

MAKING THE TRANSITION FROM MICROMANAGER TO LEADER

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Our research on micromanagement, perfectionism and leadership reveals that 30 to 35% of executives succeed as managers but stumble when they find themselves in higher-level positions that require leadership and they respond with management. For this sizable group of under-performing executives, the underlying root cause is compulsive micromanagement caused by perfectionist tendencies. By micromanagement we mean an over-controlling style that inappropriately inhibits the people the executive needs to mobilize. Our research shows that there are some specific patterns and root causes associated with this managerial dysfunction. For these executives, the desire to be perfect drives them to over-control people and events and prevents them from engaging in critical leadership behaviors such as empowering, trusting, inspiring and challenging others. In this article, we present our research findings concerning the magnitude of this problem and the differences in behaviors between real leaders and micromanagers. In order to thoroughly understand the root causes of the problem, we present a number of in-depth case studies of executives who have struggled with this perfectionist trap. Based on experience with executives that have made the transition, we offer concrete suggestions about how perfectionist managers can become more effective leaders. Finally, we review a number of suggestions for those who work for a perfectionist.

The research for this article involved survey research with 300 executives and 50 in-depth case studies with managers. We surveyed 300 managers from 50 different companies and 10 different countries. The survey portion of the research was designed to ascertain the magnitude of micromanagement in organizations as well as the kinds of behaviors that characterize real leaders and micromanagers as perceived by the people that work for them. The managers participating in the survey were experienced managers who were near the top of their organizations but were typically not yet Vice Presidents or Senior Vice Presidents. Approximately half of the sample came from managers attending executive programs in leadership at Columbia University where the lead author has been a core faculty member of executive education for 15 years.

The case study research involved 50 executives for whom the authors conducted an extensive assessment involving personality instruments, 360 degree feedback, interviews with peers, subordinates and supervisors as well intensive meetings with the executives themselves. For half the sample, there was ongoing contact and assessment by the authors for a period that ranged from 1 to 5 years to gauge progress in decreasing micromanagement tendencies and increasing leadership behaviors.

A case study of an actual executive that we worked with 5 years may help to understand the nature of this leadership development challenge. Dave worked for a large manufacturing company in the south for about twenty years. He had a series of promotions over the years. The authors met Dave when he was a Vice President with about 3,000 people working in his operation. Dave had many strong management qualities. He was smart, knew the business well, was very organized, extremely detailed oriented and was regarded as a man of high integrity and ethics. He was also good at assigning tasks and following-up. He seemed to the authors to have a very good handle on his operation.

In working with Dave we began to notice some problems with his leadership style. When we talked to Dave's subordinates they felt that he didn't give them much running room. They felt that Dave's need to know everything was slowing decisions and creating excessive staff work. Dave's direct reports did not feel challenged and were frustrated that he tended to want things done in particular ways that closed off their creative thinking. They described Dave as a "micromanager." In fact, some of the people who reported to Dave's direct managers expressed frustration at having to deal with anyone except Dave. They would say things such as: "If Dave is going to make all the decisions, why am I talking to my manager who has no authority. I want to talk to the decision maker." Dave's controlling behavior was undermining the credibility of his direct reports who were talented managers. A direct quote from one of the managers who worked for Dave summarizes the impact that Dave's behavior had on people and the organization:

"I don't think he saw himself this way, but his style of leadership devalued the people around him. We never really felt like he trusted us. The end result was that the whole management structure worked just to give him what he wanted. Nobody really owned anything because he had his fingers in everything. All authority flowed through him. As a result, there was little or no creativity and no one felt empowered or fulfilled."

In the end, Dave's performance suffered because he was not challenging people with stretch goals, empowering others, and holding them accountable. Dave was too involved in tightly controlling his managers and was not spending time clarifying strategy, shaping a high performance culture, and making sure he had the right people to execute the strategy. Dave was eventually moved into a less responsible position during a major corporate reorganization.

