of what Muhr (1991) describes as computer aided software that provided the capacity to deal with large amounts of

text. Functionality must also consist of the management of annotations, concepts, and complex structures including conceptual relationships that emerge in the process of interpretation. It was my responsibility as the researcher to be comfortable enough with the data to develop categories and make comparisons and contrasts.

Therefore, the process began with preparing the raw data. A total of four separate documents per format were labeled as follows: Focus Group 1, Focus Group 2, Individual Interview 1, and Individual Interview 2. All of the data were stored on password protected hard drives and three password protected jump drives that were stored in a locked file cabinet. In order to effectively and efficiently enter and load responses into the electronic software package, separate transcribed documents were needed which were used as a method that assisted in code, theme, and data clustering development and organization (Flowers-Ashton, 2008).

a) Phase One - In using *Atlas.ti*, I first created a hermeneutic unit (HU). “The HU is an integrated system or context within which all the analysis activities occur, articulating harmoniously data description, establishment of relationship structures, interpretation, and exploration of the data” (Contreras, 2010). Each transcript was uploaded and labeled as a separate primary document (PD) (i.e., the two focus groups and the two individual interviews). Next, I used “Word crunching” which is the quantitative function of the software that determines word frequency in each document and is exported into a file report. The first report contained over 6200 cells including all four PDs. In reviewing the report, I noticed that because the focus groups and individual interviews were transcribed verbatim, I needed to

exclude words that I would call “miscellaneous,” (i.e., oh, nah, hmm). In order to eliminate these words, I used *Atlas.ti*’s “stop list” setting so these words would not be included in the following count. I had to re-run Word Cruncher several times creating new “stop lists” and was eventually left with 1,098 words. I exported the files into a Microsoft EXCEL spreadsheet which provided a complete illustration of the most common words in the HU segmented by PDs.

I then printed a second report that displayed the words in descending order from the highest to lowest frequency for the entire HU and for each PD. The analysis process began with identifying root words and any variation of those words. The overall process was tedious and I was left with 606 words. Next, I worked through the data from descending to ascending order to identify words that were related to the three frameworks: followership, self-sacrificial leadership, and charismatic leadership. There were 88 words that were directly associated.

Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 are samples from the *Word Families and Concepts* and *Significant and Unique Terms* lists. The *Word Families and Concepts* illustrates a list of 1,098 words that were used most frequently and include the different forms of the root word i.e., work, worked, working, and The *Significant and Unique Terms* shows 606 words or a group of words that are representative of an idea in the HU and are unique to one or more PDs. While these words are also high frequency, they include words that were combined if they had the same meaning, such as: punch, beat, and whuppin’.

Table 4.2 – Word Crunching: Excerpt from word families and concepts table

Ranking	Word	Occurrences
1	Mean	211
2	Good	101
3	Never	95
4	Life	86
5	Knew	83
6	Church	83
7	God	81
8	Family	75
9	Worked	67
10	Leave	62
11	Years	61
12	Told	57
13	Night	56
14	Betrayed	56
15	Will	55
16	Member	52
17	Left	52
18	Myself	52
19	Believe	50
20	Father	47
21	Slaves	46
22	Mother	45
23	Love	44
24	Paranoia	43
25	Suffer	43
26	Need	43
27	Lived	41
28	Took	39
29	Money	39
30	Leaders	36

Table 4.3 – Word Crunching: Excerpt from significant and unique terms table

Word	PD1	PD2	PD3	PD4
Mean	93	53	39	26
Worked	60	40	14	15
Good	39	20	17	25
Wanted	35	22	14	3
Control	7	26	0	8
Leadership	11	11	1	13
Laughter	28	6	0	0
Trust	7	6	11	2
Afraid	11	4	12	2
Without	14	6	2	3
Conflict	6	10	2	2
Sorry	7	7	0	5
Drugs	10	4	1	3
Wonderful	8	2	2	1
Abuse	4	17	7	0
Hell	4	8	0	0
Gangster	0	9	0	0
Prepared	0	3	5	0
Indoctrinated	3	0	1	0

b) Phase Two: Auto Coding – *Atlas.ti* has a tool that electronically marks the occurrences of a particular word or phrase in the text (Klenke, 2008). I used this tool to auto code 88 words from the list of 606 of the final words from the highest frequencies in all of the PDs in the HU. The words that were chosen were those that were associated with this study's frameworks from either the leader or follower perspective. Familiarity with the transcripts and the theories was critical in making an effort to choose the appropriate words. This process allowed associate words with lines of text within the transcripts which prepared me for the next phase of electronic coding.

c) Phase Three: Coding Line-by-Line – Line by line coding is the electronic process of marking and assigning codes to sections of text in the document (Klenke, 2008). This was another time intensive process, as I coded line-by-line for 175 pages of text. I used open coding which is a process of reading through the text and looking for segments to be coded with codes that are already present in the list and highlight them. Some of the code families were based on the research questions also referred to as theory questions (TQ's) for this section which coincides with the Wengraf (2001) model (see Table 4.4 below). This helped me to focus on data exploration within the frameworks that guided my study.

	Table – 4.4 Examples of TQs and Code Families	
TQ1	Describe a personal characteristic that was a determining factor for making a decision to join Peoples Temple. Theory: Followership-Follower characteristics based on Robert Kelley's Five Categories of Followership.	Not blind followership
TQ2	What indicators of the event were turning points (emerging leader) for you in making a decision to leave? Theory: Sacrificial leadership and followership - the process of personal transformation according to Ira Chaleff.	Exercising power
TQ3	What type of collaborative process occurred where leadership (among the survivors) began to take shape? Theory: Followership - Leader-follower interdependency.	Members inspired by specific individuals

Using this method required me to be vigilant when examining the document; taking care to code with accuracy for each page. I explored the text directly to create quotations (which are segments of text) that typically made sense. The segments consisted of words, sentences, and paragraphs that were linked to codes.

This process was completed over a period of time as it was necessary for me to resist anxiety that accompanies the undertaking of the most crucial aspect of qualitative research (Boyatzis, 1998). At this point in coding, I began to use the software tools to create codes, link codes and assign codes based on association.

Also available was the *Atlas.ti* memo tool. “Memos constitute spaces for constant reflection upon findings, methodology, the connection between theory and data, or anything else that is necessary to systematically integrate the analysis process” (Contreras, 2010, p. 3). Creating memos was especially important because I was able to capture important memorable moments, no matter how small, from notes that described certain expressions by the participants during the interviews.

Memoing is a process where the researcher writes theoretical memos to him/herself during the coding process. This plays an important role with the researcher writing memos about the emerging theory (Klenke, 2008). Writing memos gave me an opportunity to note specific information that I would need to consider throughout the coding process. During one of the individual interviews, I described the distinctiveness among the participants which was captured in the memos. Table 4.5 is an example from an individual interview showing linkage between text, memos, and codes.

Table 4.5 – Linkage between text, memos, and codes

Texts			Codes
I was a sensitive child. I remember being very sensitive. Affected by harm done and I remember...I look back on how I became more and more hardened. And my way of dealing with that sensitivity and all of the fear and gloom that was heaped on us, I became harder and more narcissistic myself. I remember being very angry from about age 10 until well after Jones died. I missed my mother.	EAC	DPTE	Diff't Peoples Temple Exper. (DPTE) - Entered as a child (EAC) Initial Family Structure (IFS) - Both parents(BP) [Memo #1] Jim Jones Leadership (JL) Controlling (C) [Memo #2] Life After Jonestown (LAJ) [Memo #3]
I missed my mother (who was active in the church w/father and not home very much). I missed some regularity. We had no semblance of structured home. Never knew what was comin next. [Memo #1]	BP	IFS	Memos
I was very athletic and I loved words and liked to write and all of those things were discouraged by Jones [Memo #2] and I'm not complaining about that, I've absolutely come to terms with that and I certainly forgive him and have sought and worked very hard to understand what was going on with him and I don't at all want to paint a picture of being a victim I don't feel that way at all. I wouldn't trade any part of my life mainly because I can't so I might as well accept it as the will of the God. [Memo #3]	C	JL LAJ	1. There was a sense that fear was instilled in him at an early stage and being fearful was a constant state of being. Lack of stability contributed to his character change. Unclear if instability created a premature dislike for church. 2. Was never able to pursue his gifts or the things that made him happy. 3. The healing process involved soul searching and understanding that some questions may not be answered.

Further synthesizing the existing codes developed into a smaller more select list of themes (Saldana, 2009) of 126 Level 1 codes, which are illustrated in Table 8.

Hand Coding

In addition to using *Atlas.ti*, the electronic software package, I also used Boyatzis (1998) hand coding process for my study. The suggested steps are particularly efficient since the data generated from the two focus groups and individual interviews were voluminous. Therefore, as Klenke (2008) suggested, I

segmented the process of how I reduced the data and proceeded with inductive code development. After reading and re-reading the transcripts a total of six times, I began the coding process.

According to Boyatzis (1998), there are three different ways to develop a thematic code:

a) theory driven – this is where the researcher begins with his or her theory of what occurs and then formulates the signals or indicators, of evidence that would support this theory (p. 33);

b) prior data or prior research driven – This is when codes used by other researchers and their findings provide the most direct help in developing a code from prior data or prior research (p. 37); and

c) inductive (i.e., from the raw data) or data driven – This technique allows the researcher to look for words or syntax in the raw data and interpret the meaning after obtaining findings to construct a theory” (p. 30). I used inductive coding because I was able to search for frequent, dominant, and significant themes. While my primary goal was to condense 175 pages of data, inductive coding also allowed me to establish clear links between the research objectives and the summary findings derived from the raw data (Thomas, 2003). Working with a complete view of the information available, I was able to hone in on more intricate details that otherwise may have been difficult to discern (Boyatzis, 1998).

d) Phase Four – Reducing the Raw Information – The essence of hand coding is the same as computer-aided coding except that the coder marks text with a pen, writes notes, and compiles results manually (Klenke, 2008). In reducing the data I

spent many hours reading each transcript. There were times when I had to leave the information for hours and sometimes days so that familiarity would not overtake my obligation to be open to possibilities and recognize alternative findings (Boyatzis, 1998). While reading the focus group transcripts, I paraphrased each conversation that arose from the responses to the interview questions; carefully noting similarities or diversities in the experiences of the former Temple members. As for the individual interviews, I paraphrased each response. I noted: a) personality characteristic descriptive of followers, b) personality characteristic descriptive of Jim Jones, c) specific events discussed by group or individual, d) pre-Jonestown, in-Jonestown, and post-Jonestown events; and e) instances where former Temple members mentioned interaction with Jim Jones.

e) Phase Five – Identifying Themes Within Samples – I placed all of the papers on the floor separating the two focus groups at the top and the two individual interviews at the bottom. As I looked through each sub-sample, I began to see where similarities in characteristics and family backgrounds showed similarities in experiences. I also noticed that there were some questions that generated responses that were completely opposite of one another, so I made note of those differences as well.

f) Phase Six - Comparing Themes Across Subsamples – This is the phase that Boyatzis (1998) warns that “the researcher should only look for patterns, and although these patterns must be intellectually coherent, attempts to impose a theoretical framework will result in premature intellectualization” (p. 47). I used colored pencils to make note of the similarities and to record any personal notes

during my analysis. Each color represented a category or theme. It was during this phase that I made myself take breaks to step away from the data from time to time.

g) Phase Seven – Creating a Code – Creating the codes at this point involved me editing a few of the statements of the original themes if rules of exclusions were necessary, i.e., do not code this theme if the survivor was speaking about Peoples Temple at another time or location other than Jonestown. I was careful during this phase to stick with the language that the data used, keep the label simple, and not become anxious to make any interpretation at this time of the analysis no matter how many similarities became evident. Boyatzis (1998) states that, “a complex name or label provokes thoughts that creep into this stage” (p. 32). Therefore, I followed the example given by Boyatzis (1998) which laid the foundation for good thematic code:

- a) Label – name of code or theme,
- b) Description or definition - characteristic,
- c) Indicators, or flags – indicators that tell you how to flag the theme,
- d) Examples – positive and negative to eliminate possible confusion when looking for the theme, and
- e) Exclusions, or special conditions (p. 49).

Table 4.6 - Coding example illustrating Boyatzis elements of a good code
What am I going to call (label) it? <i>Good times</i>
How am I going to define it? <i>This describes the fun times experienced by the survivors during their membership with Peoples Temple.</i>
How am I going to recognize it in the data? <i>When participants respond directly to the interview question "Briefly describe a typical day for you in Jonestown?" This was followed up with a probing question asking if there was a memorable time that they could relate to enjoyment during membership.</i>
What do I want to exclude? <i>A "good time" would have to be a pleasant experience for all involved and not at the individual level. This purpose was to ensure not including any experience where the survivor experienced enjoyment but it jeopardized another members unhappiness did not qualify.</i>
What is an example? <i>The collective participation from Peoples Temple members to coordinate and implement talent shows involving all who were interested, not deliberately excluding people by choice.</i>

Source: Klenke, 2008 (p. 95)

Table 4.7 is sample of code themes from hand coding one of the individual interview transcripts.

Table 4.7			
Themes	Description	Participant	Categories
Predator	The manner in which Jim Jones possessed a skill of choosing the people he would eventually deceive and manipulate.	P1	Preyed on people who were idealistic, needy, lost, hopeful, energetic
			(Speaking of JJones preying on people) He was just a kid in a candy store.
			Preyed on people's attachment to whatever it was
Charismatic qualities	Characteristics about JJones that attracted people and same characteristics that followers realized were his deceptive practices.		Incredibly engaging
			Passionate at times
			Incredibly intelligent
JJones Bad Characteristics			Unhappy man
			Raging addict
			He could be violent
			Wholly unreliable
			Dishonest
			Hypocritical
Power			Envisioned himself as the people's champion
			He was about as oppressive as anyone could be
			Control...every move was watched
			Work was a means of control
			I felt completely controlled
			Church was a fascist state
			Squashed your dreams and personal aspirations
			People were ruled
Enablers			Church leadership

h) Phase Eight - After the *Atlas.ti* and hand coding processes were complete, I employed a constant comparison method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) as the similarities and dissimilarities became evident. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), constant comparison in theoretical coding is the process by which “data are broken down, conceptualized, and put back together in new ways--it is the central process by which theories are built from the data” (p. 57). Hand coding was functional during the creative experience in identifying latent (Boyatzis, 1998) codes that referenced the theoretical frameworks for my study. Imposing as little (recollection of previous coding) as possible (Klenke, 2008) in this part of the process, I found myself shifting papers around on the floor and using “Post It” notes as a means of connecting various concepts. As a result, Table 4.8 is an illustration of the progression of codes, Table 4.9 is a list of Level 1 Code families, and Table 4.10 is a total list of the 24 Level 2 codes themes resulting from the final stage of combining definitions and condensing codes.

Progression of Codes – Table 4.8
Level 1 Codes, Manifest codes identifying specific topics, words or phrases. 126 codes
↓
Level 2 code families Natural clustering of codes along topical lines. 24 codes
↓
Level 3 S-codes Super codes derived from Thematic Questions showing contextual, followership characteristics and leader-follower characteristics – 3 codes
↓
Level 4 P-codes Emerging Themes based on Thematic Questions. 6 Codes
↓
Level 5 Emerging Themes derived from transcript content independent of Thematic Questions. 9 codes.

*Level 1 Codes – Manifest codes identifying specific topics,
words or phrases (126 codes).*

Table 4.9 contains a sample of the Level 1 codes. The Level 1 code families were reduced drastically from the original number resulting from the word crunching process. However, that basic approach to code reduction was not specific enough, as only 85 percent of the codes were actually associated with *determining factors*. An excerpt of the code list can be seen in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 - Excerpt of Code List	Level 1 Codes	
Alienated-F	Fellowship	November memorials
Animals	Food deprivation	Other
Atheist	Forethought	Out of the jungle

Became workaholic	Found new family	Outrage
Table 4.9 - Excerpt of Code List (cont'd)	Level 1 Codes	
Belief in the movement	Free from PT	Passionate at times
Both Parents	Friends	Passive-F
Changing message	Fun	Personal experience
Charisma	Gangster	Physical beatings
Christian	Getting the happy's	Plays
Clever	Handsome	Political
Comical	Hard worker	Political validation
Communal 8yrs before Jonestown	Healing Powers	Positive outcome on members
Complicated	Healings	Pragmatist-F
Conformist-F	Homes	Protection of others
Controlling	Humiliation	Psychotic
Courage	Hypocritical	Put all my love into my child
Create confusion	Insightful	Raised by other than parents
Create distrust among members	Intelligent audience	Recruiting summed up
Creating paranoia	Intoxicating	Revolutionary
Cultist	JJones Negative aspect of leadership style	Sadistic
Dances	JJones Positive aspects of leadership style	Sexual assaults
Deception	██████ was his own man	Sick
Desire of belonging	Jonestown play	Single Parent
Dictatorship	Joyful	Sleep deprivation
Did not have the normal effect on people	Knew people in age group	Strangers
Disassociated myself	Participant sister's fight 'til death	Strength
Down to earth	Life saver	Sweet
Educated in socialism, Marxism, etc.	Like a family member	Targeting people w/money
Egomaniac	Like being drugged	Temperature
Egotistical	Loving	Tenacity
Eloquent	Loyalty	Tender

Table 4.9 - Excerpt of Code List (cont'd)	Level 1 Codes	
Engaged in self destructive behavior	Mad	Treats
Entered as child into communal life	Made us feel important	Twisted

Level 2 Codes – Natural clustering of codes along topical lines (24 codes).

Table 4.10 contains the Level 2 codes which resulted from the clustering process that required further narrowing the code families. As the researcher, I let the theoretical frameworks for this study guide the organization of the themes (Boyatzis, 1998). Using a data-driven process to search for themes, the coding process continued until I reached the point of saturation where I was finding no new information and no new codes that had not been used or linked. The clustering process created a total 24 codes. As mentioned previously, although this process was data-driven, I applied the TQ's to direct my search for themes.

Table 4.10	Level 2 Codes (Clustering Codes)
Code Families	
1	Age When Joined PT/Jonestown
2	Contributed to Bad Leadership
3	Different PT Experience
4	Events as Turning Points
5	Exercising Power
6	Followership Styles
7	Good times
8	Initial Family Structure
9	JJones Bad Characteristics
10	JJones Good Characteristics
11	JJones Leadership
12	JJones Recruiting Strategy
13	Life in the Tropics

Table 4.10	Level 2 Codes (Clustering Codes cont'd)
14	Meeting Description
15	Member Sacrifice for Joining
16	Members Inspired by Specific Individuals
17	Membership
18	Not Blind Followership
19	Preparing for the Escape
20	PT Considered Family
21	Life After Jonestown
22	Religious Foundation
23	Sacrificial Leadership
24	Survivors Turned Leaders

Events as Turning Points and Preparing for the Escape

Table 4.11 is an illustration of a cluster sample where the codes were derived from Theory Question #2 (TQ2) - What indicators of the event were turning points for making a decision to leave? This theory question guided the analyses relating to Chaleff's (1995) six types of followers' process of personal transformation. TQ2 was specific to the turning point in the survivors' lives where they decided, or at least recognized the need to leave the church, or made an attempt to escape from Jonestown. Continuous examinations of the transcripts were made to see what participant responses, if any, supported TQ2.

Table 4.11	Level 2 Codes – Cluster Samples
Events as Turning Point & Preparing for the Escape	
	Clever
	Courage
	Forethought
	Out of the jungle
	Strength
	Tenacity
	Wisdom

The findings were consistent with Chaleff's six stages of the personal transformation process: a) self organizing process; b) discomfort, threat, and crisis; c) resistant; d) developing understanding; e) willingness to experiment; and f) integration. However, three of the most prominent stages of the process were: b) discomfort, threat and crisis, c) resistance, and e) willingness to experiment. The transformation process varied among the participants as the need for change showed up in the form of specific episodes during their membership in Peoples Temple. There were two indicators in the lives of the former members of Peoples Temple that were turning points (events) in which they made a decision to leave. This is described as a peak in which the leadership had become unbearably toxic and it was no longer a desire to belong to Peoples Temple.

One turning point involved a build-up of negative personal experiences of the participants and the second was the fact that they witnessed an event that was totally contrary to what they knew to be true. It was then, when their decisions were made to do whatever was necessary to make a way for escaping. The participant's dialogue illustrated not only their personality traits but also their feelings about Jonestown which was three-fold. It depicted their emotions: 1) From the time they were notified of their departure to Guyana, 2) To the time they entered into Jonestown, and 3) then, when they were finally out of Jonestown. However, all agreed that for the most part, having a discussion about leaving was not really an option.

The survivors continued to describe whether or not it was a personal experience or something that they witnessed that solidified their desire to leave

Jonestown. Sacrifices encountered by the survivors for leaving Jonestown prior to the massacre or shortly thereafter were explicit. This portion of the interviews portrayed their strong internal desire to leave which was the catapult for planning an escape. Other personal characteristics identified included a) being clever; b) having courage; c) having forethought; d) having wisdom; e) having tenacity; and f) having strengths that were unknown until after the escape.