Dave is an example of an executive whose excessive need to control events, in order to avoid mistakes, got in the way of his becoming an empowering leader. Many successful executives could be described as intense, driven, or achievement oriented people. They are intent on achieving goals, sometimes even obsessed with achievement. We make the distinction in this article between the "healthy perfectionist" and the "apprehensive perfectionist." For the apprehensive perfectionist executive, the source of their drive is not a desire to excel, but the fear of making mistakes, being seen as incompetent, or simply not performing up to their own or others' expectations. While this fear of failure is motivating, it also has undesirable side effects that inhibit leadership behaviors and can hold executives back in their careers.

The Nature of the Phenomenon and its Pervasiveness in Organizations

In order to understand the magnitude of the problem of micromanagement in leadership development, we surveyed 300 managers from 50 different companies and 10 different countries. We asked these managers to think about the executives in their companies who were in leadership positions and who they had worked for and knew reasonably well. We

then asked them based on their experience, to categorize each of these executives into one of three groups: Leader, micromanager or, not sure. In total these 300 managers rated 900 executives. Of the 900 executives, the respondents rated 180 or 30% as micromanagers. Further, the data revealed that 90% of the executives participating in the survey had some direct experience with at least one micromanager.

Our findings parallel the Leadership Forecast 2003-2004 study by DDI a global consulting firm which surveyed more than 1,500 leaders and more than 1,400 associates from 14 countries around the world. Their survey indicated that only 38 percent of associates had high confidence in leaders' abilities. Further, the survey revealed that more than 2/3 of leaders show potential for becoming derailed at some point in their career. The two most common leadership derailers are: being overly concrete and micromanaging. These findings are supported by other reviews of the derailment literature which suggest that micromanagement and perfectionism are common styles of executive dysfunction.¹

In our research, we also asked the managers surveyed to describe the behavior and character of the executives that they labeled as leaders and micromanagers. Table 1 outlines the most frequently mentioned descriptors of leaders and micromanagers.

*Table 1
Descriptions of Executives Rated*

Micromanagers	Leaders
Controlling	Trusting
Not trusting	Inspiring
Insecure	Confident
Tense	Empowering
Afraid	Delegates
Too detail oriented	Challenges
Critical	Takes risks
Demanding	Supportive

It seems clear that there are a great number of executives whose struggle to become leaders revolves around their ability to move beyond micromanagement. Helping these managers become leaders requires answering a fundamental question: what causes these executives to over-control, not trust people and be vigilant to the point of excess? The short answer is insecurity, which we can now delve into in greater depth.

Understanding Micromanagement, Perfectionism and the Obsessive Personality

To understand the micromanager, we must understand the role of work in the executives' formation of identity and self-worth. Let's look at two examples of executives with whom we have had long-term coaching relationships. In our work with Pat she demonstrated that, rather than being a burden, she enjoyed her work in leading the organization. She had a sense of humor, was known to hold people accountable, but loved to see people stretch themselves, take chances and grow. She was confident, comfortable with herself,

and concerned, but not excessively, about what others thought of her. Pat was under pressure to deliver results but she was optimistic and operated with the faith that things would work out in the long run. Executives like Pat are achievement seekers and “healthy perfectionists.” The healthy perfectionist is intent on achieving a standard of excellence and wants to avoid failure; however, they are not excessively afraid of failing or others’ negative evaluation. They recognize that being human means being fallible. If failure occurs, it is an opportunity to learn rather than an indictment of their character or proof of a lack of self-worth.

Brent was a different kind of person. Our observations of Brent at work revealed that he was driven, but in a stressed and tense manner. He was worried about performance and afraid that the people who worked for him would not live up to his expectations. He had trouble relaxing and acted as if failure was around the corner unless he was careful, vigilant and worked really hard. Brent was an obsessive personality. By this we mean that his recurring thoughts (i.e., his obsessions) were about the criticality of avoiding failure. In working with Brent it became clear that his obsessive thoughts about avoiding failure were so familiar to him that he was not really aware of their frequency or how unusually extreme they were. Tension and anxiety were like the air he breathed: ever present and rarely noticed. His response to this anxiety was to become extremely demanding of himself and others; that is, to expect perfection. We labeled Brent an “apprehensive perfectionist.” Channeling his anxious energy into hard work, being on top of everything and everyone – being a control freak, was how he reacted to this constant and fearful background thinking. Not being in control increased his level of anxiety to an unacceptable level. As a manager, he operated based on the myth that ultimate control was possible and was the safe passage route through uncertainty and risk.