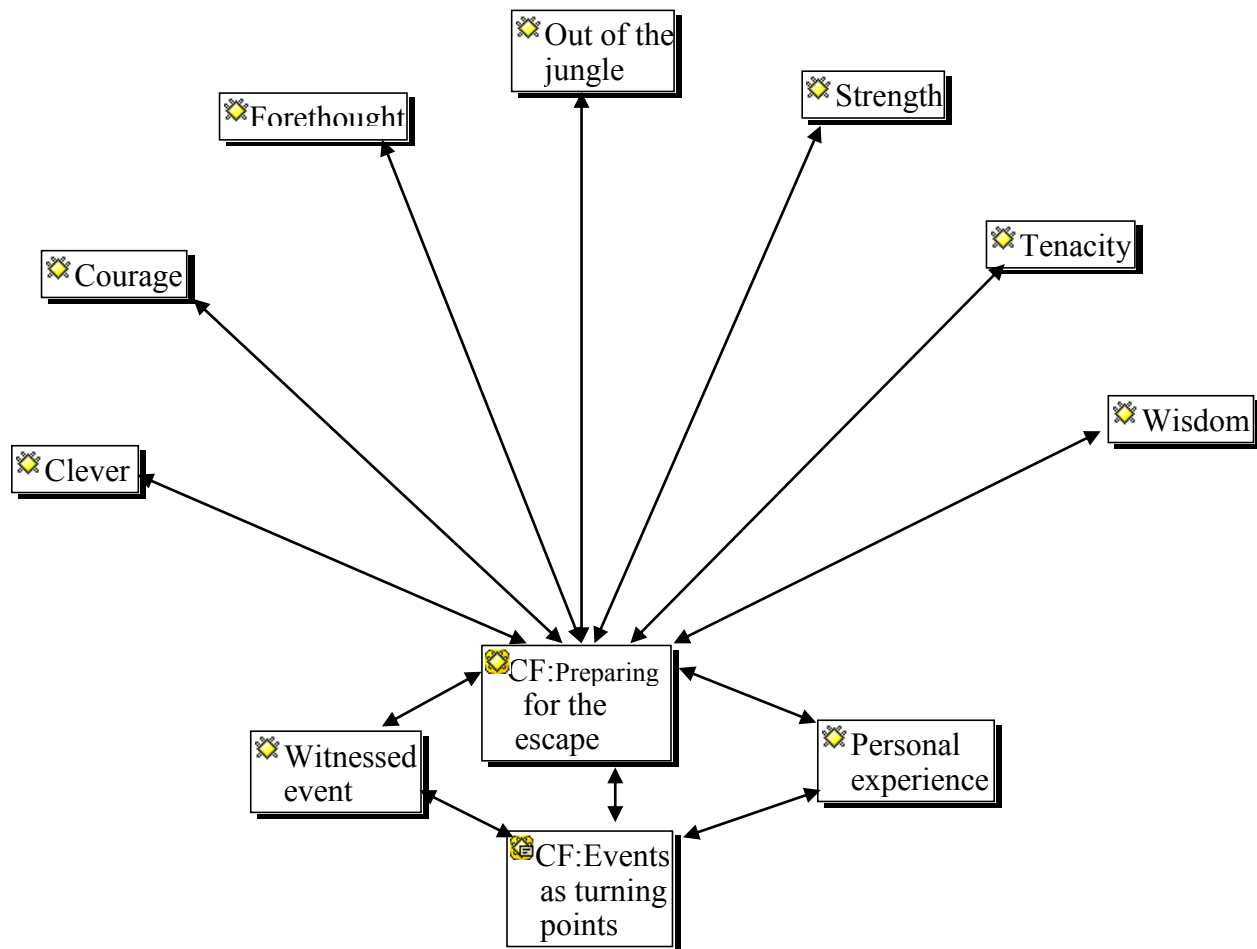


Figure 1 – Events as Turning Points and Preparing for the Escape: consistency in use of caps

Beginning from the bottom of the diagram, the events as turning points are linked to *witnessed event* and *personal experience*. Those two links illustrate the

various types of events that led to the *preparing for escape* (link). The remaining links: *clever, courage, forethought, out of the jungle, strength, tenacity, and wisdom* are links that describe the characteristics of the participants as they emerged as leaders. An explanation of the code structure and documentation that supports the “*Events as Turning Points* and *Preparing for the Escape*” themes through the voices of the participants are provided below.

Code Structure – Events as turning points

Events as turning points - This relates to any specific event that was the deciding factor that ultimately altered how they viewed Jim Jones as a leader from positive to negative or from bad to worse. Three of the participants had personal experiences that caused them to make a decision to leave; three wanted to leave after witnessing an event, but never saw leaving as an option, although that would later become a reality; one left Peoples Temple prior to the exodus to Jonestown; and one had not ever considered leaving Jonestown. All participants agreed that there was a series of events that each witnessed either collectively or individually which left negative impressions causing an upsurge of discontent, but then there was a major violent event (that varied among the participants) that became the tipping point for them to not want to continue Temple membership. However, some who had personal encounters with Jones knew right away that they were going to find a way to leave.

a) Witnessed event – An incident observed by a participant. The events in most cases were incidents of some sort of violent behavior from Jim Jones or his executive staff. It also included viewing the repercussions from other members

who had been victims of abuse.

b) Personal experience – Participants who had direct encounters with Jim Jones or his leadership that were unpleasant. These experiences were an indication of worse things to come.

Code Samples – Events as Turning Points

1. Events as Turning Points

Participant#6

(“You know, I said “mom, I’m sick of this” or something to that effect “I’m tired, there’s so many things goin’ on. “ And” I said, “there’s things in the medical field I’m seein’, people are gettin’, you know, getting services--others aren’t because of who they are or who they aren’t. ..” you know.”)

Participant#7

(“But anyway we were far from gangsters, we were very intelligent and we knew exactly what we were doing...was no fantasy there. We knew it wasn’t right anymore... To me that was like the ultimate betrayal of what he (Jim Jones) had taught us about love.”)

Code Structure – Preparing for the Escape

Preparing for the Escape - This describes follower characteristics that participants possessed that helped them to escape from the cult. The words used to describe these characteristics were not directly used by participants. However, during the focus group and individual interviews analyses, their stories provided strong evidence of distinctiveness.

a) Being clever - Having the ability to be skillful and crafty in navigating the plan of escape.

b) Having courage – Being daring enough to defy the odds. This refers to a personal characteristic of the participants that buoyed to the surface when they thought about how what they were doing would help the other Temple members.

c) Having forethought – Using discretion to during the planning stage to counter any possible obstructions.

d) Having wisdom – This refers to utilizing good judgment by communicating via methods that could not be detected and determining the time of escape.

e) Having tenacity – Having the determination to accomplish the mission.

f) Having strengths that were unknown until after the escape – The participants were unaware of some of their own personal characteristics that were needed to successfully escape. Although the participants agreed that looking back on their escape, they were able to see hidden personal traits that were also developed as a result of the Peoples Temple experience.

Code Samples – Preparing for the Escape

2. Preparing for the Escape

Participant#6

Forethought was taken in deciding what to say if anyone asked where they were going (“So it was like, okay...we gotta go. And so we got on the road and then we heard a tractor and we couldn’t run because he (another Peoples Temple member) had already seen us it was [REDACTED] who was about 19 probably... and he said, where you guys goin?” and I said, “We’re goin on a picnic!” He said, “Everybody? A picnic?”...They couldn’t even grasp...it (the idea), it was so stupid.”)

Survivors Turned Leaders

Survivors Turned Leaders is another example of a Level 2 Code using Theory Question #3 (TQ3) - What type of collaborative process occurred where leadership

(among the survivors) began to take shape? Followership as it relates to leader-follower interdependency was the focal point that guided this coding process.

In terms of progression, the events as turning points were significant experiences in the lives of the survivors that acted as a wake-up call for them to acknowledge a need for change, while Preparing for the Escape discussed the characteristics possessed by the survivors to make the change. Now, survivors turned leaders refers to the survivors acting on their desire to separate from Peoples Temple. Responses from the survivors again supported Chaleff's (1995) process of personal transformation as it relates to "resistance." Their resistance to Jim Jones' leadership grew strong and even though they recognized their position as a follower in the organization, their order of process was distorted by visions of abuse to those who thought of leaving. Therefore, situational factors sparked creativity in finding solutions challenges they faced. The top four reasons for becoming leaders in their own rights were: a) the idea of being free from Peoples Temple; b) the need to protect others; c) fear of being harmed; and d) being outraged about what was taking place in Jonestown (see Figure 3).

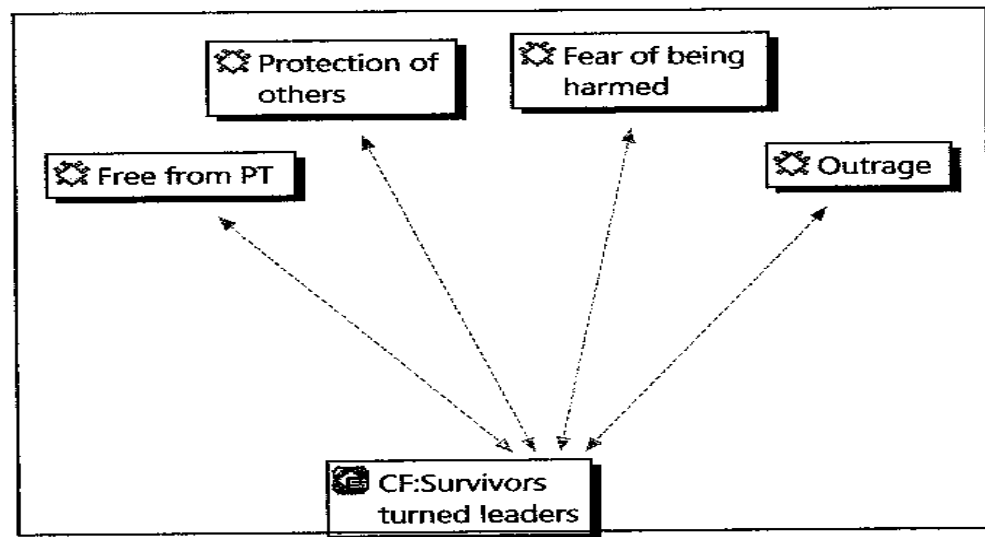


Figure 2 – Survivors Turned Leaders

An explanation of the code structure and documentation that supports the “*Survivors Turned Leaders*” themes through the voices of the participants are provided below.

Code Structure - Survivors Turned Leaders

Survivors Turned Leaders – This term refers to how the former members of Peoples Temple role changed from follower to leader in Life After Jonestown. The code samples provide brief descriptions of the transformation process and its causes.

The top four reasons for becoming leaders in their own rights are listed below:

a) The idea of being free from Peoples Temple – This refers to coming to grips with understanding the quality of life that awaited them outside of the Temple. Participants believed that it was important to take a leadership role in planning to break away, especially within their own group because once they were free, their belief was that others would follow.

b) The need to protect others – Some participants took on a role to protect their immediate family members from being manipulated or neglected. Therefore, they became the fearless voice for their family members.

c) Fear of being harmed – The participants spoke of converting from the follower role to leader role out of desperation to escape the real possibility of being the next victim of abuse or public humiliation.

d) Being outraged about what was taking place in Jonestown – Based on the negative experiences, participants viewed themselves as well as other Temple members as passive, but outrage fueled the change from follower to leader. One participant detailed his rebellious behavior increased during the transformation.

Code Samples – Survivors Turned Leaders

3. Survivors Turned Leaders

Participant #7 - Free from PT

(“But anyway...we were together some how or another, four of us were together and I remember [REDACTED] says I just don’t know if I can take it here anymore.” And I go, “I know I don’t like it here no more. And it just kinda grew from that and I thought everybody has to have a partner, because when you leave a group. We decided that we would pick a partner for each other because it helps you ...talk to somebody.”)

Participant #3 - Fear of being harmed

(“And she’s the one person that actually saved my life. She’s the one that told me that they were gonna drug me and ship me over as soon as I turned 18 and that I had a decision to make.”)

Level 3 Codes – Super codes derived from thematic questions showing contextual, followership characteristics and leader-follower characteristics (7 codes).

Life After Jonestown

Theory Question (TQ) #3f – In the years following the Jonestown massacre, how did you rebound after the incident? This question was concerned with leader-follower relationships and the lasting effects on followers who were under the influence of toxic leaders.

Coding for themes was understood to be an exhausting undertaking, but the real advantage was that it allowed the richness of the data to be a basis for exploring other commonalities (Boyatzis, 1998). This proved to be the value of using the constant comparison method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) as I spent a considerable amount of continuing to refine the codes, as an additional seven codes were discovered which is illustrated in Figure 3.

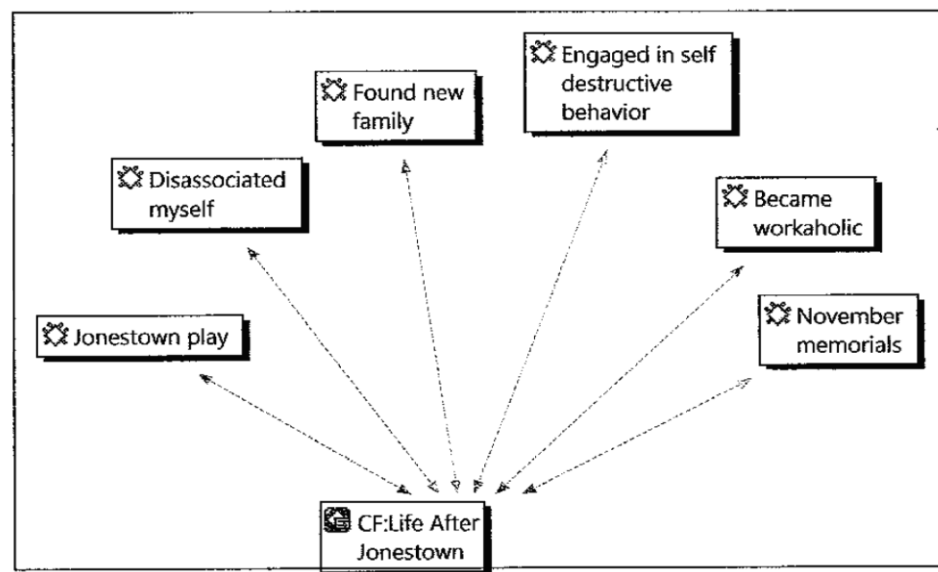


Figure 3 – Life After Jonestown

Code Structure – Life After Jonestown

Life After Jonestown - This gives the various descriptions of how the participants tried to carry on with their life after Peoples Temple or Jonestown.

These were examples of long-term effects that followers suffered from as a result of unscrupulous leadership.

a) Jonestown Play – In April 2005, the play called “The Peoples Temple” debuted at the Repertory Theater in Berkeley, California. While all of the participants knew about the play, some of the participants attended the live performance to help them cope with the remnants from being ruled.

b) Disassociated myself – All participants made an attempt to separate themselves from the memories of Jonestown and the stigma that was associated with being a former Peoples Temple member. One participant came out and began living communal with another organization; one did not have any contact with any former members after returning to the states; and six stayed in touch with a few of the members which brought comfort and familiarity.

c) Found new family – In an effort to reconnect and fill the void of what was lost in Jonestown, two of the participants were able to connect with extended family members.

d) Engaged in self destructive behavior – The participants agreed that they behaved in ways that were self destructive including substance abuse and thoughts of suicide.

e) Became workaholic – Two of the participants became absorbed in their jobs to erase away the pain and memories; working long hours or multiple jobs.

f) November memorials – Gradually, each participant encouraged each other to participate in the November memorial services as a means of healing and providing mutual support.

Code samples – Life After Jonestown

1. *Life After Jonestown*

Participant #7

(Well luckily for me I didn't sever all my ties. Like I had, I had, oh...yeah I had actually when I came back to California from Spokane I worked 16 hour days. So I basically was a workaholic, and I saved all my money and I got accepted at UCSF and I went to school. And I got a fairly decent career and I pretty much just took off from there. But I had a like totally cut myself a loose from it.)"

Participant #3

("I just immersed myself into this uh...self destructive behaviors I could. I didn't wanna go on anymore. I just had a real hard time with uh...you know they call it survivors guilt. And letting [REDACTED] down and not being able to...ta get there and get her out. You know I couldn't go to Jonestown with Ryan because I was no blood there was no blood relative there. So I ended up having to give my...the money I had saved cause I wanted to go...I thought I could at least convince her to leave you know.)"

Participant#2

("You know I came back ...but I was you know totally screwed up and not really I hadn't even committed to staying alive.")

Level 4 Codes – Emerging Themes based on thematic questions (6 codes).

Theory Question (TQ) #1 – Describe a personal characteristic that was a determining factor for making a decision to join Peoples Temple? This process involved searching all of the expressions that the participants used when describing personal characteristics, as it relates to Kelley's five categories of followership, that were determining factors for making a decision to join the church.

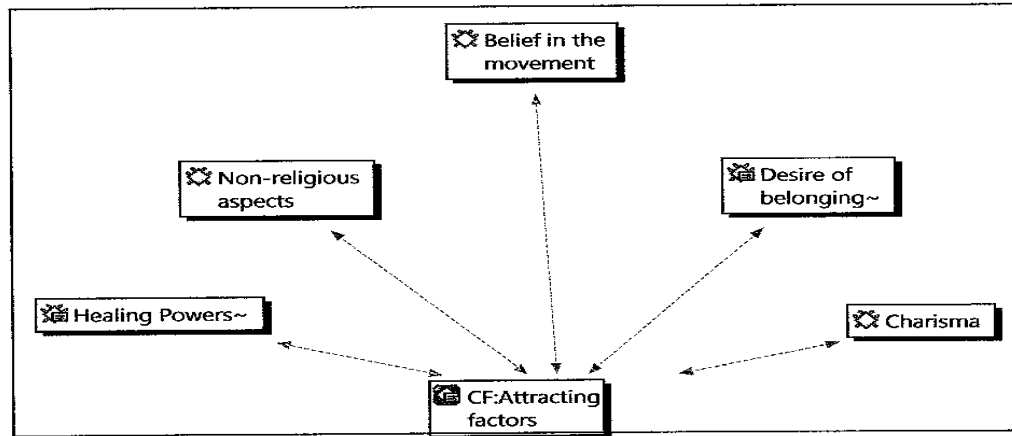


Figure 4 – Attracting Factors (Leaders draw-Followers flow)

Code Structure – Attracting Factors (Leaders draw/Followers flow)

1) Attracting Factors – (Leaders draw/Followers flow)

This code structure is based on the dark side of charisma. These are examples of the leader characteristics and the followers' personal reasons why participants joined Peoples Temple. The characteristics range from Jim Jones' personal attributes that he used effectively to attract new members and keep other members entrapped. Followers' flaw describes how the members were drawn to Jim Jones because of his special powers and his vision that were a facade.

Attracting factors (Leaders draw/followers flaw)

2) Healing powers – Jim Jones was believed to have had special healing powers. Many believed that because he held healing services where people were cured from diseases (mental and physical) and addiction. However, these healings were faked because Jones wanted people to believe that he had the gift of healing the sick (Reiterman & Jacobs, 1982). This deceptive practice was the reason two of the participants' mothers joined.

3) Non-religious aspects – Jim Jones commitment to the socialist movement was attractive to those looking for something different. Six of the eight participants became members as a result of their parents' attraction, and one joined independently for reasons other than religion.

4) Charisma – This refers to the participants account of Jones' charismatic style. He was described as charming, eloquent, and compassionate. All of these qualities were quickly countered with how he used those same characteristics to deceive and manipulate.

5) Desire of belonging – Participants described belonging as wanting to be a part of an organization that understood the need for unity and in its uniqueness was doing what other churches were not doing. There were those who felt the desire to belong was all encompassing by the mission of Peoples Temple.

6) Belief in the movement – All participants believed in the movement of which was described as an agriculture project. There was equality with no division among race or gender. The Temple provided all of your needs...because everyone was one family. This practice was disguised as a movement but in actuality, it was a means of controlling the members.

Code Samples – Attracting Factors (Leaders draw/Followers flaw)

1. Attracting Factors

Participant #8

(“So I was there to see what there was to be seen and I was interested in the fact that what I was seeing was certainly outside the norm.”)

Participant #3

(“The thing that brought us in was the political part, not the religious part. It was confusing as a kid because there was the fear aspect. I mean when somebody talks about a bomb, and that kind of stuff you’re automatically like “oh my God, we’re all going to die if we don’t join People’s Temple.” So when I was a kid, that’s one of the things I thought about, but then I had made all these friends and it was fun. I thought well maybe...going back to Richmond...it was a toss-up. Plus, you know, his leadership was seen as political and I liked that more...but then there was a fear base. So he kind of wrapped you in the fear, yet enticed you with the thought of a better world...”)