Pat was seeking achievement whereas Brent was trying to avoid failure. They are both driven but they are energized by trying to satisfy different needs. Brockner and Higgins refer to this as having a “promotion” orientation versus a “prevention” orientation.² Achievement seekers are promotion oriented and have a sense of self-worth independent of their performance. They “want to” do well but they do not “have to” do well to have a positive self-image. They may have some fear of failure but it is not excessive because they have a basic confidence and sense of self-worth. Fear of failure is not the primary driver. Achievement seekers set goals and standards that take into account both their strengths and their limitations, increasing the likelihood of achieving their goals. When facing a challenge, they focus on their strengths and on how to do well.

Failure avoiders are prevention oriented due to the excessive level of fear and feelings of worthlessness that they associate with poor performance. They are acutely aware of their flaws, minimize their virtues, and work hard to conceal their inadequacies. Because they see so many potential threats to their sense of self-worth, they are generally on the defensive. Failure avoiders often demand a higher level of performance than is humanly possible for them and for others to achieve. Contrary to the apprehensive perfectionist’s beliefs, the evidence suggests that this diminishes rather than enhances their chance of success. This is because while their high standards lead to increased effort, their fear of

not measuring up to their own or others' expectations distracts them from their goals and causes burn-out.³

Researchers have concluded that the need for achievement is made up of the drive to achieve success and the drive to avoid failure. McClelland and his colleagues confirmed this when they found that a high fear of failure served to block achievement imagery in people.⁴ People with a high need for achievement have a strong drive to achieve excellence combined with a moderate to low fear of failure. They appear to others as people who “play to win” rather than people who “play not to lose.” More recent psychological research on the measurement of perfectionism sheds more light here.⁵ The most reliable measure of perfectionism suggests that perfectionists have three psychological attributes: (1) High standards, (2) Orderliness and (3) Discrepancy or a tendency to feel that there is a gap between their performance and standards (their own or others') for performance. To relate recent research to McClelland's work, the difference between the high need for achievement “healthy perfectionist” and the “apprehensive perfectionist” is primarily hypersensitivity for discrepancy; that is, a tendency to experience significant negative emotion when they sense that performance was below standard.

Our argument here is shown graphically in Figure 1. Higher performers in leadership roles tend to have a high need for achievement combined with moderate levels of fear of failure. Some fear of failure is productive and energizes the leader to exert greater effort; however, when fear is excessive, it leads to apprehensiveness. The graph depicting the relationship between fear of failure and performance is consistent with Yerkes and Dotson's (1908) seminal work that showed an inverted U-Shaped relationship between performance and psychological arousal.⁶ Some fear and anxiety increases effort and vigilance but, when fear becomes excessive, it distracts and may even paralyze a person and inhibit performance. This is particularly true when the task is a complex one that requires interpersonal skill and achieving through others such as a leadership role.

Figure 1

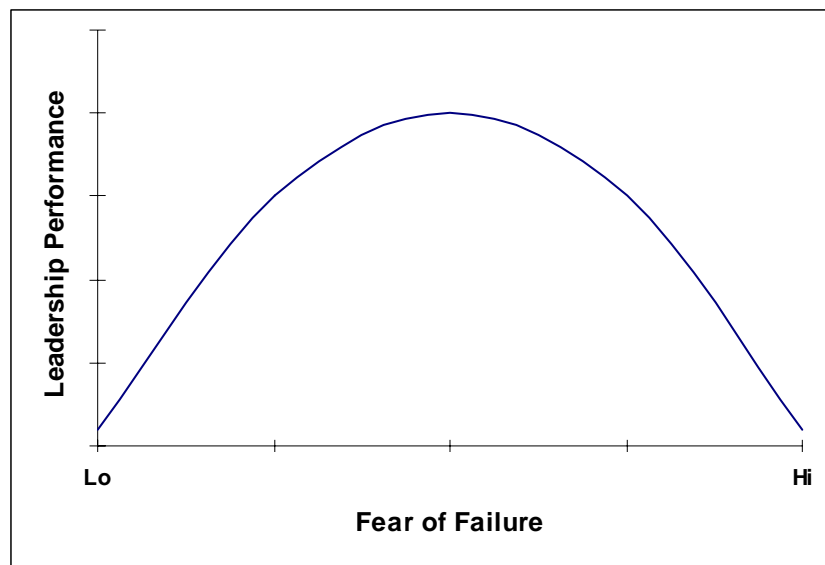
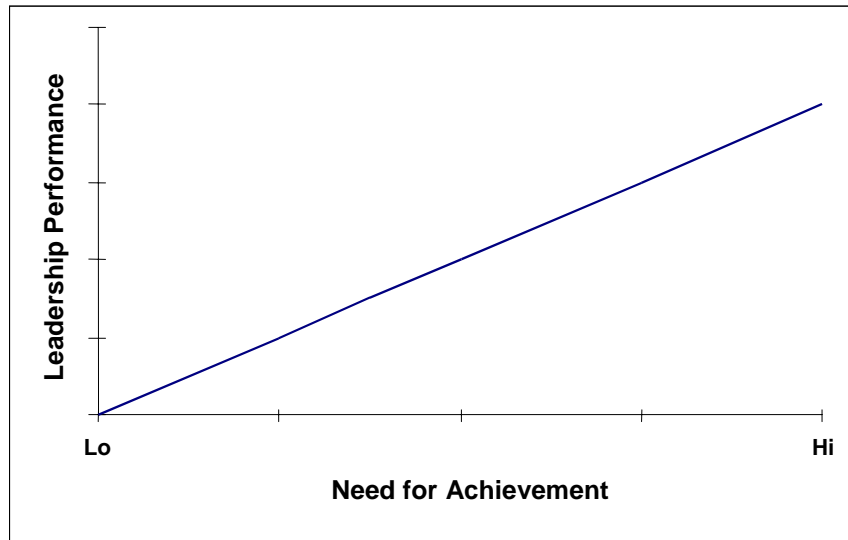


Figure 1 (cont.)



At this point we can be more specific about the kind of perfectionist we seek to help in this article. Specifically, we are concerned with the apprehensive perfectionist whose fear of failure is high enough that it hinders leadership performance (e.g. on the downward slope of the performance/fear curve). In these executives, fear is too high and it creates a strong internal compulsion to avoid failure by over controlling, not trusting, and other negative behaviors.

Our research on micromanagement suggests that there is an important distinction between an apprehensive perfectionist who micromanages and other “micromanagers” or what some refer to as “control freaks.” Our case research with 50 managers shows three points of difference between managers who are somewhat controlling versus managers who micromanage to such a degree that it inhibits leadership and presents a risk of derailing. First, the apprehensive perfectionist controls out of anxiety and fear of failing, not because they are truly more competent in the task. Second, the apprehensive perfectionist over-controls regardless of the level of competence of the subordinate. Finally, the apprehensive perfectionist over-controls in situations that are not critical and do not present what most would consider significant risks. The apprehensive perfectionist’s excessive control is irrational and is a reaction to their inherent insecurity.

Perfectionists as Managers

The combination of perfectionist traits and leadership responsibilities poses some interesting dynamics for the perfectionist as well as for those who work for them. Table 2 outlines the perfectionists’ behaviors that our research has shown can become career limiting and the underlying root cause associated with these behaviors. It is important to note that our research has shown that in many cases, the perfectionist manager is completely unaware of both problem behaviors and their root causes. What’s more, our in-depth case studies reveal that often their perception of the degree to which

they are loosely or tightly controlling others is so inaccurate that they may actually think they are being empowering when they are in-fact over-controlling.