2. *Healing Powers*

Participant #4

(“My mother was drawn to it because she was always drawn to healers and or seers who could see the future or see things within you.... And for my mother because of the religious background of Jim Jones she was drawn by that and that only, and she was blinded by that.”)

Level 5 Codes – Emerging themes derived from transcript content from the Interview Questions (IQ) independent of thematic questions (9 codes).

These codes were derived from the transcript content independent of theory questions (TQ’s).

Code Structure – Transformational

Transformational – Moving above and beyond the circumstances that have manifested.

Code Samples - Transformational

1. *Transformational*

Participant #6

(“Jonestown was a place where paranoia was bred in us, so, there was an environment of mistrust even with your family. And I realized that I wanted to leave Jonestown early on but it was difficult to know who to trust. I prayed asking for a way out. One of my peers who worked in the

medical field with me, [REDACTED], and I slowly began to somewhat nudge each other as to see how far we could go and where our feelings were about where we were in Jonestown.

As time grew on, we became...it felt like we were able to trust each other more and more. So she actually told me that her husband [REDACTED] was devising an escape plan and that there were a group of others that wanted to leave. I asked her could I go. I wanted to get my son out. So [REDACTED] told me that it had to be voted on because I was married to [REDACTED] and they surely would not know if I was actually a plant to spy on them or not.

She went to her husband, and I guess they voted and they talked to the other members. So when [REDACTED] gave me the ok to go, I never was given a time frame; no details as to where we were going to meet, or what direction we were going to head in. That was ok with me. [REDACTED] and I sat together. She was the only one I knew was coming. I had no idea who else, so [REDACTED] says to me, "I think we're going to leave tonight" and I said, "Ok." Congressman Ryan came in, and they did the big, production, presentation, and the musical. I just kind of sat in the back on the outskirts because I wasn't sure if they were going to come and get me, say, "let's go" or what.

I grabbed my son and a brand new pair of tennis shoes [REDACTED] had given me. I had my jeans on and my shirt...that's it. Then I had brought a sheet for my son because I knew I had to carry him.

We met that morning-- but before that, I went to go see my mom. She worked at the library and I looked at her, and she said, "Where are you going?" "I'm going on a picnic to the piggery." She gave me this look like...hmm really? I said, "Yes. I love you mom," and she said, "I love you too" and she hugged me really, really tight. I almost cried... .. When we reached a clearing, John said we were going to Port Kaituma which was only seven miles and that was where the Congressman would depart. I knew it was too close, because my husband would be looking for my son and I, so I said I have to go to Matthews Ridge, which was over 30 miles away. The rest of the group finally agreed, but if I had to go alone I would have. I knew what would happen if I went to Port Kaituma. I would not be here to share the story.")

Code Structure – Conflict and Dissent Deception

These terms describes Jim Jones' deception and internal turmoil experienced by members of Peoples Temple. As followers, their commitment was to the project more so than the leader.

Code Samples – Conflict and Dissent Deception

1. Conflict and Dissent Deception

Participant #5 - Conflict

“I think too that when you question in your own mind, at least for me, it was like no, no, no, don’t do that; don’t do that. So we kind of like...I conditioned myself to not question because I was being negative, and so if you had this little wee small voice that said something was wrong and you ignore it long enough, after a while you don’t even hear it. You just think, you just believe that what you’re doing and what you’re hearing and what is happening is-- you just trust that that is the best thing.”)

Participant #6 (Responded)

“We were his world. He couldn’t leave... and so we weren’t going to leave either.”)

Participant #2 (Countered)

“It sealed our fate.”)

Participant #4 – Conflict

“I was always conflicted with Jones...even in Jonestown I was conflicted with Jones. Cause the leadership style there was complete 100% intimidation, and it was fear tactics. But the only difference is typically you fear something that you don’t want to happen. In this case you feared something that was happening already, and you feared something that was the unknown. My first night there, my first hour there it was a “white night.” What is a white night? We are being attacked. They’re going to come in here. They’re going to kill our babies. They’re going to torture our children. They’re going to kill our seniors. And I just got back from a three hour ride in the bush in the middle of the night.”)

Participant #1 – Dissent Deception

“I think Jim Jones, in his own way loved those (black) people and he loved that about black people and I do believe he envisioned himself their champion...he was anything but that. He was incapable of being anyone’s champion, but that’s the kind of loyalty...and he certainly sought it out in the black church because you had faith and the loyalty of that community.”)

Participant #8 – Dissent Deception

(“Everybody’s met a charismatic man...politicians are good at this. When you walk in the room, they look better, they speak better, they’re more charismatic and together than other people are and you know it. But, when Jim walked into the room, those people faded into insignificance. Jim had the capacity to believe in what he wanted to believe in. If he could stand in a room of 3,000 people, talk for an hour or 2 or 3 or 6, and tell them he was god and have them react to him as if he were god, he could believe that he were god.”)

Participant #6 – Dissent Deception

(“Jim considered himself God. He really did. That is what he elevated himself to, and so all power was through him. He controlled everything. As a kid growing up we knew that... I looked to him in awe ... and you wanted him to pat you on the head and say good job. You wanted the acknowledgement that you were a good soldier... you know a good person. I think probably and I can only speak for myself ... he was our leader, he was our father, and to some he was God.”)

Participant #8 – Dissent Deception

(“I’m saying I think there’s a description here that is exceptionally hard to get at. He was not a normal man. He did not have the normal effect on people. He didn’t have it. I mean I’ve met a lot of people who swayed a lot of people and he sways those people. He’s a cut above. He’s a different animal. And I think it’s all in here. I think he was lacking the ability to disbelieve. I mean he bought his own bullshit in a whole cloth way.”)

Code Structure – Mortality Salience

Mortality Salience – This refers to examples of Jim Jones’ suicide rehearsals that occurred more frequently in Jonestown.

Code Samples – Mortality Salience*2. Mortality Salience*

Participant #4:

In this case you feared something that was happening already, and you feared something that was the unknown. My first night there, my first hour there it was a “white night.”

Participant #7:

Get outta here!

Participant #4:

What is a white night? We are being attacked. They're gonna come in here, they're gonna kill our babies. They're gonna torture our children, they're gonna kill our seniors. And I just jumped off the back of a 3 mile, I mean a three hour ride in the bush in the middle of the night. Right? In the jungle was so dark I couldn't see it.

Participant #5:

Alert, Alert! No just kidding.

*Group: laughter

Participant #6:

White nights! Get to the pavilion! Get to the pavilion! Get to the pavilion!

*Group: laughter. (participants in unison) Right now!

Participant #8:

What's typical for us is not so typical for others.

*Group: laughter. (participants making siren noises).

Code Structure - Destructive Idolization

Destructive Idolization is described as a form of followership. This occurs when people are attracted to and follow a leader who exhibits destructive behavior; destructive being defined as deceptive customs as well as abuse of power. Toxic leaders' behavior can be overt by nature or masked through deceptive practices. Destructive idolization occurs when followers become mesmerized by the special powers of the unscrupulous leader and later manifests into total commitment. These so-called special powers and abilities are a façade that may be known or

unknown to followers. The result of this captivation has two types of outcomes. One is referred to as a positive outcome when a follower either decides that the leaders' behavior is revolting and secretly plans an escape. The second is considered a negative outcome where the follower becomes consumed by the ambiance and mimic the behavior.

Code Samples - Destructive Idolization

5. Destructive Idolization

Participant #4

("My mother was drawn to it because she was always drawn to healers and or seers who could see the future or see things within you.... And for my mother because of the religious background of Jim Jones she was drawn by that and that only, and she was blinded by that.")

Participant #8

("Well, the Temple was a different kind of experience because you didn't go there for God, and you didn't go for Jesus, you went basically for Jim Jones who quite deliberately supplanted all those other functions in normal organized religion.")

Participant #7

("And people would idolize him...I remember that guy who used to just play that guitar and shake his hair... he just idolized Jim; he'd just look at him.")

a. Positive Outcome

Participant #7

("We really wanted to make a difference. My whole life I had wanted to make a difference in something...and this looked like the ideal setting as far as I could see. I mean, I wasn't a lawyer, I couldn't run for an office, so this (Peoples Temple) was going to be a big movement here; and then when we saw that crumbling. We thought, well hell this isn't what we bargained for. That's when we left, the eight of us left.")

b. Negative Outcome

Participant #4

("So the first year of being in the Temple back stage was a contradiction for me. I wanted to follow it but because of my ego it was hard to be a follower. So therefore I tried to carve out my niche as in charge of construction. That way I had my own little crew.")

Code Structure - Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership

Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership presents insight into the various reasons why Jim Jones' bad leadership was disregarded. The three categories are a) Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership due to commitment to what the individual considers the greater cause; b) Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership for personal gain; and c) Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership due to powerlessness as a result of being consumed by fear and hopelessness.

Code Samples - Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership

6. Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership

a. Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership due to commitment to what the individual considers the greater cause.

Participant #8

("Let me go a step further and you'll probably get here. When you were the follower of a person who has this capacity, and he lays out a very broad plan with a pretty high bar and gets you to buy into it, what you wind up with is purpose; Purpose with a capital "P". I never had purpose. I mean we all have minor purposes; we all have lots of purposes with lower case "p's". You know finishing school or this or that or the other (lower case "p"). But, what I got from the Temple, only partly because it was my family, was purpose with a capital "P"; Purpose that was larger than I was. Purpose that I participated in but was larger than I was. It required my wholehearted participation without stint, so it didn't bother me to give my salary and get 8 quarters. The only thing that bothered me

was not doing the job that I was given to do. I was a believer. I was a follower with a capital “F” I was committed and I was proud to be. I’ve never met a purpose in my life that qualified as capital “P” purpose since then. I’m in Rome now, so I do as Romans do. I’m comfortable, but there’s no capital “P”.)

Participant #6 (Responded)

(“What we...what we tried was honorable and what it was...”)

Participant#8 (Countered)

(“it was a good thing...”)

Participant #6: (Responded)

(“it was just...the wrong leadership.”)

Participant #1

(“He tricked me. You had to be pretty naïve to believe him. He got my Mom to talk me into going down one last time ...because I was leaving the Temple, and she talked to me ... and he promised her that he wouldn’t keep me down there if I went with him this one last time. So, we both naively believed him. You know I can’t blame him for that. I mean come on...believing anything that came out of Jim Jones’ mouth was always my fault. I had enough evidence to know that he would lie without blinking to get what he wanted. But once I was down there and he left me there up to that time, they were the happiest times in my life; working hard, playing hard, long hours, eating well, seeing the fruit of our labor, building something for our community. It was a ...it was a great time.”)

b. Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership for personal gain

Participant #1

(“[REDACTED] was Jim Jones’ muscle but he also often called it how he saw it and he took Jim on. But there was something there. There was and again there was this incredible, mid western, down home loyalty. No matter how mad he got at Jim, he couldn’t totally turn his back on him or betray him and plus he got his props and his own status within the Temple that I’m sure was attractive to him.”)

c. Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership due to powerlessness

Participant #5

("I think too that when you question in your own mind, at least for me, it was like no, no, no, don't do that; don't do that. So we kind of like...I conditioned myself to not question because I was being negative, and so if you had this little wee small voice that said something was wrong and you ignore it long enough, after a while you don't even hear it. You just think, you just believe that what you're doing and what you're hearing and what is happening is-- you just trust that that is the best thing.")

Participant #6

("We were his world. We couldn't, he couldn't leave.")

Participant #6

("... and so we weren't going to leave either.")

Participant #2

("It sealed our fate.")

Participant #1

("I can tell you, there are people that died there that were very much against my father and tired of his stuff. So it was not a blind march to death and I think everybody by now knows that.")

Code Structure - The Power of "Make" Believe

The Power of "Make" Believe is a term to describe the state of mind of a follower after being subjected to toxic leadership. This refers to the manner in which Jim Jones was able to master the practice of deception and totally persuade any individual to believe in him as a supreme being. Total submission was exhibited by bowing to him when in his presence.

Code Samples - The Power of “Make” Believe*7. The Power of “Make” Believe*

Participant #8

(“Everybody’s met a charismatic man... politicians are good at this. When you walk in the room, they look better, they speak better, they’re more charismatic and together than other people are and you know it. But, when Jim walked into the room, those people faded into insignificance. Jim had the capacity to believe in what he wanted to believe in. If he could stand in a room of 3,000 people, talk for an hour or 2 or 3 or 6, and tell them he was god and have them react to him as if he were god, he could believe that he were god.”)

Participants #5 & 6

(“He was not smart—what I’m getting at is when he was head of the Housing Commission and then he’d have his members bowing to him.”)

Participant #2

(“You know he (Jim Jones) set himself up as the best. He lived the most humbly, he was always the kindest. He was always the smartest; he was always the most compassionate. So he set himself up. So he says, now your job is to only relate to me, I am number one. I am your husband, your father, your son, your spouse. In the planning commission he’d say, “You know what? I’m not going to have anyone join the planning committee if you’re in relationship with someone else because it’s in the way of your relationship with me. I can’t trust you if you have a relationship with someone else. I want all of you look directly at me...I’m number one.” So, I mean he sabotaged every relationship.”)

Participant #6

(“Jim considered himself God. He really did. That is what he elevated himself to, and so all power was through him. He controlled everything. As a kid growing up we knew that... I looked to him in awe ... and you wanted him to pat you on the head and say good job. You wanted the acknowledgement that you were a good soldier... you know a good person. I think probably and I can only speak for myself ... he was our leader, he was our father, and to some he was God.”)

Participant #8

(“I’m saying I think there’s a description here that is exceptionally hard to get at. He was not a normal man. He did not have the normal effect on people. He didn’t have it. I mean I’ve met a lot of people who swayed a lot of people and he sways those people. He’s a cut above. He’s a different animal. And I think it’s all in here. I think he was lacking the ability to disbelieve. I mean he bought his own bullshit in a whole cloth way.”)

Code Structure – Sacrificial Discipleship

Discipleship is defined as one who accepts and assists in spreading the doctrines of another (Webster, 2010). Therefore, the examples of sacrifice as an expression of loyalty to Peoples Temple was evident in the actions of the followers; hence the term Sacrificial Discipleship.

Code Samples – Sacrificial Discipleship*8. Sacrificial Discipleship*

Participant #7

(“The seniors that were there, had already given up their houses.”)

Participant #1

(“Folks, you know, they sacrificed their personal dreams because it was not ok to want anything for yourself.”)

Participant #8

(“I considered myself a dedicated member, and I respected dedicated people. I get glazed looks the few times I do talk about this when somebody says what was it like and I say well I worked 20 hours a day; 7 days a week for 6 years with a day off. One. And by that I mean all of my efforts were bent toward the Temple one way or another really; directly on Temple projects or at work where I’d work and then turn my paycheck over. But I mean I literally went from project to project to project until I fell over at night. Then got up at 6:00 and project, to project, to project

until I fell over at two and got up at 6:00 and so on for 7 days a week again, and again, and again, and again (Which is easier to talk about than it is to actually do). I was phenomenally exhausted, I was always exhausted.

And so...I respected people who worked as hard as I did or harder. There were people in the Temple who had position and did things and they worked directly with Jim (Jones). That was the most preferred position in the Temple directly with Jim (Jones)... so it's like, if they did something or they spent a long time doing it and worked hard, Jim (Jones) knew about it directly. But if you worked in the letters office, if you worked on files, if you worked on all these other things, Jim (Jones) wouldn't know about it. Jim (Jones) wouldn't know one way or another. And you know, many was the night that I found [REDACTED] cranking out the last of her 535 letters to a congressman or whatever it was, before she got up at 6 to go teach school. This is something that nobody, nobody knows. When you do it because it's right to do, and when nobody knows you're doing it, and nobody cares whether you do it or not because they didn't know, and you did it anyway, then that was a great person. That was a person that got my respect. And that was [REDACTED] over and over, and over again; without stint, without praise, and without recognition.

(In response to the personal motivation as a result of witnessing such sacrifice from another member) ...I would every two weeks hand my check in. [REDACTED] signed, and she would give me back eight quarters...")

*Group members:
("A dollar?) (laughter).

Participant #8

("Two dollars a week allowance broken down in quarters because I could plug them into a Pepsi machine.")

Participant #2

(Is crying as she begins to tell this story) ("[REDACTED] was my litmus paper. You know, she was just the salt of the earth. And so even in Jonestown, I could remember going to the store when I was going back to Georgetown and she was telling me, "Oh I have all these extra toothbrushes because people don't use them. I just put them in Clorox.")

*Group laughs

Participant #2:

(“Can you believe reusing the toothbrushes?”) (Laughing hard)

Participant #6: (Responded)

(“Oh Lord!”)

Participant #2:

(“But you know, she was proud because she had come up with different ways to save money.”)

Participant #6: (Responded)

(“And she made the charcoal toothpaste.”)

Participant #2: (Responded)

(“Yeah.”)

Participant #4

(“The reason I looked to [REDACTED] is because she adopted my wife, and by virtue of adopting my wife, she was able to adopt me...as her new parents.”)

Participant #3:

(“And she was how old...at that time?”)

Participant #4: 9, 10.

(“Mmm”)

Participant #7:

(“Awww.”)

Participant #4:

(“Uh, huh. And the reason I look up to her is because I remember my wife and I would be talking back in the States. I would say something like, “I’m ready to go” and [REDACTED] would say, “No, no, no you guys can’t go you gotta be here. We got a cause to fight for. We gotta do this and this, and that and that.” And she was mature beyond her years. And she was

insightful in the sense that what she saw a dream, and the dream for her was that it would be a world where everybody was treated fairly.”)

Participant #7: (Responded)

(“OK”)

Participant #4:

(“So I looked up to a child.”)

Code structure - Predatory Leadership/Preyerful Followership

Relationship

Preyerful is derived from the root word “prey” which originated from the Old French word *preie* in the mid thirteenth century. Prey, is defined as: a) an animal hunted or captured by another for food, or b) a person or thing that becomes the victim of a hostile person, influence, etc. (prey, 2009). The term preyerful follower, as defined in this study, is considered a victim of unscrupulous leadership. The follower is taken over by a leader who is a predator and uses skillful intentions in choosing their target. Initially, the follower is attracted to the leaders’ charisma. The predator may engage in self-sacrificial behavior as a display of authenticity in order to elicit the followers’ response... increased loyalty and submission. During the conditioning process, self-sacrificial discipleship (see Self-Sacrificial Discipleship theme) also increases. Preyerful followers’ behaviors are indicative of destructive idolization (see destructive idolization theme). Predatory leaders use other forms of conditioning (i.e., brainwashing, sleep deprivation, starvation) simultaneously in combination with self-sacrificial behavior. However, the follower accepts various uses of conditioning as willful blindness (see willful blindness theme). The predatory leader encourages the follower, who is fully

persuaded by them, to leave their: familiar setting, family, friends, job, and in some cases country. Once the follower is led into “captivity” (a secluded place where family and friends are neither wanted nor allowed), the predatory leaders’ exercising power escalates. In the end, the preyerful follower may: a) secretly rebel, and plan and implement an escape; or b) be totally consumed by the purpose of the predatory leader.

The difference between predatory leadership-preyerful followership relationships and other forms of unscrupulous (i.e. narcissistic, toxic, etc.) leadership -followership relationships, is the fact that predatory leaders carefully hunt for or recruit their target. In most situations, followers are already in place but the predatory leader seeks whom they can deceive. This is unlike the:

- a) Narcissistic leader who is self absorbed and has no concern for followers;
- b) Toxic leader who may exhibit narcissistic characteristics, but their behavior is caused by insecurities and lack of self-confidence; and
- c) Destructive leader who exercises control and coercion over followers as opposed to persuasion.

Code Samples – Predatory Leadership/Preyerful Followership

9. Predatory Leadership/Preyerful Followership

Participant #4

(“Now so then what happened is when you got ...to 1974, ’75 ’76 you had a transition because now he’s (Jones) from Redwood Valley, he’s (Jones) in San Francisco, you have a much more intelligent audience. Ok? You also have an audience that’s in Los Angeles. The audience in Los Angeles is very revolutionary. Revolutionary-ized! And what I mean by that is...they understand struggle, they understand mistreatment, they understand police brutality, they understand being hustled. Ok? So you bring them a conversation that says we can fight this, we can go against

the system--that's what we wanted to hear as young folks.

(Speaking of how Jones chose his target to lay a foundation of a secure funding stream) He (Jones) already had a foundation, he had the seniors. He brought the seniors in on healing, on the religious context.”)

Participant #7:

(“Yeah. Right, right.”)

Participant #4:

(“He brought them in on...you know, baby gonna have shoes in heaven... that type of thing and they bought into that. And the way he was able to keep the seniors was the fact that, “You are the most important bodies in this organization”. You will be protected, you will be housed, you will be clothed, you will be respected. Seniors at that time were frightened. We had just started having homeless people on the streets.”)

Summary

In summary, the purpose of this research was to understand the perceptions and attitudes of followers as they relate to the survivors of Peoples Temple massacre at Jonestown. Analyzing the collected information and making sense of the survivor voices required taking raw data through a thematic analysis process. The analysis began with entering the transcribed data into Atlas.ti to electronically identify the high frequency words that were reduced later by combining words related to the theoretical frameworks in order to develop code families. Auto coding continued with the marking of the most frequently used words within the text which enabled me to code line-by-line to identify code families related to the research questions. During this process, I also used the memoing process as a secondary method to keep notes.