*Table 2
Perfectionist Behavior and Root Causes*

Problem Behavior	Perfectionist Root Cause
Fails to connect with people and build relationships. Performance suffers because people withhold effort because they feel the leader doesn't care about them.	Excessive anxiety makes it hard for the perfectionist to relax. Developing relationships is harder when you are not relaxed. Anxiety creates a drive to work hard on tasks and relationships are often ignored. Manager's attention is on his own anxiety and, therefore, he spends less energy reading others' interpersonal cues.
Loses site of the larger strategic issues and works hard and directs others to work hard on the wrong things. Organizational performance suffers because resources are not allocated to the proper initiatives.	Fear of failure leads to excessive attention to getting details perfect leaving less time to think about critical long-term strategic concerns.
Emphasizes hard work rather than results. Performance suffers as people model this behavior and focus on being seen as a "hard worker" rather than being effective or results-oriented.	Hard work is associated with avoiding failure and becomes an obsession because it is seen as the cure for the fear of failure.
Does the work of others. Gets too into the details of his/her subordinates' work. Performance suffers because good people leave or stop taking initiative and wait for orders.	Can't get comfortable unless she knows all the details. Can't trust due to the risk that failure has to self-esteem.
Keeps people who like to be over-controlled and may create a C player culture, which leads to low performance.	His need to over-control requires surrounding himself with people who will accept this.
A slow or "be careful" culture exists which leads to a failure to keep pace with competition	Insecurity leads to apprehensiveness and difficulty acting in an uncertain environment.
Lack of motivation in the long run. The perfectionist's performance suffers when intense short-term motivation from fear turns to low motivation over time due to burnout.	The anxiety from the perception of having to escape failure everyday takes it toll over the years. This can lead to physical and psychological exhaustion.
Unwanted employee turnover. Excessive criticism and over-control leads to turnover of key people or over-tentativeness among managers. Good people leave for environments where they can develop.	Failure to balance negative and positive reinforcers caused by a mindset in which nothing is ever good enough. Sees the negative and is blind to the positive.
Under-developed staff. Failure to delegate and empower staff stunts their growth and development.	Inability to trust and let go due to anxiety makes it difficult to give staff challenging assignments where they can be stretched and develop.

Typically, there is not one problem behavior but a pattern of factors that in combination leads to poor performance. It should be noted that there are aspects of perfectionism that act to enhance performance such as having high standards and a need for order. The paradox that perfectionism helps performance in some ways, and hurts performance in others, often makes it hard for the perfectionist to change and for his or her boss to confront their over-controlling behavior. Because some aspects of perfectionism help the executive perform, there is often a feeling that any change will lead to less success. It is

critical that the perfectionist manager understand that there is an inflection point where the negative aspects of perfectionism outweigh the positive aspects.

Often what happens is that the perfectionist performs well until they get promoted to a bigger job that requires trust, empowerment, and other leadership behaviors that the person struggles to perform. For example, we worked with Jane who was an incredibly hardworking senior manager at a financial services company. She had a series of promotions and had become a key player in the organization overseeing the technology area on a global basis. Over time, Jane became a problem because she couldn't delegate and had to personally be involved in too much of what happened in her functional area. She became a bottleneck that slowed things down. Eventually, her over-controlling nature led to a decline in customer satisfaction. The costs to her perfectionist behavior had outweighed the benefits. When her primary value was as an individual contributor, her perfectionism helped her. When her value to the organization required leading others and operating globally, her perfectionism got in the way. After Jane's boss confronted her micromanagement style, she sought some coaching and embarked on a determined behavior change strategy. She was eventually able to manage her controlling and perfectionist tendencies and was promoted.

There are some tasks where the drive for perfection may be a motivator without being destructive. In more simple tasks, such as playing basketball or football, it is possible that perfectionism can help. For example, it is widely known that the basketball stars Michael Jordan and Jerry West and the football star Jerry Rice all found losing so painful that it drove them to practice and train at a level well above the normal athlete. In these cases, the fear of failure could be channeled productively. This is the case in some jobs in business as well (e.g. certain sales jobs). The critical point is that these tasks differ from the task of leadership. When the task is achieving through others, which requires complex interpersonal interactions, excessive fear of failure inhibits performance. In the case of these athletes, fear was largely self-induced, the game was fairly simple, and there were clear and effective means to cope with the fear and reduce it. This is not the case in complex organizations and in the role of leader.