After completing the electronic analysis, I used Boyatzis' hand coding method for inductive code development which began with paraphrasing the responses from

the focus group and individual interviews which helped me to identify similarities or differences. Manually separating the focus groups and individual interviews allowed me to again compare and contrast the responses to the interview questions. What followed next was using a methodical manner to create code and conceptualizing the data in a new way.

Through these efforts, a series of major and sub-themes emerged as a result of data analysis (Klenke, 2008). Six codes emerged from the themes based on the Thematic Questions (TQs) in Appendix E: a) events as turning points; b) Preparing for the Escape; c) Survivors Turned Leaders ; d) Life After Jonestown; e) attracting factors – leaders draw/followers flaw; f) transformational; g) conflict and dissent; h) authoritarian and abusive power; and a total of nine codes were also derived from the transcript content independent of TQs which include: a) destructive idolization; b) Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership; c) the power of make believe; d) Sacrificial Discipleship; and e) predatory leadership/preyerful followership relationship.

CHAPTER 5 – DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to understand the perceptions and attitudes of followers as they relate to the survivors of Peoples Temple massacre at Jonestown. Major findings included themes relating to toxic followership that emerged as a result of analyzing the data. These themes range from partially supporting extant literature to introducing new concepts from the thematic characteristics of followership, sacrificial leadership, and charisma.

Some of the themes were found to be closely related to the elements of the toxic triangle (Padilla, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2007) that is premised upon the idea that destructive leadership entails negative consequences. Padilla, Hogan and Kaiser (2007) state that: “Leadership of any type springs from the interplay of an individual’s motivation and ability to lead, subordinates’ desire for direction and authority, and events calling for leadership” (p. 179). Moving beyond the focus on characteristics of leaders, the toxic triangle model (see Figure 5) displays the various elements as an interaction that produces negative outcomes.

The intent of the use of this model was to demonstrate its applicability to linking the leader-follower interaction through the voices of the survivors of Jonestown. Rather than use the characteristics as a focal point, data collected from the focus group interviews afforded me an opportunity to use each element of the toxic triangle to discuss the relationships between Jim Jones, who is considered the destructive leader and the followers--former members of Peoples Temple and the negative outcomes.

As seen in Figure 5, the first component--destructive leadership, relates to the characteristics of destructive leaders; the second—susceptible followers, i.e. followers who are willing to submit themselves to a destructive leader and the third aspect, conducive environments pertains to the context which promotes the development of destructive leadership (Padilla et. al. 2007). Therefore, this section interprets the toxic triangle in view of the findings obtained in this study.

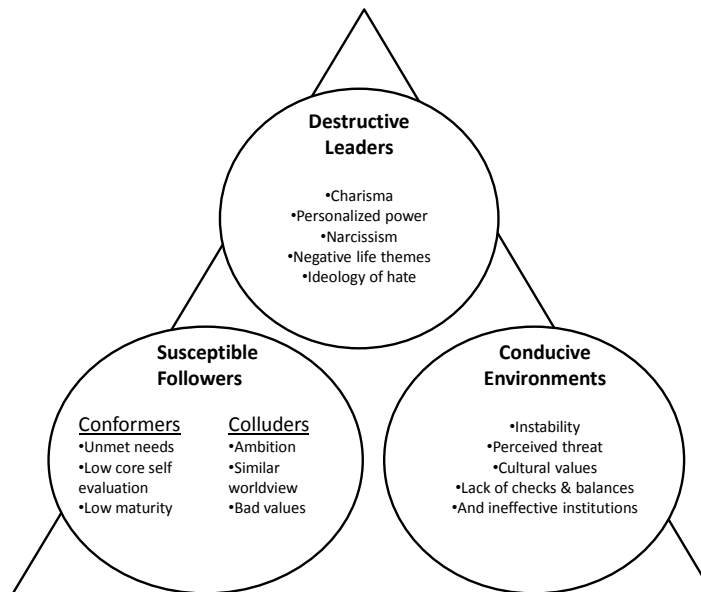


Figure 5 - The Toxic Triangle: Elements in three domains related to destructive leadership. With permission of (Padilla, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2007, p. 180)

Destructive Leaders

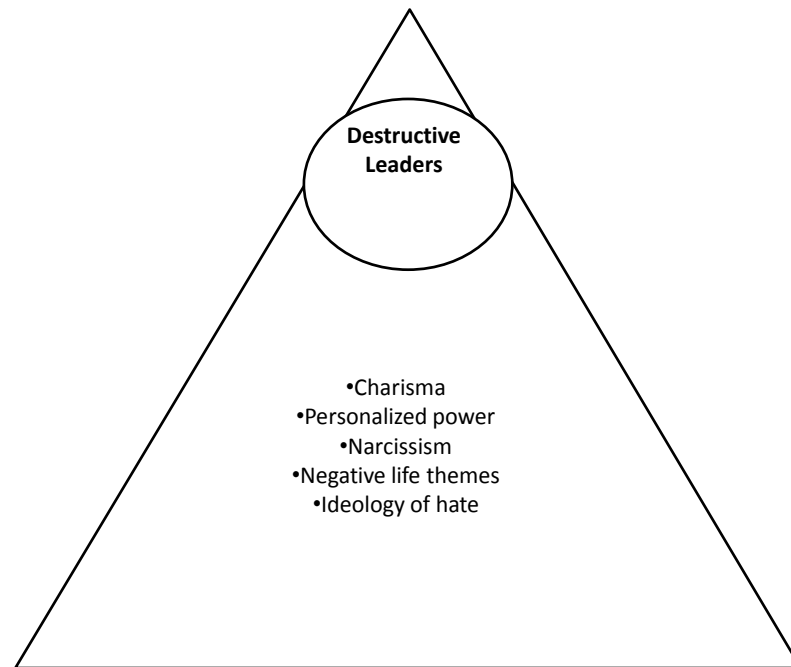


Figure 6 - The Toxic Triangle: Destructive Leader Domain – Theme comparison

As the prelude to understanding leader-follower relationships, it must be noted that an understanding of the characteristics of destructive leaders as shown in Figure 6 is critical. The destructive leader domain of the toxic triangle hosts the characteristics that are congruent with those used to describe Jim Jones. In a review of the transcripts using Atlas.ti, Jones was depicted most frequently as a gangster, a mad man, a sick person and a manipulative being by the participants. Though his gangster demeanor was strangely noticeable for a reverend, it was also awkwardly appealing. One participant spoke of how they originally admired how Jones walked around with his entourage and sported his dark glasses...even indoors. It was his use of foul language, and his ability to manipulate people and situations that seemed

to command obedience, which was often mistaken as respect. A mad man was one word used consistently to describe Jones' ever increasing callous temperament. Threats of punishment escalated to his public rebuke of those who defied him; and what the survivors deemed as sick behavior, paved the way for Jones to masterfully manipulate any situation with charm and a false sense of entitlement.

However, Jones' progression into a state as a destructive leader began as a child.

According to Moore (2009):

“The approbation of his mother Lynetta undoubtedly contributed to a sense of self-importance when he was a child. His contact with Father Divine throughout the 1950's introduced him to notions of his own divinity. His study of Afro-Brazilian religions reinforced his interest in psychic phenomena and the occult, which he had used as a Pentecostal preacher and healer to discern members' problems and to foretell the future (p. 20).”

Using his charisma as a charm was a skill that Jones was able to brandish early in his career in any setting. There was evidence of his use of socialized charismatics (House & Howell, 1992)—meaning that his tactics were liberal and inclusive. After all, Jones was the first in Indiana to have a “rainbow” family, adopting children of various races in the late 1950's. Integrating his family was seen as a drastic social statement to espouse racial equality during a time of civil rights unrest in the United States. This caused him to be viewed as embarking on a custom that had the potential to be replicated by future generations. His actions support Shamir, House and Arthur's (1993) affirmation that charismatic leaders appeal to the values, and self concepts of followers proposing to have the solution to the problem experienced by the organization.

From there, his popularity grew as he used an egalitarian approach to management during his appointment as the first director of the Indianapolis Human Rights Commission introducing social programs and rallying politicians for support. Jones constantly sought recognition. Yukl (1999) noted that dangerous charisma exists when leaders take unwarranted credit for achievements. He referred to this behavior as being more socially acceptable rather than manipulative, thereby increasing the followers' perception of the leaders' mystical behavior. Likewise, during his appointment to the Human Relations Commission, Jones became ill which caused him to be hospitalized for a week and because his doctor was black, he was mistakenly placed in a black ward. He eventually received undeserved praises for integrating the hospital. This type of accolade fed into his ego and nurtured his need for attention. As a result of that, he was looked upon as precedence setting. That amplified his interest in people praising him. In the heart of the civil rights movement, followers quickly regarded Jones as a man who was sympathetic to the plight of blacks...a white man who deserved honor.

However, Jones' gradual shift from socialized to personalized charismatic style became evident as his desire to control intensified. Personalized charismatic leadership is depicted as exploitive, non-egalitarian, and self-aggrandizing. Empirical evidence suggests that leaders who exhibit these traits have a high need for dominance or power for effective leadership (Bass & Bass, 2008; House & Howell, 1992). When a leader wants to be recognized as taking a central role in being influential, they are willing to use people or objects for personal gain (O'Connor, Mumford, Clifton, Gessner, & Connelly, 1995).

Jones' increasing paranoia about the nuclear holocaust, his position of power in the community and the church, exposed a shift in his charismatic leadership style. Leaders exhibiting personalized charisma demonstrate deception and exploitation of their followers for self-serving purposes (Bass & Bass, 2008). Evidence of these characteristics is readily depicted throughout his ministry in Peoples Temple. This embodies the following characteristics associated with toxic triangle: a) charisma; b) personal power; c) narcissism; d) negative life themes; and e) ideology of hate; all are in conjunction with the emerging themes articulated throughout this research.

Charisma – Attracting Factors (Leaders draw/Followers flaw)

Although charismatic leadership has been heralded as a leader-centric style, Howell and Shamir (2005) offered a new perspective by exploring a more expansive role of the follower in the charismatic leadership processes. They proposed that the leader-follower relationship was fueled by the follower empowering and influencing the leaders' behavior, ultimately impacting the outcome. This was evident during the Peoples Temple meetings when members would denounce their relatives, describing tortures they would inflict upon them for standing against Jones. The Jonestown residents expressed themselves in this manner because they considered it to be a form of testifying. However, while these public avowals of loyalty to the cause were required on a regular basis, it also bore resonance to fulfilling the common purpose.

Follett first used the term “*common purpose*” to describe how she viewed the role of an invisible leader as the conduit that led both leaders and followers. In order to achieve a shared value, the leader has to be engaged without needing to be

recognized for the work input. This was especially true as Jones was able to witness the followers' dedication through their endless hours of work on the project.

Follett's work suggested that ultimately this created a sense of unity.

Sorensen and Hickman (2002) refer to this as charisma of purpose. Although in terms of charisma of purpose as it relates to Jones, it is representative of the dark side of charisma which refers to how he used coercive means to establish unity.

The emerging theme leaders' draw/followers' flaw supports that concept. Though there were participants who admit to joining for different reasons and actually enjoying the Peoples Temple experience in the beginning, these same participants as well as others discussed the dark side of Jim Jones. Over a period of time, the survivors were able to discern the ongoing deception and abuse of their leader.

Support for Existing Literature

The findings in this research partially support existing literature in specific areas of leadership while the emerging themes contribute to existing. Below in Table 5.1 is a chart that lists the leadership theories/styles that this study partially supports and the emerging themes that contribute to the body of literature.

Following the chart is a discussion that addresses each domain of the toxic triangle as it relates to the content in the chart.

Table 5.1 Supports Existing Literature	
PARTIALLY SUPPORTS EXISTING LITERATURE	CONTRIBUTES TO EXISTING LITERATURE
Charisma Ideological	Predatory Leadership/Preyerful Followership
Charisma of Purpose	Toxic Followership
Low maturity leadership styles	Destructive Idolization
	Sacrificial Discipleship
	The Power of "Make" Believe
	Conflict & Dissent Deception
	Social Unrest

Destructive leaders and existing literature

Partial support empirically links Jones as a destructive leader, to charismatic characteristics (Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Hogan & Hogan, 2001). While the negative aspects of his childhood can be identified as contributing factors to his behavior, Jones went to great lengths to amplify his “special” supernatural power for self-serving purposes. It was through phony healing services that his self promoting became the theme for his unquestioning allegiance from followers. On the other hand, a contributing factor to the literature exists as demonstrating an extension of ideology of hate to include the impact on the follower showing movement from one dimension to the next. Jones’ disenchantment with the government, paired with his paranoia of a nuclear disaster escalated his anti-government message which upheld an us-against-them mindset among the followers. This type of message permeated to the core of the followers, via lengthy

messages during the many meetings, to the point that the followers dismissed their own knowledge and assumed Jones' twisted anti-government notion. Moreover, The power of "make" believe permeated throughout the lives of the survivors even after leaving Jonestown as their fear of the government was paralleled to the fear of Jim Jones' retribution. Likewise, the predatory/preyerful relationship is indicative of more than just describing the prey as a target; it provides insight into the state of the follower (prey) as a result of the destructive leader.

Personalized Power - *Authoritarian and Abuse of Power*

Rus, Knippenber, and Wisse (2010) investigated the role played by leader power in determining leader self-serving behavior. Their three studies were conducted using two measuring factors-- effective leadership beliefs (ELBs) and performance or situational information, which are critical components to making a presumption about leader self serving allocations. Of particular interest to this destructive leadership discussion was the consistency in the findings that at the organizational level, negative consequences are associated with self-serving leader behavior (Rus, Knippenber, & Wisse, 2010; DeCremer & van Knippenberg, 2004). As witnessed among the survivors, Jones' persistent self-serving behavior created a steady decrease in motivation and performance.

Narcissism – Jones' Narcissism Characteristics

Narcissism is the leader's propensity to overvalue his or her own attributes or achievements; extreme self-interest and selfishness on the part of the leader; the degree to which the leader was overly concerned with self-satisfaction (O'Connor, Mumford, Clifton, Gessner, & Connelly, 1995, p. 539). Jones was self absorbed to

the point of calling himself God and making others refer to him as God. Akin to this characteristic of cult leaders was also exhibited by David Koresh who changed his name from Vernon Wayne Howell to David derived from King David in the Bible. Early in his ministry as leader of the Branch Davidians, he declared himself as the Messiah thought to be the first born of God (Colloff, 2008). Behavior of this nature exhibited by Jones supported the existing literature on the role of narcissism in leadership.

Negative Life Themes – Jones’ Childhood

A negative life story reflects “the extent to which the leader had a destructive image of the world and his or her role in the world” (O'Connor, Mumford, Clifton, Gessner, & Connelly, 1995, p. 539). Jones’ childhood was described as neglectful and abusive. He came from a dysfunctional family and a socio-economically impoverished background. By the time he was in the third grade he was hostile and ready to kill (Hare, 2006).

“I was ready to kill by the end of third grade. I mean, I was so f....g aggressive and hostile. I was ready to kill. Nobody gave me any love, any understanding. In those Indiana days a parent was supposed to go with a child to school functions.... There was some kind of school performance, and everybody’s f....g parent was there but mine. I’m standing there alone. Alone. I was always alone!” (Jonestown-Project, 2010, Q134).

He had a superior sense of self worth proclaiming that he was God himself. As a youngster Jones lacked empathy and was known to be promiscuous (Hare, 2006). Moore (2009) discusses the difficulty in tracing Jones’ childhood. However, what is known leaves one to ponder if “he was a bad seed from the beginning, or did life experiences mold and then warp him” (p. 10). In terms of the religious aspect, Jones’ parents neither attended school functions or church. His mother Lynetta,

was not interested in organized religion even though she reported having visions and dreams that persuaded her to take actions. This was the result of her belief in spirits where she possessed a type of animistic belief in animals and nature (Moore, 2009).

Ideology of Hate – *The Power of “Make” Believe*

The power of “make” believe is a new term in the extant literature that describes the state of mind of followers who are subjected to unscrupulous leadership. This expression represents Jones’ craftiness in creating a crisis by instilling fear of the government into the hearts and minds of the followers. In turn, he convinced them to take action to make a radical change. However, taking action meant believing in him as the Supreme Being with the supernatural powers to change the situation. This is referred to as ideological leadership according to Strange and Mumford (2005). Contrary to charismatic leaders who use positive, future visions to mobilize the mass to take action, ideological leaders use negative past experiences to convince followers (who share the same belief) to alter the causes of the crisis (Bedell-Avers, Hunter, & Mumford, 2008; Moghaddam, 2005).

Jones’ paranoia about a nuclear disaster among other issues of discontent caused him to often spout out anti-government messages. Prior to Jonestown, he had relinquished his religious message. In one of the marketing pamphlets used for recruiting purposes, he denounced the Bible turning all attention to him, now being referred to as Father. Although no faith healings took place in Jonestown, there is an instance when one of the elderly members passed away. The Jonestown doctor blamed the members’ loss of life on the fact that he called on the name of Jesus

with his last breath instead of calling on the name of Jim Jones (Moore, 2009).

That was an indication of how the members believed that “Father” was sent from God with special powers.

Predatory Leadership/Preyerful Followership

A new concept in the extant literature, predatory leadership and preyerful followership is a form of followership and new term in the extant literature; this theme describes how unscrupulous leadership was ignored at the expense of commitment to the organization. As previously mentioned, this study defines preyerful follower as one who has been targeted by, and has suffered at the hands of a predatory leader. The attraction to this leader is followed by total commitment often exhibited by self-sacrificial behavior such as relinquishing all of their financial assets and more importantly their family relationships. The predator (an unscrupulous leader) employs deceptive strategies to gain loyalty from their prey.

One participant in this study gave his account of the recruiting strategy Jones used to target senior citizens to maintain a steady financial flow because he was able to induce them to turn over their social security checks. Self-sacrificing was not uncommon among preyerful followers; especially when they believed that in return for long hours and grueling schedules, this was a small cost to pay for supporting an alternative to a racist society full of class distinctions and discrimination. Moreover, the Planning Commission in Jonestown was part of the hierarchical structure where power and knowledge was managed. This entire leadership revolved around Jones. Also referred to as a social pyramid, Jones’ inner circle experienced Peoples Temple in various ways. The level of satisfaction in any

position of the hierarchy was dependent on the position, where they lived, and the amount of power extolled upon. These followers were made up of people who participated in fake healings, arranged questionable property transfers, knew about dirty tricks (like going through people's garbage for information and making harassing phone calls to critics), and managed a complicated financial network.

Susceptible followers

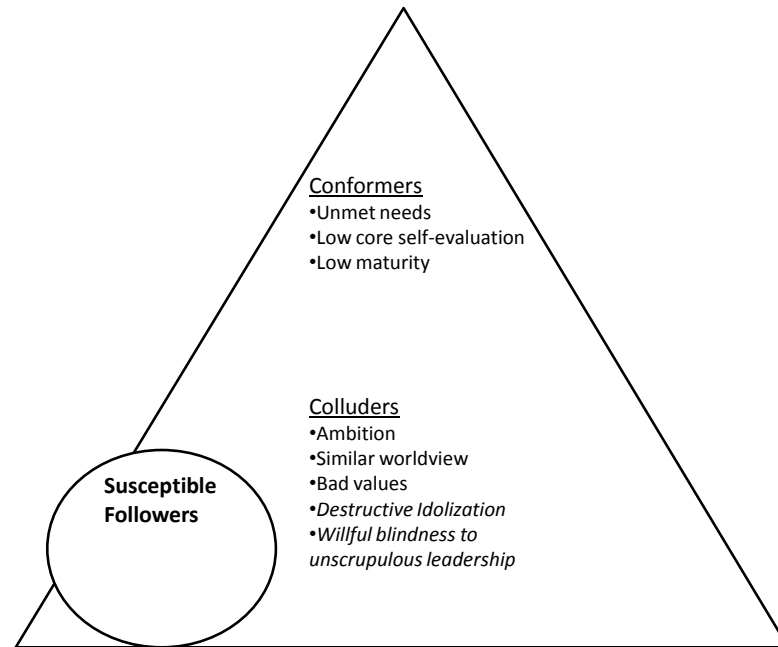


Figure 7 - The Toxic Triangle: Susceptible Followers Domain –Theme comparison
*Themes are italicized

Figure 7 covers the second plane of the toxic triangle, susceptible followers, and illustrates two categories of susceptible followers; conformers and colluders. These characteristics indicate the difference between the conformers--those who follow out of fear and the colluders—those who contribute to the leaders destructiveness.

Greater words cannot be said than those of Kelly (1992), "Followers who understand the value of their role and learn to live fully in it can accomplish great organizational and personal triumphs—sometimes well beyond what a leader, circumscribed by power and dependencies on followers, can ever quite achieve" (p. 48). Yet, for many of the Jonestown followers, their immersion under the deceptive

leadership of Jim Jones cultivated a loyalty that was beyond the mindset of self-discernment to that of inculcated allegiance.

As in most religious organizations, followers made up the largest group in Peoples Temple. “By sheer numbers alone, followers represent the bulk and substance of any enterprise” (Kelley, 1992, p. 22). However, these followers were segmented; the Planning Committee, which was a small group of loyalists (colluders) and the remaining were devoted members (conformers). On the other hand, Kelley (1988) divided followership into two dimensions. The first dimension that defined how people follow described whether a person is an independent critical thinker or someone who depends on the leader to do the thinking for them. Second, detailed the type of energy created by a follower. An actively engaged follower creates positive energy with a progressive desire for the organization and one who creates negative energy is passive in nature with no engagement. These two dimensions are the origin for the five basic followership styles.

The five followership patterns describe the behavior: 1) passive followers also referred to as sheep, depend on the leader to guide, direct, and motivate them; 2) conformist followers or yes people always positive, and fully supporting the leader. Additionally, they constantly seek guidance from the leader and remain extremely obedient to their requests. While doing only what they are told to do, this type of follower also leaves all of the thinking to the leader; 3) alienated followers are independent thinkers who have negative energy that depletes the goals of the leader and organization. Regardless of the intent of the leader to move the organization in a progressive direction, this type of follower notoriously finds a reason to be in

opposition. Often referring to their behavior as gutsy, they see themselves as the necessary rebel; 4) pragmatic followers make an effort to preserve the status quo. They do not make a decision to follow until they see what direction things are going to move and are adept to survival by waiting for the storms of change to blow over; and 5) exemplary followers are self initiators who exert positive energy. This type of follower will independently evaluate leader decisions. If they agree, they will fully support but if not, the follower will challenge the leader with constructive options in the best interest of the leader and organization as well (Riggio, Chaleff, & Lipman-Blumen, 2008). Likewise Padilla, Hogan, and Kaiser (2007) follower style patterns will be compared to the susceptible follower component of the toxic triangle.

Conformers: Unmet Needs; Low Maturity

Toxic leadership was the foundational catalyst within which toxic followership emerged. However, leadership cannot be maintained without the commitment of followership. To garner and maintain a specified level of commitment as in the case of Jim Jones expectations from his followers, the appropriate leader behavior/style was warranted. A good leader or in this case, a toxic leader develops “the competence and commitment of their people” (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982) so they are self-motivated rather than dependent on others for direction and guidance. One key to the success of a leader is their ability to switch, or flex, styles as conditions change. This is commonly referred to as *situational leadership*. The conjecture undergirds the premise of Hersey and Blanchard’s *Situational Leadership Theory* (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982) which is closely tied to

using the leader style needed to be successful given the existing environment or the specific needs of the organization.

Hersey and Blanchard characterized the situational leadership style in terms of the amount of the direction, and the support, that the leader provides to followers. The situational leadership styles are categorized into four types: *telling*, *selling*, *participating* and *delegating*.

- The telling leader defines the roles and tasks for each follower, and then supervises them very closely. All important decisions are made by the leader, and announced to the followers. This means communication is predominantly one-way. These leaders tell others what to do. This was the most dominant style that characterized Jim Jones leadership. People were told what, when and how to do things.

- The responsibility of the *selling leader* is to define the roles and the tasks of each follower in addition to seeking ideas and suggestions from followers. Here again, decisions are made predominantly by the leader and while the leader is still providing the direction, he or she is now using two-way communication and providing the socio-emotional support that will allow the individual or group being influenced to buy into the process. In Peoples Temple meetings, Jones would rally the members through motivational speeches with predictions of their future. These predictions were also congruent with the needs of the people and he was careful to use words that would incite them.

- The task of the *participating leader* is to pass along the daily decisions, such as dividing up the workload, to their followers. This is now shared decision

making about aspects of how the task is accomplished and the leader is providing less task behaviors while maintaining high relationship behavior. This is an example of the mind control tactics Jones used to help get them committed to do the work and develop the project.

- The *delegating leader* is still involved in decisions; however, the process and responsibility has been passed to the individual or group. The leader stays involved to monitor progress. Although he influenced people in his circle that had an allegiance to him, he also had those that he did not trust close to him in order to monitor them as well.

The situational leadership model enables a leader to identify a task, set goals, determine the task maturity of the individual or group, select an appropriate leadership style, and modify the style as change occurs. Jim Jones used this model to build from his recruited followers; a pool of followers committed to implementing his toxic demands. It holds that the difference between the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of the four leadership styles is the appropriateness of the leader's behavior to the particular situation in which it is used.

The task maturity of the individual or group being led must also be accounted for; follower readiness is defined in terms of the capacity to set high but attainable goals, willingness or ability to accept responsibility, and possession of the necessary education (mindset) or experience for a specific task. That is, the leader's style needs to reflect, in part, the competence and commitment of the followers. By applying the principles of the situational leadership theory and adapting their managerial styles to specific tasks and levels of follower maturity, Jim Jones and

his colluders were successful at maintaining the control and commitment from the conformers who were, in most cases, willfully blinded by the toxic leadership that influenced them daily. This theory, in part, fits the leadership of Jim Jones. He controlled every aspect of the People's Temple. While, Hersey and Blanchard's model contends that a good leader develops "the competence and commitment of their people so they're self-motivated rather than dependent on others for direction and guidance." (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982). Jim Jones employed an inflexible style that caused the followers to be only committed to him with respect to their individual and group tasks.

On the other hand, adapting Kelley's characteristics to the survivors, it is critical to indicate that six of the eight participants from the group and individual interviewees were children of parents who were recruited into Peoples Temple. The remaining two were adults who were recruited into Peoples Temple. This segment of the population entered in with a thirst to participate in the mission of the church touted by Jim Jones, but quickly reverted to exhibiting behaviors of a conformist. According to Kelley (1992), the conformist is one who often responds to demands by saying yes even when they want to say no. This type of follower defers to the leaders authority while relinquishing their ability to think independently, usually the result of adhering to the recognized position of power--as in the case of Jones--the pastorship. Kelley (1992) posits that, "Domineering leaders who seek power over others encourage conformists" (p. 110). Conformist exhibit a desire for structure, order, and predictability (Kelley, 1992) which is also congruent with the characteristics of Participant #2 who alluded to the fact that life pre-Peoples Temple

was not wholesome but in the end, participating as a follower appeared to be redeeming. This indoctrination with its negative inclinations toward the follower may parallel what Hersey and Blanchard espouse with respect to the application of situational leadership. As mentioned earlier, they (Hersey & Blanchard, 1982) posit that one key to the success of a leader is their ability to flex styles as conditions change. For instance, with Jones acting in the capacity of a toxic leader, he leveraged control over his followers by rationing the amount of guidance, attention, and/or encouragement in any given situation. In turn, it harbored an environment for toxic followership where willful blindness was cultivated.

Colluders: Ambition – *Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership*

The leader-follower interrelationship deciphered in the toxic triangle differentiates between the two types of followers: conformist and colluders. This section will discuss the colluders who are followers that participate in the destruction (Padilla et al. 2007).

I would surmise that willful blindness began with the follower's complicity in the destructive conduct of Jim Jones. Willful blindness is most inclusive of those closest and most obedient to the leader always working in the best interest of their leader. Destructive leaders carefully choose their confidants often identifying those who pose the least resistance. Milgram (1974) suggests that obedience is something that is deeply ingrained enough to override personal emotions such as guilt, sympathy or a belief in moral conduct. These are people who are obedient to malevolent authority and they are people who have no particular evil ideas of their own; they just blindly do what they are told. This is what allowed them to become

agents in a terrible destructive process in People Temple.

Congruent values and beliefs– The participants in this study did not have values or beliefs that were congruent with Jim Jones. The followership that ensued was in the interest of the agricultural project, political stance, or social programs. Jones’ overwhelming controlling practices over shadowed their desire to remain.

Susceptible Followers and Existing literature

There is partial support for existing literature. It is useful to distinguish among different types of susceptible individuals. Using social identification is a process by which we define ourselves in terms and categories that we share with other people (Deaux, 1996). Reicher, Haslam, and Hopkins (2005) contend that in line with other social identity approaches to leadership, leader and followers both rely on each other to create the conditions under which mutual influence is possible. Weierner (1997) further differentiated between followers who lack a clearly defined self-concept from those who share the leader's values. Kellerman (2004) distinguished between bystanders, who allow bad leadership to happen, and acolytes, “true believers” who join in the destruction. It is therefore the outcomes that indicate the inter-relatedness as the leader actively intervenes in creating and redefining identities thereby creating and transforming their followers (2005).

Judge’s (1985) assessment of the catastrophic events that unfolded in the jungles of Guyana gave account to the effects of followership led by a destructive leader. News media, talk show hosts, and special reports all consisted of the many stories that overwhelmingly captivated a global audience with discussions about the events of the mass suicide at the hands of the dysfunctional leadership of Jim Jones.

Gardner & Avolio (1998) contend that the leader-follower relationship is partially dependent on the role that followers play in constructing the leaders' charismatic persona. The survivors admit that as followers, they were able to see consistency in Jones' behavior and who he professed to be as seen in the dramaturgical model (Gardner & Avolio, 1998), but that was only during the courting period as a new member. However, as time progressed, Jones filled Peoples Temple with mystical illusions and grandeur—also known as impression management (IM) (Gardner & Avolio, 1998). IM is expressed as charismatic leaders boosting their perception of competency in order to have followers conform. Jones' success at IM netted a following of over 1,000 people to the jungle in South America.

Conducive Environment

Figure 8 lists the characteristics of the conducive environments within the toxic triangle. Each element represents the make-up of the situational factors that are needed to exist in a leader-follower interactive environment. They include instability, perceived threat, cultural values, lack of checks and balances, and ineffective institutions; each of these characteristics is discussed below.

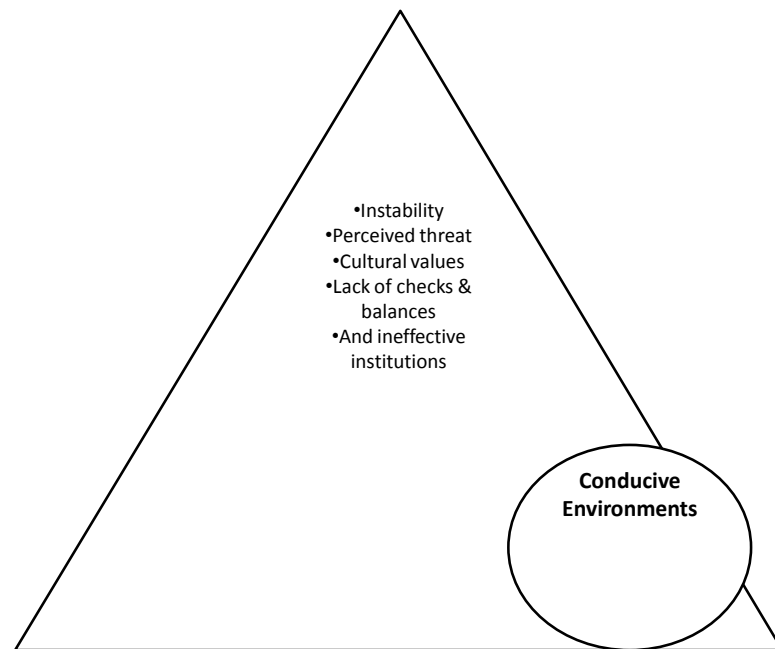


Figure 8 - The Toxic Triangle: Conducive Environment Domain – Theme comparison

Instability – *Social Unrest*

Charismatic leaders tend to surface during a state of crisis (Conger, 1997; House & Howell, 1992; Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). Such instability creates an environment for leaders to acquire power and centralize decision making. Therefore, followers, according to Lipman-Blumen (2005), seek guidance from a hero because they lose their sense of self-worth and ability to govern themselves efficiently during turbulent times. Moreover, Shamir and Howell (1999) use empirical evidence to illustrate that a crisis is not a necessary condition for the emergence of a charismatic leader or for the success of such leadership; but if the leader has a collectivistic orientation and appeals to the ideological goals and values of the organization, followers are more likely to accept them.

Likewise, this sort of response from followers stems from their perception of charisma in a leader (Bass & Bass, 2008). The participants of this study assert that

Jim Jones' leadership attracted followers who were in many respects, disillusioned with the social norms. For this reason, his popularity among the blacks, Hispanics, social activists, and the young and old was growing. Political unrest and violence affected many within this population. Hence, his ability to offer racial equality and a sense of definitive purpose with socialism at the forefront was an attractive feature of his leadership. Despite their upbringing, some participants were taught to believe in God, but all believed in hard work and service to their country. The survivors who were teens and young adults began to question these beliefs during this period of civil strife to the point of actively engaging in protests and other movements.

Civil liberties seemed unreachable during the murderous period of the 1960s which dimmed the light on survivors who had hope in leaders now turned martyrs like Medgar Evers, John F. and Bobby Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. Among others, these values were not enough to help them deal with the social and racial difficulties. Therefore, the tailored message of Jim Jones—whether it was about religion, political change, social programs, or socialism, it became a drawing point to those (including the parents of the survivors who joined as children) who were faced with the challenge of making a change.

Perceived Threat - *Conflict and Dissent Deception*

Terror management theory (TMT) is based on the work of Becker (1975). The two basic assumptions of TMT are: a) humans have an inclination for self preservation and b) humans also have a tendency to reflect on our own inevitable mortality which over-rides the desire for self preservation. In order to manage

anxiety that accompanies persistent yet subtle thoughts of possible death that, individuals turn to cultural worldviews that provide a sense of immortality such as the belief in afterlife, or they believe in a cultural value where they believe practicing value standards to suppress mortality. “One way people manage their existential angst is by identifying with and supporting leaders who make them feel like they are a valued part of something larger than themselves” (Hoyt, Simon, & Reid, 2009, p. 234).

Likewise, the participants’ responses contributed to this notion by describing how Jones’ constant suicide drills increased the uneasiness about mortality. The imminent fear of death multiplied during the “white nights,” which were practice sessions for a mass death in case of a major crisis. Although the suicide drills were spoken of by Jones in the United States, Temple members’ familiarity with the concept increased as the number of exercises escalated.

Cultural Values – Dark Leadership and Follower Exploitation

The cultural environment in which all of us live consists of a series of values, norms and attitudes that govern social control. Schwartz (1992) notes that these values expressed and shared are deemed as good and they are considered cultural ideals. However, cultural values are the target of the charismatic leader who emerges as the result of an acute crisis. A tumultuous environment becomes a haven whereby cultural values are being devalued; permitting the leader to take the risk of breaking the norm and continuing to influence the followers with radical solutions to complex issues (Bass & Bass, 2008). This type of leader is capable of injecting new learning that is welcomed by the followers who are looking for

reform. Jones' used his position of power in Peoples Temple to change his message from Christianity to "Apostolic social justice" to socialism as a means of increasing an audience for self serving purposes.

Moreover, one extreme method Jones used to exploit the members of Peoples Temple was through the use of sex. According to Moore (2009):

"Sex was an important way Jim Jones controlled individuals." Above all, Jones made himself the principal object of members' sexual desire, encouraging them to confess to their physical need for him. (p. 35).

"He was a power-seeker and used sex as his way to gain additional power over a person—in a very personal way. He didn't discriminate. He didn't want any young vibrant person infatuated or involved with anyone but him," remembers another survivor (Moore, 2009, p. 35).

This same behavior was mimicked in cult leader David Koresh whose sexual appetite was resolved through introduction and ideology that multiple teenage wives were sanctioned by God and scripturally appropriate. Koresh acknowledged on a videotape sent out of the compound during the standoff that he had fathered more than 12 children by several "wives" who were as young as 12 or 13 when they became pregnant. According to a Report to the Deputy Attorney General on the Events at Waco, (1993):

"Evidence suggested that Koresh had 'wives' who were in their mid-teens, that Koresh told detailed and inappropriate sexual stories in front of the children during his Bible study sessions, and that Koresh taught the young girls that it was a privilege for them to become old enough (i.e., reach puberty) to have sex with him."

As members were forced to adapt to Jones' inconsistencies, cruelties and abuses, ultimately their hope in building something greater than themselves diminished as time went by. His destructive leadership inevitably worked systematically to obliterate adult judgment, as so often happens in cult followership.

Lack of Checks and Balances and Ineffective Institutions

In organizations where the checks and balances are deficient, destructive leaders are encouraged to maintain power and control. Conducive environments contribute to the emergence of destructive leadership but destructive leaders and colluding followers are sometimes able to take over (Padilla, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2007). Peoples Temple was an organization with no internal controls. Although there was a hierarchical structure, Jones never relinquished authority. Therefore, there were no rules to govern any of the business practices, social conduct, or human rights aspects. The only rules that existed were those set by Jim Jones himself. In an environment with no controls for accountability, colluders and destructive leaders alike have a prime opportunity to systematically ravish goods, sabotage group efforts, or, form alliances with other followers to do something constructive. However, in the end, Jonestown was a mission that began with a man named Jim Jones and ended with something far more tragic. With a trail blazing integrated social movement that ultimately ended in the total institutionalization of followers who through manipulation conformed to the abuses of a destructive leader.

Conducive Environment and the Existing Literature

There is partial support in this study for the existing literature on the conducive environment in Peoples Temple. Jonestown was populated with people who believed in supporting an agricultural project and making a difference. The hard work and dedication that was necessary to successfully carve out a community in the middle of the jungle was a combined effort Jones and his followers.

However, Jones was careful to prey on people because of their values and beliefs, but once he captivated his victims, he distorted the value ideals in an attempt to force conformity among the followers. The authoritarian atmosphere in which Peoples Temple was conducted lacked internal and external controls to monitor activity within Jonestown. This was due to the hierarchical model that Jones deliberately created to maintain power for self-serving purposes.

Moreover, it adds to the body of literature by introducing terror management theory to support the “white nights” also referred to as the suicide drills. Peoples Temple members lived in a state of being constantly reminded of their mortality, which can be terrifying. What compounded that level of fear was the fact that even their belief system had been distorted, so there was no sense of familiarity to grasp onto. Therefore, the members became consumed by the conducive environment which provided a haven for destructive leader behavior to flourish while the effects on followers can be described in terms of outcomes.

The Toxic Triangle: A New Model of Followership

Moving through the process of this research, listening to the stories of the survivors and the many perspectives of life in Peoples Temple, I noticed that this study revealed a new model of followership. The emerging themes were descriptive of a progressive process of toxic followership. Table 5.2 displays the stages of toxic followership and the characteristics of the follower. The table is followed by a discussion that details the process from the predatory (toxic) leaders’ hunt for the prey to the destructive idolization outcome.

Table 5.2 Findings: Model of Toxic Followership Progression	
Emerging Themes	Characteristics
Predatory Leadership/Preyerful Followership	Toxic leaders are predators who carefully stalk and recruit their prey (follower).
↓	
The Power of "Make" Believe	Followers state of mind under the control of a toxic leader that is recognized by others but denied by the follower.
↓	
Sacrificial Discipleship	Followers who sacrifice as an expression of loyalty to a toxic leader.
↓	
Willful Blindness to Unscrupulous Leadership	Followers who ignore toxic leaders bad behavior because of: their commitment to a greater cause; for personal gain; feelings of powerlessness.
↓	
Destructive Idolization	Followers who are attracted to and follow a leader who exhibits destructive behavior; destructive being defined as deceptive customs as well as abuse of power.

Following is a discussion about Destructive Idolization and Sacrificial Discipleship as they relate to leader-follower interaction and outcomes. In this study, there were separate occurrences where two participants became embittered with Jones' controlling measures and ended up successfully escaping from Peoples Temple. As survivors, they candidly discussed how their followership to a leader who seemed to have ignited an exciting new movement, turned into a trap of lies,

distrust, and contempt. These negative case samplings were the foundation for a new model depicted in the Toxic Followership model (Figure 9) below.