It is well documented by sports psychologists that successful athletes train themselves to have a promotion orientation and to see competition as a challenge and not a threat. Michael Johnson, winner of gold medals in the 200 and 400 meters at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics, expressed this well: "It took me some time to realize, but I love pressure. If there is one thing that will really take you to another level of performance--to the plateau where your victories are measured in the blink of milliseconds--it might be the ability to embrace pressure, to understand it, to draw it in, to make it your own and use it to your advantage."⁷

Changing Micromanagers into Empowering Leaders

In our work with executives who are apprehensive perfectionists who tend to micromanage, we have found that there are 4 critical phases to successful behavior change. We use the acronym **EMPWR** to label the 4 phases:

E – Explore

M – Make a Commitment to Change

P – Program Yourself for Behavior Change

WR – Watch and Measure Results

We will review the 4 phases and identify some specific techniques in each phase that our research has shown to facilitate behavior change.

STEPS TO OVERCOMING PERFECTIONISTIC TRAITS:

- **Explore:** Determine, in as objective a manner as possible, if you are an apprehensive perfectionist. First, enlist the help of someone you trust who is insightful about human behavior and who will tell you the truth. With this person’s help determine if you: 1) have high standards, 2) tend to be orderly and sometimes picky about things and 3) are hard on yourself, quick to notice less than perfect performance and be bothered and even defensive about it. Next, take a look at the list of problem behaviors and root causes mentioned in this article. Do any ring true for you? If you and your trusted advisor find some evidence of perfectionism, have candid conversations with those who will be honest with you at work and at home. Discover in a frank and honest way just how your perfectionist behavior is affecting those around you. Explore objectively the consequences of perfectionism in your life. Have the benefits of perfectionism begun to be outweighed by the negative side effects? This is critical to becoming brutally clear about whether perfectionism is the problem not the solution to your anxiety. This brutal clarity is a necessary step to developing the motivation or the “felt need for change” that is crucial to development.
- **Make a Commitment:** After you have done a thorough diagnosis, decide whether you are ready to admit that you are a perfectionist. Recovery begins with the acknowledgment that a problem exists. Then, get to know it. Embrace it. Understand it. Read all you can on the subject. Much has been written about perfectionism. Develop an understanding of the underlying fears that drive your perfectionist behavior.
- **Program yourself for change:** Use cognitive psychology and behavioral modification techniques to self-manage and change your behavior.
 - Identify the triggers that launch you into your controlling behavior. Being aware of them can help you eliminate or modify them.
 - At work:
 - Make sure that you have competent direct reports.

- Define with them a zone of empowerment where they can act independently. Expand the zone with their success and consider shrinking it with their failure.
- Fill your calendar with higher leverage issues (e.g. strategic) so that you can't micromanage because you don't have the time. Consider increasing the number of direct reports that you have so that structurally it will be harder for you to over-control.
- Measure how much challenge, development, trust and motivation exists among your direct reports and work to increase these metrics in a positive direction.
- Expect that these changes will lead to discomfort during an adjustment period. If you keep at it you will adjust.
- Train yourself to interpret the anxiety of not knowing every detail as a sign of progress towards becoming an empowering leader.
- Train yourself to control your background thinking. Think and act as if outcomes are not life and death affairs. Care but don't care too much. Get perspective. Abolish fear and failure statements from your internal self-talk. Catch yourself engaging in negative automatic thoughts and substitute positive affirmations.
- Remind yourself that everyone experiences failure and that failure is the best teacher. Remind yourself that despite your internal belief system, studies have shown that perfectionists achieve less than people who approach their work in a relaxed fashion.
- Test your appraisal of risk. If you delegate something and it is not done well, will it really lead to a disastrous outcome? Is it possible that such a risk is worth it to develop other leaders?
- Develop your sense of humor. Take your work seriously but don't take yourself too seriously. Laugh at work every once in a while. Your employees will enjoy seeing you as a human being with a sense of humor.
- Develop your spiritual side. People with a spiritual dimension often find peace with the idea that we are not in control of everything. They learn to take responsibility for what they can affect and put the rest in someone else's hands.
- Seek professional help if necessary. The more obsessive your behavior the greater the need for exploring the issues with a trained psychologist to uncover the source of anxiety that is holding you back.
- Enlist the help of others. Consider getting an internal or external coach to help you develop a behavior change plan and follow through on it. This person can also collect periodic data to see how much progress you are making and they can also help you problem solve when you hit roadblocks.
- **Watch and Measure Results:** After you have developed concrete measures to assess your level of leading versus over controlling (see above), follow-up to determine if your attempts at change have had any impact. Take a time 2 and a time 3 measure to assess change. Because the perfectionist's perception of empowerment is often inaccurate, objective measures are critical.