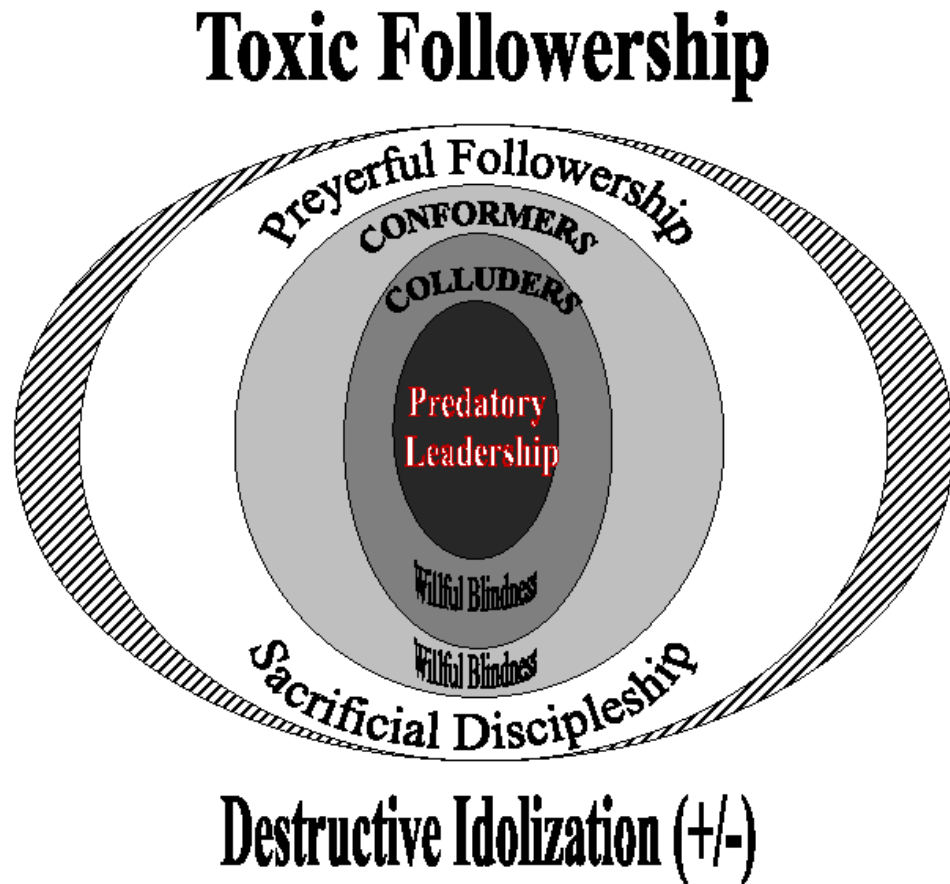


Figure 9 – Toxic Followership Model

This model is in the shape of the eye which represents the nature of predatory leaders. It is the place of suspicious positioning in which the leader always has his or her eye on the surroundings as a means of maintaining control. In the center of the eye is Predatory Leadership. Like the pupil that is at the center where light passes through; so is the predatory leader who attracts the followers using their charisma. Over time, that center changes given the condition of the environment. Likewise, as in the case of predatory leadership, the more the

environment lends itself to the leader gaining power and control, charisma has its tendency to mutate into bad charisma.

Next are the colluders who represent the iris. Colluders support and sometimes mimic the destructive leader's behavior and also participate in willful blindness because of the benefits that they receive as a result of their loyalty; which included access to information never revealed to anyone outside of Jones' trusted few and freedom to come and go as they pleased. A particular characteristic of the iris is that it is a ring of muscle fibers which is responsible for protecting the amount of light that passes through (Kolb, Nelson, Fernandez, & Jones, 1995). As in the case of Peoples Temple, like the iris, the small trusted group closest to Jones was responsible for protecting him as well. They were his "muscle."

The next layer is the conformers who participate in willful blindness out of fear or sheer hopelessness. This group makes up the largest group of followers. Similar to the cornea that covers the front of the eye, the conformers act as a shield for the destructive leader. The cornea is the first and most powerful lens in the eye's optical system (Kolb, Nelson, Fernandez, & Jones, 1995) and like the cornea, the conformers would be the most powerful except for their defeated spirit.

Last is the part of the eye that hosts the preyerful followership and sacrificial discipleship. This represents the breeding ground for the recruiting of disciples which takes place in cults. The prey are unaware that when they are in this part of the eye of the Toxic Followership model, that they are being courted, their values are being distorted, and their loyalty is being demanded. The shaded area just outside is only seen by the predatory leader and it represents deception. Followers

become prey and sacrificial disciples, without ever knowing that they have stepped into a world of “make” believe. Once aware of their surroundings, destructive idolization has either a positive outcome where the follower finds a way to leave; or a negative outcome where the follower becomes a part of the leaders’ destructive behavior.

Moreover, the eye and all of its vision is controlled by the predatory leader. The parts of the eye play a supporting role in the main activity of Jones’ overall vision for Peoples Temple—control and self serving purposes. This toxic followership model is a depiction of leader-follower interaction.

In order to bring clarification to the elements of the Toxic Followership Model, the features of each component will be described.

Destructive Idolization and Sacrificial Discipleship

Destructive idolization occurs when followers become mesmerized by the special powers of an unscrupulous leader with destructive behavior that later manifests itself into total commitment. Leaders who claim to have spiritual powers that do not exist may or may not be known to followers. There are two outcomes as a result of this fascination which is indicated by the plus and minus (+/-) signs. A positive outcome occurs when a follower decides that the leader’s repulsive behavior will no longer be tolerated and secretly plans an escape or a negative outcome which takes place when the follower becomes enchanted and imitates the behavior. If the outcome is positive and followers decide not to endure the abuse of a destructive leader, they sacrifice anything of value to flee the situation. Therefore, sacrificial discipleship is defined as the act of followers, who in this case

were the former Peoples Temple members, surrendering priceless valuables regardless of profit, which included time, money, homes, etc.

As a result of the unscrupulous leadership style, the participants' responses indicated that Jim Jones' desire to have obedient followers through the use of abuse and control was greater than his desire to have a follower participatory environment in meeting the goals of the organization. As such, the sense of community was steadily diminishing as instilling fear among the followers continued to be a common practice within the Temple.

According to Hogg and van Knippenberg (2004), leadership is dependent upon followers perception of shared social identity. That is to say, that a person has some shared commonalities with other people within a group. It is through these identities that connectedness takes place and trust is developed. For the former Temple members, this was a giant step. As their prospectus of their purpose in a socialist, progressive movement changed, they all agreed that the cause was no longer congruent with their vision. This perspective led to the groups' collaborated efforts to leave Peoples Temple. They came to believe that sacrificing their finances, time, dedication and personal dreams was no longer an interest for a group of young members who were willing to surrender their lives to escape. The followers' will to survive became more important than their commitment to the cause. What ensued was a process whereby leadership among the survivors began to take shape. In the case of one survivor, she just could no longer fathom why she needed to be part of something that she was unwilling to believe in because of the hypocrisy and control.

In another instance, one of the participants helped to form a group of like-minded (those who wanted to leave Peoples Temple) college students. This group secretly received money from family and friends who believed they were supporting a church special project. After collecting several thousand dollars, they all escaped to the Midwest where they camped on the banks of the river, too afraid to contact family members, and concealed their identities. Fear of being found and killed for defecting was very real. Even with the challenges of planning an escape, the most difficult thing to do, was taking a chance on trusting anyone with the knowledge that they were going to plan a get-away.

Such a case is considered an example of negative case sampling because unlike the elements depicted in the model, the aforementioned characteristics of this example supported the perspectives of this small group. Among themselves, they continued to express their disdain for witnessing Jones' moral decay, which led to a covert radical change. Their allegiance to Jones began to fray as they increasingly developed a mindset that set them apart from a conformer to that of a defector. As they realized that Jim Jones' words could no longer induce them to follow, they began to covertly plan their escape from his toxic rule.

Their action supports the premise of destructive idolization and sacrificial discipleship. The followers could not commit to the immoral standards that Jim Jones employed to govern them and moreover, they were not willing to give up everything and receive nothing in return. They developed a mindset for freedom, even if they had to sacrifice their life to obtain it.

Summary

This focus group study began by exploring the perceptions and attitudes of the Jonestown survivors using followership, sacrificial leadership and charisma as theoretical frameworks. Each of the theories provided unique outcomes as it relates to the extant literature. Using Kelley's principles of followership had little impact on this study primarily because the participants in the study were children when they entered into Jonestown and the nature of the environment was likened to, as one participant described, a concentration camp. For this reason, the concept only applied to two participants.

Additionally, self-sacrificial behavior was not exhibited by Jim Jones but to the contrary, it was most evident among the survivors. This was so prevalent that a new concept emerged from the data, Sacrificial Discipleship, which appropriately described the followers' characteristics. As I explored charisma from the leaders' perspective, it was not long before noticing that Jones vacillated between charisma and the dark side of charisma at will to maintain control over Peoples Temple members.

However, after analyzing the data, the toxic triangle (Padilla et. al, 2007) was used to evaluate the data. The Padilla et al. (2007) model has three components: destructive leadership, susceptible followers, and conducive environments. The destructive leader component of the toxic triangle lists a series of attributes that describe the characteristics of Jim Jones. Jones was charismatic and used charisma to charm and control depicting a progression from socialized charisma to personalized charisma. The power he reined over his followers was characteristic of the need to nourish his narcissistic behavior.

The second domain, susceptible followers, was divided into two categories; conformers and colluders. Characteristics of the two participants who joined Peoples Temple as adults were first compared to Kelley's five followership patterns and then categorized into the conformers' section of the toxic triangle. Likewise, several emerging themes such as willful blindness and The Power of "Make" Believe were also used to describe the similarities between the followers which supported the findings of the Milgram (1974) study. Although these comparisons supported the model, the congruent values and beliefs of this domain were inconsistent with the findings in this study as there were no participants whose values were parallel to those of Jones.

The last component of the toxic triangle compared emerging themes and Jonestown characteristics of the conducive environments. This section illuminated the external factors that provide an atmosphere for loyal followers to contribute to a destructive leaders' behavior either through fear or collaboration. These situational factors are a critical component in illustrating leader-follower inter-relatedness.

Recommendations

A major finding of this study was the number of unanswered questions it raised. Analyzing the data of the participants' experiences in the focus groups and individual interviews compounded the complexity of the interdependencies between a destructive leader and loyal followers. These questions are outside of the scope of this study, but have potential for future research: a) trapped in what you run from; b) the aging population; and c) followership turning points. A brief discussion on these topics is below.

Toxic Followership

This research gives evidence that there is a shared responsibility between the leader and followers in the outcomes of situations where an unscrupulous leader is at the helm.

According to Calder (1977), the word leadership is a perception of followers that acclimates to the traits of the leader. One leadership theory that supports this theme is implicit leadership. Bass and Bass explain that implicit leadership theories (ILT) are cognitive frameworks or categorization systems that are in use during information processing to encode, process and recall specific events and behavior (p. 395). In essence, people who originate from the same culture tend to have a shared image, also referred to as prototypes, that reflects what the nature of a leader is. Prototypes are used to define a series of characteristics or behaviors of an individual. A prototypical leader is one who actively participates and an anti-prototypical leader remains withdrawn (Bass & Bass, 2008). Prototypes and anti-prototypes for implicit leadership theories (Offerman, Kennedy, & Wirtz, 1994;

Lord & Maher, 1990; Epitropaki & Martin, 2004) can be categorized into eight traits that are associated with the term “leader” including sensitivity, dedication, tyranny, charisma, attractiveness, masculinity, and intelligence. In contrast, the only anti-prototypes are strength, tyranny and masculinity are the only anti-prototypes. Therefore, implicit leadership theories are the criterion that followers employ to develop associations relating to leaders’ behaviors (Keller, 1999).

Experiences that shape individuals’ implicit leadership theories are those concerning the environment and social influence. For example, Jones’ public display for corporal punishment along with his lengthy melodramatic sermons led to compliance from the followers. Therefore, Peoples Temple members may have concluded that Jones’ tactics were acceptable as a means of self-governing since his goal of having totally committed followers was accomplished; regardless of whether it was willingly or unwillingly.

Trapped in what you run from

Often times there are characteristics in leaders that repel us or environments that make us feel uncomfortable and we would rather not be a part of the situation. For instance, Jim Crow laws promoting segregation, racism and hatred were a harsh reality during that era. Nonetheless, Peoples Temple satisfied the survivor’s strong desire to have a united, diverse, family-like group of people. There were survivors who were attracted to Peoples Temple because of their interest in supporting racial equality, which was Jones’ premier showcase to the face of the public. However, on the inside, the Temple was the complete opposite—a trap—trapped in the very phenomenon they ran from. Remember that the Planning Commission was the

most powerful inner circle of Jones' trusted few. Ironically, it was the racial makeup of the Planning Commission and various inner circles that were a key reason the young defectors chose to leave. In a letter to Jones they ask, "Where is the black leadership, where is the black staff and black attitude" (Moore, 2009, p. 37)? For this small group, the outcome was positive because they made a decision to denounce their association with Peoples Temple, relinquish their membership, and implement a carefully planned strategy to break away from Jones. However, focusing on the dimensions of exploring followership using the courageous followership (Chaleff, 1995) principles to help identify red flags within the toxic triangle (Padilla, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2007) is an area for future research.

The Aging Population

Although cults remain in existence today, former members of cults from the 70's and 80's have a wealth of information that can be helpful in followership research. For some, it is the remnants of the stigma attached to the word "cult" that has a haunting grip and is therefore, a deterrent. Studies addressing followership in cults, whether in corporate settings, religious organizations, or other social environments will continue to provide an enriched understanding of the leader-follower interdependence. However, the youth of yester-year are older now and may be more reluctant to having a discussion for many reasons including the fact that there is an extreme amount of pain from such memories when discussions takes place. Also, the potential for exploitation is a reality, therefore the context in which the information would be used can be a determining factor for ex-cult members to share their stories.

Followership Turning Points

The majority of the survivors in this study were children when they joined Peoples Temple. However, some were deliberately active in their survivorship meaning that they participated in planning and executing their escape through a transformational process from followers to leaders. Studies investigating the progression of a follower turned leader and the interaction are needed to explore what impact personality traits or other socialization practices have on a radical positive outcomes for former conformers or colluders.

Conclusion

This study illuminated the interaction between the leader and followers in a toxic environment. Toxic followership stems from both the perception and behavior of the leader. Moving beyond their existing circumstances proved complicated due to the indoctrination into Jones' vision. Subsequently having given up all of their possessions and abandoning their families, the survivors lived in and experienced the most impoverished, controlled environment under a leader that denigrated them to follower obedience. Whether entering as an adult or child, escaping was not an option.

However, two participants transcended environmental adversity to overcome their circumstances. Prompted by a turning point, a personal decision was made to leave Peoples Temple and Jonestown. For others survival meant the end of an era where their contribution was equal to their calling in life and the abrupt finale left a void where that same balance has never been re-captured. Surviving also meant dealing with the scars left behind from abrupt separation from a leader once admired by all and the memories of loved ones.

Evidence from this study strongly reveals interconnected and interdependent phenomena that ultimately shaped the behavior of Jim Jones followers. More specifically, the toxic relationship was initiated through the leaders' deception and progressed through the eyes of the follower from admiring the leader to believing in the leader to ultimately self-sacrificing for the leader. Consequently, the survivors

did not experience the once hoped for opportunities and personal fulfillment of using their education, skills and passion for what they originally believed was an exciting, innovative movement to bring forth change.

Yet, the success of the survivors brings to light how vulnerable we are to deception and how the power of influence can strip us of our identity to the point that we succumb to dishonorable corrosion. Therefore, it is critical to re-iterate what was evident in this study--toxic followership begins with the pioneering spirit of a trusted individual who, through creative manipulation, transforms the mindset whereby we can so easily become an extension of a toxic leaders' moral decay.

Researcher's Closing Comments

Coming from a Christian background, I always felt safe and secure in my house of worship. Church has always been my foundation for spiritual education, my source of energy, my sense of relief, my place of restoration. However, church as I knew it and Peoples Temple were not parallel. So then, one might wonder why I took on a project of this magnitude.

I began this research with a desire to understand a phenomenon that has puzzled me for years—Guyana, November 18, 1978. My constant thought was how could this happen—why did they *follow*? And so, it was then that I realized the spark that ignited the analytical side of me. My journey exploring followership and the former members of Peoples Temple added a new dimension to my learning. It also posed the greatest challenge, which was bringing closure to this process. The participants in this study shared their deepest emotions and some of their most painful moments in order to contribute to the study of followership, sacrificial leadership, and charisma...and yet we also enjoyed laughter.

I often found myself immersed in the data for days on end, every time seeing something new or different. I had mixed feelings about reaching the point of saturation. Part of me shouted “Hallelujah” and the other part of me was in disbelief. Maybe it is the fact that qualitative research brings life and gives a voice to studies. Perhaps it is because the shared experiences molded my research. In any event, conducting this research caused me to reflect; not only to be grateful to everyone who, so willingly, helped to get me to the finished line, but to also understand that followership and charismatic leadership have a dark side too.

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APPENDIX A

Letter of Acknowledgement from the Jonestown Institute

-----Original Message-----

From: Fielding McGehee [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, October 21, 2009 6:33 PM
To: wmedmonds@umes.edu
Subject: Your research

Dear Wendy;

As the editor of the Jonestown Report -- and the Director of The Jonestown Institute -- I would like to thank you for your article about your dissertation research which we recently published.

As you know, the Jonestown report is the only publication devoted exclusively to academic research, artistic projects and familial searches regarding Peoples Temple and the life and death of the Jonestown community. The report appears at <http://Jonestown.sdsu.edu/AboutJonestown/JonestownReport/jtreport.htm>. The full URL for your article is <http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/AboutJonestown/JonestownReport/Volume11/Edmonds.htm>.

We also wish you the best of the luck in the research itself. Certainly an investigation into the followership of Peoples Temple has been needed for a long time. Several people have considered the issues raised by the influences of the Temple membership upon its leaders – including Dr. Archie Smith, Jr., who coined the term "audience corruption" and related it to the Temple – but that research has been done almost as an afterthought. I believe the findings of your work will inform a number of scholars who are interested in the dynamics of New Religious Movements or (for that matter) larger institutions.

Let me know if there is anything I can do to help you further with your work.

Sincerely, Fielding

Fielding M. McGehee III
The Jonestown Institute
3553 Eugene Place
San Diego, CA 92116
[REDACTED]

<http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/>

APPENDIX B**Pilot Study**

██████, ██████ Reporter

Permission to Record

From: ██████
Sent: Friday, December 12, 2008 1:20 PM
To: Edmonds, Wendy M
Subject: RE: PhD student contacting you to interview you

Got it! I'll talk to you at 11 PST.

██████
This e-mail message is intended only for the personal use of the recipient(s) named above. If you are not an intended recipient, you may not review, copy or distribute this message. If you have received this communication in error, please notify the ██████ by sending a message from this feedback page: ██████ and delete the original message.

~~~~~Original Message~~~~~

From: Wendy Edmonds ██████  
Sent: Friday, December 12, 2008 7:55 AM  
To: ██████ Cc: 'Wendy M Edmonds'  
Subject: RE: PhD student contacting you to interview you

Hi ██████

Thank you for your permission to tape your interview on the conference call which will be included in my dissertation. Below is the call-in number to use for the interview.

██████  
Please respond to this email to confirm receipt of this information. I appreciate all of your support.

Thanks,  
Wendy  
Wendy M. Edmonds  
██████

-----Original Message-----

From: [REDACTED] Sent: Monday, December 01, 2008 5:38 PM  
To: Edmonds, Wendy  
Subject: RE: PhD student contacting you to interview you

Hi Wendy,

I have to cover a story tomorrow at 10. Can we reschedule? Thanks. Sorry for the inconvenience.

[REDACTED]  
This e-mail message is intended only for the personal use of the recipient(s) named above. If you are not an intended recipient, you may not review, copy or distribute this message. If you have received this communication in error, please notify [REDACTED] by sending a message from this feedback page: [REDACTED] and delete the original message.

~~~~~  
-----Original Message-----

From: Edmonds, Wendy M [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, November 19, 2008 8:35 PM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: PhD student contacting you to interview you

Hello [REDACTED],

I am a student in the Organizational Leadership PhD program at University of Maryland Eastern Shore. I am in the process of gathering data for my research and would like to interview you to discuss the online story about the Jonestown survivors. Please call me or email me to let me know if your schedule permits. I look forward to hearing from you.

Thanks,
Wendy M. Edmonds
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Reporter Interview

MECHANIZED VOICE: This conference is being recorded

WENDY EDMONDS: Ok are you back?

PARTICIPANT: I'm here

WENDY EDMONDS: Good, OK so I want to thank you for the interview for my dissertation and I'm gonna start by asking you to give your name

PARTICIPANT: OK [REDACTED]

WENDY EDMONDS: OK, and your title

PARTICIPANT: I'm a reporter [REDACTED]

WENDY EDMONDS: Alright. And this of course is Wendy Edmonds University of Maryland-Eastern Shore Student in the Organizational Leadership PHD program, and I'm working on my dissertation which is basically going to be on followership and leadership and exploring the survivors of the Jim Jones event the massacre.

PARTICIPANT: OK

WENDY EDMONDS: And so I have a couple of questions but I really would rather this just to be free form.

PARTICIPANT: OK

WENDY EDMONDS: So that I can gather the information and then what I'll do is transcribe it and add this piece into my dissertation. So I'm really just going to ask you to start with giving me some history of the time and the era of Jim Jones when he started around the 70's.

PARTICIPANT: OK. I'm not the full expert on Jim Jones and I don't know all the history but I do know he came to the "Bay Area" I think it was, I want to say from Indiana maybe

WENDY EDMONDS: OK

PARTICIPANT: and in I think the late 60's and started a church in San Francisco and was very popular. And throughout the 70's there were in the "Bay Area" there were a lot of churches or new age organizations or borderline cults or you know EST was really big then, another group called Actualizations, and there were lots ... dozens of these groups and people came from all over the country who were attracted to this alternative lifestyles and kind of a different way of approaching spirituality and community and sort of an off shoot kind of the hippie era a little bit. And so he was not unique by any stretch, nor was he thought of as with any kind of disdain or stigma.

WENDY EDMONDS: OK

PARTICIPANT: He was totally part of that world. And he was very well known and a lot of politicians liked him. He was active in the community. A lot of main stream churches liked him. He had good relationships with a lot of...you know prominent ministers around the Bay Area. He was especially, I'm not sure why this is the case, but he was especially popular not just with white middle class people but also with more working class African Americans in Oakland. I'm not sure why that is but it is. And so he had a lot of relationships with some of these black churches in Oakland and San Francisco and so a lot of the members of his church...well actually you know, I think I think one of the reasons is he talked a lot about racism and a racist societies and sexist societies and I think that he kind of promised sort of a Utopian society where that didn't exist. That attracted a lot of people; especially in Oakland during that period.

I mean the Black Panthers were in full swing and there was a lot happening in Oakland during that period and I think what he promised was really appealing for a lot of people; also, because he had a certain amount of legitimacy not just with main stream black churches but with a lot of well respected politicians. You know the mayors deferred to him and liked him and he was often seen with these very prominent community people. I mean he was definitely a legitimate person. Not considered a freak or a fringe person or anything like that. And then at some point, he started this agricultural project in Guyana South America along the Caribbean coast there.

It was about...I think it was about 200 miles from the capital. So it was in the middle of the jungle essentially in the middle of nowhere and he brought a lot of his followers... you know, hundreds of his followers moved there with him to kind of create this Utopian world where they would be self sufficient and they would live in a society free of racism and sexism and what-not. And so he was there for a couple of years and lot of people went there and some people went back and forth and a lot of people just stayed. But then over time I think he became a little bit mega maniacal and a bit of a dictator and a lot of people wanted to get out but they couldn't get out either because they were stuck there and physically couldn't get out because they were 200 miles from anything and they were in the middle of the jungle... oh... and they had no way of communicating with their families back home. But, also I think a lot of people at that point were so disoriented they had been living in the jungle with this guy for years and were just had sort of lost any sense of themselves.

There were whole families down there. You know big extended families and this went on for a while and then I think there were the people who did manage to escape made a lot of reports of abuse and some violence that was happening and it was not this Utopian world that he had promised people. People from what I understand were working these horrendously long days doing manual labor and there was a lot of intimidation, a lot of threats, and I don't know what you call brain washing but maybe some of that was going on too and then finally some people who had escaped were working with the U.S. authorities to go down there and find out what was going on and to protect people or give people a chance to leave if they wanted leave. And then as that started happening and the heat put more...well, there was more publicity and more heat put on him, and that's when the massacre happened. I think congressman Leo Ryan was on his way there and a bunch of reporters and that's when the massacre happened.

WENDY EDMONDS: OK and so...

PARTICIPANT: That's as much as I...

WENDY EDMONDS: and so I noticed that you said that you know this is during the time when the type of church that he was running was actually acceptable so there wasn't any heat...

PARTICIPANT: Right. Yeah.

WENDY EDMONDS: So when we talk about followers, you said there was an attraction because of what he pretty much promised

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: A world of Utopia

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: But what type of people were they? I mean they weren't all of a low economic status?

PARTICIPANT: No, not by any stretch. No I mean it was it was white middle class, hippies from Marin County, it was lower income African American people from Oakland. It was all across the board. It was families with young kids, it was old people, it was people who were very well educated. There was not any one particular group that he really monopolized. I think his message appealed to a lot of people.

WENDY EDMONDS: Yes

PARTICIPANT: A lot of people who maybe were looking for kind of a better way to live...well definitely people who were idealistic. For sure.

WENDY EDMONDS: Right

PARTICIPANT: And he's a very charismatic person too; very charming and I think that appealed to a lot of people too.

WENDY EDMONDS: That's actually interesting that you used that word because that is one of the leadership styles that I am exploring in my dissertation to try to determine what type of leader he was.

PARTICIPANT: Okay

WENDY EDMONDS: And usually when you find the kind of people who have tons of followers, they are very charismatic.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: They also are very skillful at finding out and determining what it is that they need to say to meet the needs of (attract) the people.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: To get their buy in.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: So we talk here about authenticity. You know, as an authentic leader, people saw him then as not just being preaching but being a doer of what he was ministering about.

PARTICIPANT: Yes. I think he was much more of an activist than a lot of main stream religious groups. I mean he wasn't just preaching spirituality, I mean he was doing stuff. He had this dream we're all gonna go live in the jungle and create our own Utopian world. You know he was very active politically, he was in the news he was well known.

WENDY EDMONDS: I even saw pictures of him with the senators and others.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: Now for the people who come back every year for the anniversary and I understand that they're also trying to get a memorial of some sort.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: What do you find when they get together or do you hear any of their stories?

PARTICIPANT: Yes I've heard a number of the stories. It's the survivors and also the family members of people who died there. I mean it's horrible... I think it's been very hard for all of them to come to terms with what happened because essentially these people committed suicide. And I think that's hard to reckon with. A lot of it just doesn't make sense all these years later still thinking about how could their loved ones do this. How could so many people; I think it was almost a thousand people, allow themselves to be brainwashed to that extent. I think it's really hard for people to come to terms with. And alternately some survivors' family members feel that their loves ones were murdered essentially which doesn't make it any easier either.

WENDY EDMONDS: Right

PARTICIPANT: They feel like their sons and daughters and parents were stolen from them. I think a lot of people too feel a lot of guilt like there should have been something they should

have done or they tried and they couldn't help...maybe. One woman said that she tried for years to get her family out of there but they wouldn't go (sigh).

WENDY EDMONDS: Okay

PARTICIPANT: She went down there personally many times to offer to give them airfare and everything and to take them all home and they just wouldn't go. So that's very hard for a lot of people to accept. The fact that they tried to save their families but in the end didn't or couldn't. So there's a lot of grief and a lot of pain and it I think been really hard for people even all these years later to come to terms with it. And when people get together they seem to talk about ... not just that, but also...I mean if there's any lessons at all to be learned from this and there's probably not but the one lesson that people do mention is just the importance of thinking for yourself and critical thinking; being an independent person, being very, very careful. They talk about it's not just on an individual level but also as a country. Sometimes we allow ourselves to get lured into war or whatever kind of in the same as group think circumstances.

WENDY EDMONDS: Right

PARTICIPANT: So they talk a lot about that.

WENDY EDMONDS: Now what about people who were not the followers. I mean there had to be...

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: people that may come to the memorial because they had friends who drank the so called "Koolaid" and committed suicide.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: What about the people who left prior to that who did not or choose not to go to Guyana?

PARTICIPANT: Well they come too. I think it's the same thing; they feel some guilt. They didn't do enough to try to save other people or they feel a lot of grief. I talked to one woman there who did manage to get out but her kids were there still. And she was planning on coming back. I mean she was working on getting them out of there but it happened before she could get to them and she lost all of her children

WENDY EDMONDS: Wow

PARTICIPANT: Yeah, so I think people feel like they just they didn't do enough or they couldn't break through to their loved ones, or physically they were threatened or they felt like physically they couldn't get there or their lives were in danger

WENDY EDMONDS: Now, did you find any similarities in characteristics of the types of

people knowing that they had various backgrounds (different races)?

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: Did you find any one characteristic or more than one characteristic that stood out about these people as far as personality?

PARTICIPANT: Well one thing about the Bay Area, the Bay Area has always, since the gold rush days, attracted people who are kind of adventurers and who are open to alternative lifestyles. I mean that people from all over the world come to the Bay Area for those reasons always (laughter)

WENDY EDMONDS: OK

PARTICIPANT: And so people who either want to start fresh. It's a very non judgmental place and it's a very tolerant place of different lifestyles. And so that is one thing I'd say all these people had in common is that they were idealistic and truly wanted to explore an alternative lifestyle. They all believed in some kind of world racial harmony. And this was the time during the 70's when there was a ton of racial tension; especially in the inner cities. So you know, for white people and black people this would be for both groups. People who wanted to kind of escape that tension and be in a place where people just got along better; there was just more understanding.

WENDY EDMONDS: So did you have anything you wanted to share that I haven't asked about

PARTICIPANT: I don't think so. I will say that I've covered a lot of stuff and this has been some of the hardest because it's very hard talking to these family members and survivors all these years later because they just have no way, no answers and they'll never have any answers. It's almost an inexplicable tragedy and it's not like someone died in a car wreck or somebody was shot in front of their house or someone died of cancer, it's just inexplicable.

WENDY EDMONDS: Yes.

PARTICIPANT: And a lot of people just don't understand how someone could allow themselves to be lured into this. I think for a lot of people their trust is shattered, their faith is shattered. I think people have had a really hard time coming to terms with it and for the most part have not come to terms with it.

WENDY EDMONDS: There was an interview on television and one of the women actually she wrote a book.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: It's supposed to be released in February and she said that she still loves God but she will never go to a church.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: As a result of that she'll never ever go to a church.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: And that still shows the scars that are so deep; because she doesn't want the affiliation with another church. As a result of that, I'm sure that is multiplied among the people-- that same feeling.

PARTICIPANT: Yes, they're very leery of any kind of organization and also when these people get together they come from all over the country and come to these memorials once a year and a lot of them have nothing in common really except that they have some link to this event that happened 30 years ago. It's been a while and something brings them together where they do get some comfort from being around each other because I think no one else can really understand what it is they've experienced and they all have different experiences, and they all have different reactions to it, and they all have found different ways to cope with it. And again, these are not people who really have a whole lot in common; especially all these years later. But they do seem to get a lot of comfort from just being around each other and listening to each other's stories and I think that's why they go to these memorial services

WENDY EDMONDS: It's probably some sort of healing for them.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: So when I come to California, what would you recommend I do as part of my research? I know that on San Diego's University campus they have a library where all of this information is archived. But are there any memorials there in the Bay Area?

PARTICIPANT: Yes! You should definitely go to-- I think it's called Evergreen Cemetery in Oakland that's where the mass grave is.

WENDY EDMONDS: During my research, I found out that they had actually gone all over the United States and asked for places to bury them and they (Evergreen Cemetery) were the only ones that accepted.

PARTICIPANT: Yes. It's definitely worth seeing it's very moving and that's where the memorial is as well.

WENDY EDMONDS: OK and as far as contacting family members?

PARTICIPANT: Yes, I would talk to the people who run the cemetery and I would also talk to them. There's a few kind of prominent ministers around the Bay Area who remember this pretty well and would have a lot to say about the issue

WENDY EDMONDS: OK

PARTICIPANT: Their names are slipping my mind right now but if you want I can email you a couple names.

WENDY EDMONDS: Sure!

PARTICIPANT: And then there's a lot of local historians who would know a lot more about all this than I do so again I'll send you some names

WENDY EDMONDS: OK

PARTICIPANT: And of course I'll be happy to meet with you too. I'll go up to the cemetery with you.

WENDY EDMONDS: That would be great

PARTICIPANT: OK

WENDY EDMONDS: That would help out. Well, thank you so much

PARTICIPANT: Sure

WENDY EDMONDS: OK Bye bye

████████ Jonestown Survivor

Permission to Record

-----Original Message-----

From: ██████████ Sent: Saturday, January 03, 2009 8:08 PM

To: ██████████

Subject: Thank you

I apologize for not getting back to you sooner, I am honored and humbled by the outpouring of love. That is an honor for me. Please free to give me a ring if it is not too late...what time zone are you in?

God Bless you,

Peace, Blessings and Universal Love

████████

~~~~~  
--- On Tue, 1/27/09, Edmonds, Wendy ██████████ wrote:

From: Edmonds, Wendy ██████████

Subject: RE: Thank you

To: ██████████

████████ Cc: "Edmonds, Wendy ██████████"

Date: Tuesday, January 27, 2009, 8:02 PM

Hi ██████████,

I know things are going to get REALLY busy for you, and I am so happy to know that the book is ready for purchase. As you know from my previous email, I am a PhD student in the DC area and I want to interview you for my research. I will call you tomorrow to try and schedule a time for a brief discussion and at that time we can set our calendars. How does that work for you? Please let me know.

Thanks,

Wendy

████████

~~~~~  
From: ██████████

Sent: Wednesday, January 28, 2009 7:11 AM

To: Edmonds, Wendy

Subject: RE: Thank you

Perfect, but I am off at 10pm everynight this week and maybe through sunday.
What is your deadline?

--- On Wed, 1/28/09, Edmonds, Wendy [REDACTED] wrote:
From: Edmonds, Wendy [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Thank you
To: [REDACTED]
Date: Wednesday, January 28, 2009, 4:24 AM

I have a Friday deadline for the initial conversation and I have a July
Deadline for the interview.

Wendy

From [REDACTED]
Sent: Wednesday, January 28, 2009 11:48 AM
To: Edmonds, Wendy
Subject: RE: Thank you

Well we can talk tomorrow evening, but it will be after 10PM. Do you have a list of questions I
can prepare for?
Thank you.

--- On Wed, 1/28/09, Edmonds, Wendy [REDACTED] wrote:
From: Edmonds, Wendy M [REDACTED] Subject: RE: Thank you
To: [REDACTED]
Cc: "Edmonds, Wendy [REDACTED]"
Date: Wednesday, January 28, 2009, 9:07 AM

Great! After 10pm will be fine. I will send you the list of questions later today. Thank you for
your support. I am very excited. If you want me to call you, I'll need your number.

Wendy

From [REDACTED] Sent: Wednesday, January 28, 2009 12:57 PM
To: Edmonds, Wendy M
Subject: RE: Thank you

Okay, lets shoot for 10:30 p.m. [REDACTED]. I look forward to speaking with you.
Peace and Blessings,
[REDACTED]

~~~~~  
--- On **Wed, 1/28/09, Edmonds, Wendy** > wrote:

From: Edmonds, Wendy M

Subject: RE: Thank you

To: [REDACTED]

Cc: "Edmonds, Wendy [REDACTED]"

Date: Wednesday, January 28, 2009, 5:51 PM

[REDACTED],

My advisor recommends that I record our initial interview to be included in my dissertation. Of course, I have to have your permission to do so. If you agree, I have my conference number to call into. Please see the information below, which includes a brief description of the purpose of our interview along with five questions for tomorrow evening. Please let me know if I have your permission and I will send you my conference call number.

Permission to record the interview with [REDACTED] for Wendy M. Edmonds  
Doctoral student in the Organizational Leadership Program at University of Maryland Eastern Shore.

This interview will be included in a qualitative study based on semi-structured interviews. The purpose of this research is to gain an understanding of followership from the perspectives of characteristics. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed. Maryland State law provides that private conversations may not be recorded, intercepted, or divulged without permission of the individuals involved. This interview will be informal and should last about 30 minutes. The following questions will be included in the interview:

- Describe the time and era when Jim Jones started his church.
- Jim Jones was seen as a legitimate person when he started his church in the Bay Area with a promise to create an environment free of racism and sexism. Would you consider this the attraction for your family?
- How would you describe the characteristics of Jim Jones leadership style?
- With respect to followership, did you find any one common characteristic of the members of the congregation? Survivors?
- As I continue my research, do you have any recommendations for other possible interviews, places to visit, etc.?

Thanks,  
Wendy

~~~~~

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Thursday, January 29, 2009 7:00 PM
To: Edmonds, Wendy
Subject: RE: Thank you

Wendy,
I am so sorry, I just opened the email and read it all. Yes you have my permission. Let me know if tonight is still good for you. I apologize for the oversight.
regards,

████████ Jonestown Survivor Interview Questions

- Jim Jones was seen as a legitimate person when he started his church in the Bay Area with a promise to create an environment free of racism and sexism. Would you consider this the attraction for your family?
- He was more of an activist instead of your mainstream religious leader
- The importance of thinking for yourself, being an independent person, critical thinking...not only as an individual but also as a country because we allow ourselves to be drawn into war
- Describe the time and era when Jim Jones started his church.
- Jim Jones was seen as a legitimate person when he started his church in the Bay Area with a promise to create an environment free of racism and sexism. Would you consider this the attraction for your family?
- How would you describe the characteristics of Jim Jones leadership style?
- With respect to followership, did you find any one common characteristic of the members of the congregation? Survivors?
- In continuing my research, do you have any recommendations for other possible interviews, places to visit, etc.?

████████ Jonestown Survivor Interview

MECHANIZED VOICE: This conference is being recorded

WENDY EDMONDS: Ok now that's much better

PARTICIPANT: Great

WENDY EDMONDS: Ok, so I want to thank you again for doing the interview with me,

PARTICIPANT: You're welcome

WENDY EDMONDS: I'm going to ask by asking you to give your name

PARTICIPANT: ████████:

WENDY EDMONDS: and you are ████████

PARTICIPANT: ████████

WENDY EDMONDS: Anything else you want to tell me about?

PARTICIPANT: Well that's pretty much my story from the time I was in Peoples Temple as a child of 13 up until you know the escape from Jones Town and of course thirty years later. So it's my story of my survival in all three phases pretty much.

WENDY EDMONDS: This is WENDY EDMONDS, Organizational Leadership ...Ph.D. Student University of Maryland Eastern Shore. And so ████████ do you want to start by giving just a brief background of how you and your family got started with the Temple.

PARTICIPANT: Sure, certainly we were living in Santa Rosa which is a small college town around probably about 2 hours, a hour and a half two hours from Ukiah. And that was in the late 60's. I had an older sister name ████████ who always had issues. We believe she was probably bipolar but it just wasn't diagnosed then. And she became involved in drugs. That was the late 60's of course we had the Vietnam War going on, we had the love and peace movement and the experiment with drugs. So she was heavily into acid and mescaline and just in high school and being very rebellious. So my mother had a friend who introduced her to Peoples Temple because she had been attending and started going to the church because of my sister trying to get her into the drug rehab program. And my mother was successful. She had her own business. She was owner of a personal care home and after many trips to Ukiah Redwood valley, that's where the nucleus of the church was she decided to make the permanent move there. So we relocated when I was 13 years old.

WENDY EDMONDS: So was the move to San Francisco?

PARTICIPANT: The move was first to Ukiah because that's where the center of the church was. Jim's original first move from Indianapolis was to Redwood Valley, California.

WENDY EDMONDS: Okay

PARTICIPANT: And I guess it had probably been in place maybe 3 or 4 years possibly before we got there. It still was not a decent congregation. It hadn't grown. We hadn't outgrown the church at that time. But during that time there was people coming from San Francisco coming up to Redwood Valley for the service. And in the beginning that's what we did we would travel up and people members would open their homes up so we can stay overnight.

WENDY EDMONDS: Okay

PARTICIPANT: That was on a Saturday night and then a church service was on Sunday.

WENDY EDMONDS: Now what was that move to San Francisco for? At what point in time it when you outgrew the church or was that just the second church?

PARTICIPANT: That was when we pretty much outgrew the church. We started having meetings in San Francisco probably every other weekend at first and they used to rent a junior high school and have the meetings in the auditorium. And of course Jim's the main part of the service was the healing service and that's really what attracted people at that time, and it was more religious. He knew exactly when to talk about what and to what audience. So the beginning of San Francisco, the trips to San Francisco was in a rented auditorium in a junior high school actually right down the street from where the San Francisco Temple was eventually purchased.

So during that time it started growing. We started buying more buses, Greyhound buses, and then the permanent move was made, I would say probably around 1976. I'm approximating that and of course the Temple was huge it began to be filled...services were packed every Sunday.

WENDY EDMONDS: Wow, now he would seem as a legitimate person in the community, he had a lot of ties within the political realm, especially in the bay area. In my research I saw a lot of pictures with him with the state senators, U.S. senators...indicating he was very well known and respected.

PARTICIPANT: He was, he was!

WENDY EDMONDS: So his message at that time was one of creating an atmosphere that was free of racism, sexism, etc. And so the healing sessions is what was the draw. Do you think people were also drawn because he promised a place of Utopia?

PARTICIPANT: I think what it was, was that he really did teach Christ's teachings of course in Ukiah and in Redwood Valley it was more socialism. You know? And it was preaching socialism; let's say maybe at a Saturday night service and on Sunday it was a Christian service so it just varied. He was able to attract everybody. And I think during that time he you know it was a church of inclusion. So where you didn't have to worry about you know your sexuality, you were welcome no matter what your sexuality was, no matter what your financial or your

economic status was, you were welcomed. There were legal services, there were medical services, so it fulfilled a need in the community.

And it was inclusive so you had those who were radical. You might have a couple ex Black Panthers in there, you might have a pimp, ex pimp, a drug dealer, a prostitute, you know a preacher, a doctor, a lawyer, it just, it was a cross section of pretty much everyone.

WENDY EDMONDS: That's good to hear because it really dispels the myth that there was a specific goal of his to prey on poor people or poor African American people when in fact that's not true at all.

PARTICIPANT: No

WENDY EDMONDS: And that talks about the makeup of the church.