If You Work For a Perfectionist

Working for a perfectionist is not exactly a walk in the park. You feel as though your boss doesn't trust you. You feel that your work is never good enough. His intensity makes you nervous. Her insecurity makes it uncomfortable to be around her. A controlling nature may be destroying your initiative as well as the initiative of others on the team. Your boss's defensiveness makes good communication hard. His obsessive attention to detail and need for information, keeps you from focusing on the big issues and making progress in your work.

If you work for a perfectionist, short of moving on, there are some things you can do to make the experience more satisfying, productive, and bearable:

- Realize that it is possible that the problem is your boss's perfectionism not your performance.
- Recognize that the energy needed to manage a perfectionist boss is an investment. Investments can pay off. Failing to invest in managing the relationship and resenting his intrusion will yield no return. Recognize that managing your boss is necessary work rather than an irritation.
- Work hard to earn his trust and confidence. When he sees that you pay attention to the details, he may begin to relax. Be patient, it can take some time.
- Get your boss to be very clear about expectations. Ask good questions and take good notes.
- Disarm your boss's perfectionism by making it clear that your goal is her success. Remember that the source of her intensity is anxiety about failure.
- Assure your boss that you will keep him in the loop, and then do so. Think of it as feeding money into a parking meter. If you stop putting money in, your meter will run out and you will get a ticket. Your boss will get upset. Feed him the information that makes him comfortable with the hope that it will lead to trust and more empowerment.
- Be assertive and confident. Tell her in an unemotional and respectful way that you would like to do it your way. Communicate confidence in yourself and your ideas. She will respect your determination.
- Point out his controlling behavior in a respectful way at the first opportunity to talk privately. Let him know with clarity and detail how his perfectionism is affecting your ability to work and how it makes you feel. Be sensitive to his fear of criticism. Tell him your intention is to help him understand how certain behaviors affect you and your ability to perform.
- Use humor when possible and appropriate to lighten things up. Your perfectionist boss needs help lightening the load he puts on himself.

Conclusion

All of us failed to match our dreams of perfection. So I rate us on the basis of our splendid failure to do the impossible.

William Faulkner

The true work of art is but a shadow of divine perfection.

Michelangelo

Moral philosophers since Aristotle have written about the pursuit of the good life, virtue and excellence as an abstraction of the idea of human perfection. But, as the Michelangelo quote underscores, while perfection may be a noble pursuit, it is necessarily illusive and a moving target. We must learn from Faulkner that dreaming of perfection is a fine ideal but, in the light of day, we must learn to appreciate splendid failure. This is particularly true for leaders in the complex, fast-paced and changing environment that exists in organizations today. Leaders must be driven to achieve but also comfortable with the fact that most great pursuits involve missteps and failures along the way. Some executives punish themselves excessively and thus struggle with leading people.

Effective leadership is diminished when an executive possesses perfectionist tendencies which create anxiety and micromanagement. In almost all cases the organization suffers. Also, individuals who work for a perfectionist micromanager often become frustrated and feel stifled in their careers. Perfectionism is a serious leadership issue today impacting many people and draining energy from leadership effectiveness.

But there is good news for both perfectionist managers and those who work for them. We have seen apprehensive perfectionists confront their underlying negative emotions and change. With some effort, these executives can gain perspective, enjoy their work more, move their focus to more strategic initiatives, and achieve greater success. While relieving the anxiety that is at the core of their fears is not easy, it can be controlled. Perfectionists can learn to see the discomfort of letting go and empowering others as signs of progress towards becoming more effective leaders. This enables them to offer the organization the benefits of their intensity without the negative side effects that hinder their own and others' performance.

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