PARTICIPANT: Yes. And I think it just happened to be that because we were in the Filmore district. And so like any church where you're going to be able to do the most good is where the most good is needed. And that's in sections that are disenfranchised and the Filmore was disenfranchised. So that's what attracted most people and the fact that you actually felt that the mission was a good mission. So, I say the Peoples Temple were you know the people. Those were the Disciples of Christ-- the actual people that were there and of course with that, you also ended up with this other side that no one saw which was the beatings, and the public humiliation. I had to really think about what was created and it was really because once you were broken down into not much of anything... to think that you really were nothing without the church. That's where the brainwashing came into play because if you looked a certain way...if you're putting too much time into your appearance, then you were "booshie" if you were purchasing things. I mean it was so much self sacrifice that if you did anything for yourself you were considered decadent, or behaving in a capitalistic manner and that was frowned upon. So it was interesting that as the church grew in the L.A. Temple, the L.A. Temple was purchased so we were still between San Francisco and L.A. at least you know once a month or twice a month in Los Angeles.

WENDY EDMONDS: Okay

PARTICIPANT: It was like this caravan of buses going down to Los Angeles. And again you know, I think it was Alvarado and Pico which was again in a center of a disenfranchised area.

WENDY EDMONDS: Right

PARTICIPANT: And so he was just gathering flock, and then of course the traveling across country every summer was going to different cities and bringing folks back. But it really was a church of inclusion and he had a great reputation.

WENDY EDMONDS: He did?

PARTICIPANT: Until the New West people left the church and began talking to New West

Magazine (laughter).

WENDY EDMONDS: Okay

PARTICIPANT: That ended that (laughter). I think the move to Guyana was...I have to look back and when I realize from the CNN documentary that the producers exposed the fact that the cyanide had been bought months, and months, and months earlier. From the beginning really.

WENDY EDMONDS: That was such an eye opener, because that had never really been revealed.

PARTICIPANT: Never.

WENDY EDMONDS: Not in any of the documentaries I had seen before; the movie, the articles, none of that had ever been revealed. And that just kind of signaled that there was a master plan.

PARTICIPANT: When I found out I just broke down and cried. I'm like you're kidding me. I still cry. It's just hard to fathom that he actually planned this. It's just incredible... it really is. It really is.

So in San Francisco he was powerful—he could get votes for people. I mean we had neighbors who supported him. Politicians may need someone to turn out for this or show up at a court to protest and you know someone (one of the Temple members) getting on the phone tree and making phone calls and people showed up. They showed up.

WENDY EDMONDS: So, he had teams of people that actually within church (like within the organization) that I would consider followers who really supported him in his efforts?

PARTICIPANT: Oh yes,

WENDY EDMONDS: OK

PARTICIPANT: Yes, yes

WENDY EDMONDS: So in talking about followership, what did they see or what do you think they saw in him or characteristics of his leadership style that would make them want to be like him or follow him or was it just sheer intimidation? Was there any type of characteristic that you saw that they were drawn to? Was it charisma? What was it?

PARTICIPANT: He was very charismatic. I mean Jim could get up in the pulpit and preach from one range in theory to another, from one ideal to another and, reach everyone.

WENDY EDMONDS: Mmm Hmm

PARTICIPANT: But for the adults and I think I want to just touch on the planning commission.

The planning commission was a group of people that were... So they went through intimidation, I think that's where the first suicide drill was done and these were mostly adults and so and again I have to look at my mother to say what appealed to her... At what point and obviously there wasn't one because she came to Guyana. How does a group of adults do that? With all the things I've heard went on in the planning commission that were just insane--I mean totally insane like stripping down naked to... you know just, just insane. It's something in the person because at some point...

Now yes intimidation existed but everyone knew to leave the church was difficult. You know it was difficult to leave. Even in San Francisco intimidation was definitely being put in motion. But what about those core people who really, really, really saw the masochism that he possessed, you know his manic mentality, all that they witnessed? Yet they still stayed.

WENDY EDMONDS: Right

PARTICIPANT: And so that shows me that there was something lacking in themselves because okay, yes you want to belong, we all want to belong to something, we all want to make a difference in some area but where's the line? And so for those that were in leadership and we're talking adults... intelligent people, a lot of educated individuals. So what was missing in their lives that they felt that that was ok?

And so when you're indoctrinated into the cause because everything was for the cause, the cause of socialism, we're doing this to you because you're going to be a better socialist and you're going to be beat because you'll be able to take torture. This was what was taught. When we went moved to Ukiah he talked about the cave. I didn't think I was going to live to see 18 because of nuclear war we're still in the cold war. And so you've got this whole mind set of death.

WENDY EDMONDS: Yes

PARTICIPANT: Even in the beginning I believed in preparing yourself to be caught because you're going to stand up and fight. And you're going to have to know how, know how to be able to endure this. And for those adults that sat there and listened to that allowed themselves to be humiliated and degraded and he thought ah there's a really weak link there and I don't understand. I mean I was a child. And at 18 I pretty much started thinking something's, something's wrong here

WENDY EDMONDS: Those are the hardest years, the teenage years are the hardest years

PARTICIPANT: Exactly, exactly. And I'm looking thinking ok yes I'll sacrifice this and that and then I started looking at other things and going well I don't think so. I mean you'd be having boxing matches where people were getting boxed for discipline. It was just insane but you look at the adults who brought their children there and stayed...for the cause.

WENDY EDMONDS: They were still believing that at some point and time they would be prepared for whatever came for them not realizing that he had a plan.

PARTICIPANT: Exactly

WENDY EDMONDS: You know that whole isolation in Guyana was...

PARTICIPANT: Agh

WENDY EDMONDS: The documentary and I have to say that I think that Soledad O'Brian that was the best documentary I've seen and the way that it was put together to really it put you in that place.

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: It got you to really feel. And that's why I was so moved by your conversation because it was so real to think about that I personally had a friend that we grew up with that was a part of the Peoples Temple.

PARTICIPANT: Right. I think it was the best one, the best one yet.

WENDY EDMONDS: Other documentaries focused on Jim Jones the leader. Everything was about him, no one ever talked about the other side, the other the people. And we need to get some insight into that and understand how do we develop followers. What characteristics are seen? How can we look to move them in the right direction to notice the leadership characteristics that are toxic and not follow and how do we take that into the youth. I think about gangs and how children follow for some reason. There's something you said, there's something lacking inside that makes someone want to do that? And so we need to kinda grasp a hold to that. I mean leadership is wonderful and I've really enjoyed my studies but focus should not be dismissed about the other side because there's only one leader of any group but the rest are followers and we need to think about the followers.

PARTICIPANT: You know...the church did not really empower you, I mean you weren't empowered. I have letters that were pulled that I had to write to Jim. I cannot believe I was writing this stuff but I had to. You know you had to write: "Oh father you're just the greatest and I'm such a weak person and I'm selfish and I'm lazy and I'm this and I'm that." (I had) No self esteem and he was just berating us every day. This is my own opinion from experience. I went to Jonestown for another reason. It was because I really, really wanted to be with my son. I was not prepared to stay but just prepared to be to be with my child. Families actually went and actually thought that they could leave. I will not ever...I don't understand that. If you were in the church in the United States there were many places you could go and hide. I know people that actually just left and went underground because you didn't want to be brought back or hurt.

WENDY EDMONDS: Right

PARTICIPANT: But to go into Guyana and think that you could actually leave just baffles me because there was one way in and one way out. Literally. And so when you talk about the followers and you look at gangs and even in your job, you want to be someone that empowers?

WENDY EDMONDS: Right

PARTICIPANT: I've had the bosses that were crackin the whip you know and all that I've had that. You want someone that empowers you to excel and the church did that to a certain degree but it was all done to pull him up and of course he was a manic depressive with thoughts of grandeur. But again, those core people saw that. They saw that insanity early on.

WENDY EDMONDS: And still decided to remain with the church?

PARTICIPANT: Right

WENDY EDMONDS: Now, have you had conversations with those that did not stay and if so did you find any characteristic differences with them as opposed to those who did stay?

PARTICIPANT: Well I knew a couple people, you know high school friends that left the church. And we remained friends for a while and reconnected after I came back but they were just tired, they just were tired of the control

WENDY EDMONDS: OK

PARTICIPANT: But they had outside family to go to and they weren't intimidated or anything like that. Now there's two set of survivors. There those who actually escaped that day and I commend the [REDACTED] family for their bravery to even acknowledge that they wanted to leave and of course in the documentary, there were other families that thought they were going to come back and those that actually wanted to leave. We don't know who they are though because they're gone. And then you've got those that were in Georgetown because of work or whatever like all the boys on the basketball team. And so of course the church just dissolved after everything happened. But I can only speak for myself. I think I realized that my dream of going to medical school was not going to become a reality for me and that my child was gone. I am not going to be able to grow up and contribute and the key was for the children to be able to grow up and it was a loving environment for the children. The babies were brothers and sisters, they weren't just friends. They grew up together, they slept together, they stayed together, they were sisters and brothers. But there was no future for them. I was 20 and college was not going to be an option any longer. I realized that you have all these kids with all this talent and they weren't going to be able to use what they learned. The children were compassionate. There were kids that went on fasts because they heard of something going on in another country; where kids were starving and we're going to fast for two weeks so we can see how it feels to go hungry and be compassionate. That's what the kids were made of. I mean, they were these incredible beings that could have grown up to make a difference in the world. You know, it's just amazing.

WENDY EDMONDS: Now when you came back did you try to go to college or med school?

PARTICIPANT: I couldn't. you know I came back and I was trying to find a job in a month (laughter). Just in denial.

I mean truly just totally, totally in denial. I was in New York applying for jobs (laughter) thinking, you know because I was really just for years I was in denial. I was just waiting for somebody (family members who perished in Guyana) to show up...I was waiting to get a call saying that somebody had been found and they were in Venezuela or something, and they didn't know who they were. I mean I was just waiting for a sign that some of my family was alive. I was offered a lot of opportunities when I got back. I was not mentally prepared for any of them. I really wasn't.

WENDY EDMONDS: That's understood, and I think it's been underestimated the amount of trauma that is experienced and how everyone handles trauma in different ways and I think the CNN documentary brought that out. Towards the end of the documentary, some of them were recovering substance abusers and didn't even understand why but really it appeared that they were trying to self medicate to erase away the past.

PARTICIPANT: Exactly, because I was one of them. I mean I did not know I did not wanna be here. I did not want to be here.

WENDY EDMONDS: Okay

PARTICIPANT: You're growing up in this organization with this whole idea of what the world's supposed to look like and then. I'll never forget coming back and flying over New York City and just looking at the lights and going oh my God what am I gonna do? Everything that I was raised with was totally gone. And here I'm coming back to a society that I was taught was booshie and decadent so although I enjoyed being a part of it, at that age I felt like I was missing things but the rug was pulled from underneath us. I didn't go to the brainwashing sessions or the deprogramming sessions that they had set up. I just didn't participate in that. And of course my situation I think was different because of who my husband was (to the organization). I was fearful of the death squads and just really confused. So now, I can't say it's a regret because now I can talk about it and hopefully help some people... Pretty much the issues of just thinking that your life is over but it's not..

WENDY EDMONDS: Right

PARTICIPANT: Like you know, college--I really wanted to be a doctor but I was practicing medicine. I was working with a doctor in Jonestown. I was performing pap smears and training to become an OBGYN.

WENDY EDMONDS: Wow

PARTICIPANT: Yes

WENDY EDMONDS: It's never too late.

PARTICIPANT: Really. I appreciate that. I always thought I wanted to be a psychologist I thought I could. One thing that I have to say about the church though. You know we were we honest. That's how you were supposed to be...really honest, so we were able to just talk to

anybody and say anything even adults. It was interesting. But also what I found is that I'm very objective and I can look at both sides of the story and so I thought about going to become a psychologist because I can understand both sides and look at both sides of the fence. But you're right, it's not too late and I appreciate that encouragement I really do.

But what I realized when I was telling someone; if I left this world today I have a peace that I never ever, Wendy ever thought I could find. It just I never saw it, I never saw it. And I'm just so grateful and I just give all the glory to God. I mean, I do. And it wasn't me, it was God seeking me, listening to me and yet there were times I didn't listen. There were a lot of doors that were opened that I walked by and said I'm not ready, nope. I don't want to do it. Nope. But I think just the fact that I've lived this long and I never thought I'd see my birthday. Hopefully I can just share that part of me to inspire and just let people know that there's always hope, there is. There really is. You know, I know what's important. I know what I need in my life. When I went to jail it was interesting and I sat around the table. And I tell you, when I turned myself in and it saved me, that's what got me clean

WENDY EDMONDS: Wow. That's great. So now, places to visit?

PARTICIPANT: The California Historical Society of San Francisco has things...that's where those pictures of me when I was younger, but they have an exhibit of pictures photographs an array of things I haven't been there. But they do have an exhibit of items from Jonestown.

WENDY EDMONDS: OK

PARTICIPANT: And I think the Church. And the other place with resources that has done phenomenal work is the Jonestown Institute.

WENDY EDMONDS: Yes, now that's where I knew I had to go. Now that's in San Diego right?

PARTICIPANT: Yes. However, there's just all the information. There's transcripts, there's people have kept journals they found in Jonestown...they are the premiere resource for Jonestown and Peoples Temple.

WENDY EDMONDS: Okay. Well I have to tell you I have enjoyed this interview, I really have.

PARTICIPANT: I have to thank you.

WENDY EDMONDS: Thank you so much.

PARTICIPANT: Thank you and I look forward to speaking with you.

APPENDIX C**Recruitment Letter**

October 9, 2009

Dear _____,

You are invited to take part in a research study conducted through the Organizational Leadership Doctoral Program - University of Maryland Eastern Shore Princess Anne, Maryland. I am a Ph.D. candidate in Organizational Leadership. I will be conducting focus group sessions to discuss your experiences in Jonestown and the effects these experiences had on your personal and professional lives since then. Please refer to my article in the "Articles" section at <http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/AboutJonestown/JonestownReport/Volume11/articles.htm>, or more specifically at <http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/AboutJonestown/JonestownReport/Volume11/StudentPapers.htm> for more details about my research.

These sessions will take place at _____ (LOCATION) _____ and will include the participants and researcher. During this time you will be able to share your thoughts and experiences. Two sessions will be conducted each day as follows:

Monday, November 16, 2009

10:00am - 12:00pm and 2:00pm - 4:00pm

Tuesday, November 17, 2009

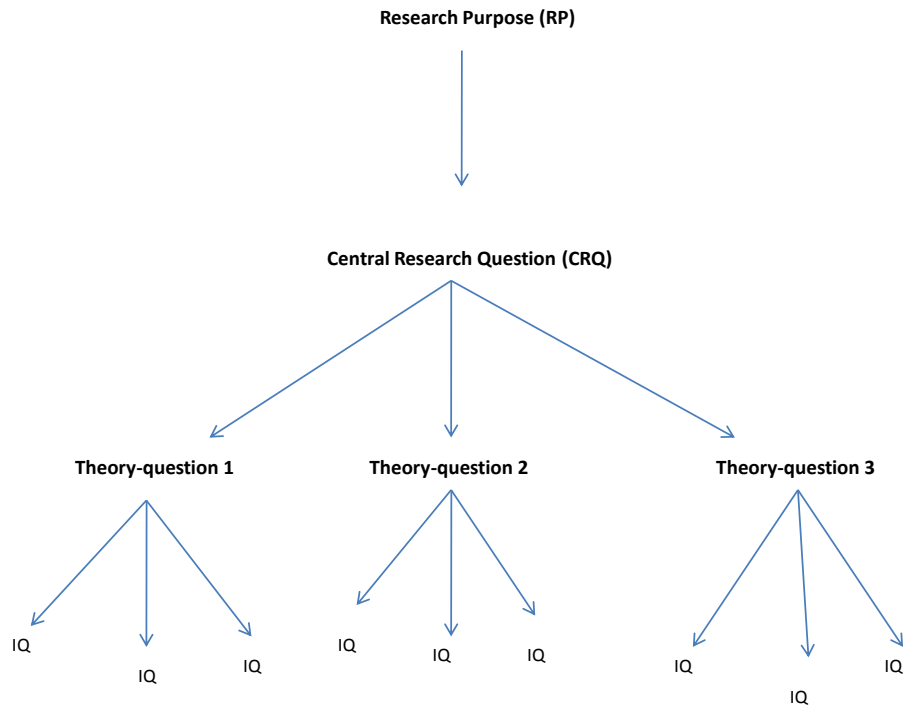
10:00am - 12:00pm and 2:00pm - 4:00pm

Participation is strictly voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. All responses will be held confidential and anonymity is guaranteed.

If you are interested in participating, please respond by **October 31, 2009** with your date and time preference. I can be contacted via email: [REDACTED] or phone [REDACTED]. Thank you in advance for your support.

Sincerely,

Wendy M. Edmonds, ABD

APPENDIX D**Interview Protocol****Pyramid Model**

(Wengraf, 2001, p. 63)

APPENDIX E

CRQ: What attracted you to Peoples Temple?

TQ1: Describe a personal characteristic that was a determining factor for making a decision to join Peoples Temple. *Theory: Followership- Follower characteristics based on I. Robert Kelley's Five Categories of Followership*

1a: Describe family life prior to Jonestown?

1b: Describe the Jonestown family.

1c: Who first introduced you to the concept of “church?”

1d: What did church mean to you at that time? Why?

1e: How did you learn about Peoples Temple?

1f: Paint a picture of yourself at that time.

1g: Describe the leadership style of Jim Jones.

1h: Did Jim Jones exercise power over his followers?

1i: How would you describe Jim Jones' use of power?

1j: Describe Jim Jones personality and character.

1k: Describe the consequences of the Jonestown massacre on both individual and group (family, work groups, church congregations) level.

1l: "Were there ever times when you thought the leadership at Jonestown was bad? If so, can you provide a specific example?"

1m: What are some of the factors that you attribute Jim Jones' leadership to? (*person – both the leaders and the followers, environment such as the prevailing culture at Jonestown, values, etc.*)

TQ2: What indicators of the event were turning points (emerging leader) for you in making a decision to leave? *Theory: Sacrificial leadership and Followership - the process of personal transformation according to I. Chaleff*

2a: Describe your feelings about going to Jonestown?

2b: Did your feelings change when you arrived? (If no) Why not? (If yes) How so?

2c: Briefly describe a typical day for you in Jonestown. *Probing follow up questions will be prepared.*

2d: When did you determine that you were ready to leave Jonestown?

2e: Was there a person that you looked up to? Did that person influence your decision?

If so, briefly describe how he/she influenced your decision?

2f: What sacrifices did you make while preparing to leave Jonestown?

2g: What sacrifices did you observe made by others? Describe the impact that had on you.

TQ3: What type of collaborative process occurred where leadership (among the survivors) began to take shape? *Theory: Followership - Leader-follower interdependency*

3a: How did you choose your friends?

3b: Describe the personalities of your friends?

3c: What are some of the things you talked about?

3d: Did you ever discuss leaving? If so, how did you communicate your intent?

3e: Describe the roles of everyone involved.

3f: In the years following the Jonestown massacre, how did you rebound after the incident?

Describe some resources (people, organizations, readings, etc.) that helped you to come to terms with the Jonestown massacre.

(This question is directly related to evaluate the effects of followers previously under the influence of toxic leaders)

APPENDIX F

Subject: Thematic transcript validation
From: "Edmonds, Wendy"
Date: Sun, October 24, 2010 2:17 pm
To: [REDACTED]
Priority: Normal

Hi there,

Again I want to thank you for your participation in my research on followership and sacrificial leadership. Attached is a document that lists a series of themes that have been categorized and supported by quotes from the focus group transcripts. It is my sincere desire and duty as a researcher to ensure that I have captured the essence of your experience correctly through the coding process. Please review the document and respond to this email to let me know if there are any questions or changes necessary. I can be reached via my cell at [REDACTED] or email at [REDACTED]. Thanks again for all of your support.

Wendy M. Edmonds
Doctoral Candidate
University of Maryland Eastern Shore
Organizational Leadership Doctoral Program
[REDACTED]

Attachments:

APPENDIX G



UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND EASTERN SHORE
Institutional Review Board

Hazel Hall, Suite 1062
Princess Anne, Maryland 21853-1299

VOICE: (410) 651-6262
FAX: (410) 651-6736

Date: November 10, 2009

To: Dr. Karin Klenke, Organizational Leadership Program
From: Clayton Faubion, Ph.D., Co-Chair, UMES IRB

RE: Protocol #2010-010 – “Followership & Sacrificial Leadership: A Case Study of
Survivors from the People’s Temple Massacre”

I am writing to confirm that the UMES protocol mentioned above has been reviewed by the
UMES Institutional Review Board and deemed exempt, category 2. Exempt studies do not
require further review by the IRB.

Please be advised that any and all information recorded in your study must be kept confidential
and no changes to the study protocol can be made without additional review and prior approval
by the UMES IRB.

If you have any questions or concerns you can contact me at (410) 651-6379 or
cwfaubion@umes.edu.